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REPLY OF HIS HOLINESS POPE PIUS X. TO THE ADDRESS OF THE IRISH HIERARCHY

DILECTO FILIO NOSTRO MICHAELI TIT. S. MARIA DE PACE
S.R.E. PRESB. CARD. LOGUE, ARCHIEPISCOPO ARMACANO,
CETERISQUE VENERABILIBUS FRATRIBUS ARCHIEPIS-
COPIS ET EPISCOPIS HIBERNENSIBUS

PIUS PP. X.

DILECTE FILI NOSTER, SALUTEM ET APOSTOLICAM BENEDICTIONEM. Solemne pietatis officium quod Hibernenses sacrorum antistites Te, dilecte Fili Noster, præeunte in Nos ob nuper delatos summi pontificatus honores edere voluerunt, effusi gaudii Nobis attulit causam. Porro istius gentis memoriam ultimam repetentes resque pari consilio et felicitate ad religionis bonum ab ea olim gestas considerantes, facere non possumus quin singulare latemur obsequium erga hanc Apostolicam Sedem animis vestris alte impressum et his temporibus Catholicæ virtuti infensis, magis magisque firmatum. Singulare obsequium diximus, Hibernensibus majorum traditione inditum ac semper ad commune decus enixe custoditum: ex quo illud prospere factum est ut eorum insula, S. Patritii Apostolicis exculta laboribus et sudore irrigata, alma sanctorum virorum parens et altrix appellari meruerit. Quo majori gratulatione igitur communes litteras vestras accepimus, eo libentius prolixiusque mutuae benevolentiae Nostræ rependimus sensus, quibus

omnes in Christo complexi, cœlestium munerum auspicem et Vobis et gregi curis vestris concredito Benedictionem Apostolicam amantissime impertimur.

Datum Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum die XVI. Novembris, MCMIII., Pontificatus Nostri anno primo.

PIUS PP. X.

The following is the text of the Address of the Irish Hierarchy :—

PIO PP. X.

BEATISSIME PATER,—Majorum nostrorum vestigiis inhærentes, Nos, Hiberniæ Archiepiscopi et Episcopi, unacum Clero nostro universo, et devotis gregibus nostris, ad pedes B.T. provoluti, pignora nostræ fidelitatis, observantiae et obsequii in S. Sedem; solemniter et ex corde renovamus.

Mirum quidem est quam suaviter et fortiter, a fine usque ad finem pertingens, Deus et Domnus noster vicissitudines hujus vitæ terrestres misericorditer disponit. Ingens enim illa lamentatio per orbem terrarum exorta in morte gloriosi Praedecessoris Tui, Leonis XIII., sanctae et imperiturae memoriae, cito convertitur in gaudium ineffabile vix ac proclamatio illa saecularis—‘Habemus Pontificem,’—gentes certiores fecerat, quod Proceres Ecclesiae, afflante Spiritu Sancto, Te, B.P. in primam sedem elegerant. In hoc gaudio universali Nos et populi nostri,—Divi Patritii filii fideles,—nos participes esse ultro fatemur. Te Pontificem ex hominibus assumptum, apud Deum pro hominibus constitutum, et super Sion Montis Sancti apicem sublimatum, acclamamus. Te, Vicarium Christi in terris humiliter et reverenter veneramus. Te, Successorem Divi Petri in regimine animarum cum potestate suprema solvendi et retinendi, obsequamur. Te, Custodem gregis,—Doctorem universalem,—lampadem ardentem, oleo sacrae doctrinae omnique venustate refertam, in lacuna superiori constitutam, ut igne divinitatis accensa, non diutius lucernae ipsius claritas, sub minoris status modio celaretur abdita, sed, ut

luceat omnibus qui in domo sunt, poneretur super candelabrum, agnoscimus et profitemur. Sit vita Tua longa in terris et merces in coelis magna nimis.

Nec immemores immanis illius ponderis,—summarum videlicet clavium—Tibi B.P. etiam renuenti impositi, preces effundimus et effundere prosequemur, ut ad mentem universalis Ecclesiae, Deipara intercedente, et B. Petro suffragante, Omnipotens et Misericors Dominus, apprehensa manu dextera Te custodiat in via, Te roborare et confortare dignetur, ita ut accinctis lumbis semper fiducialiter agas, Ecclesiam Sanctam Dei sapienter regas et custodias, pauper-culos Christi pascas et enutrias, et gloriam Christiani Nominis per multos annos adhuc extollas et amplifices.

Interim efflagitamus enixe Apostolicam Benedictionem.

- ✠ MICHAEL CARDINALIS LOGUE, Archiepiscopus Armacanus, Totius Hiberniae Primas.
- ✠ GULIELMUS, Archiep. Dublinensis, Hiberniae Primas.
- ✠ THOMAS FENNELLY, Archiep. Cassilensis.
- ✠ JOANNES, Archiep. Tuamensis.
- ✠ FRANCISCUS JOSEPHUS, Episcopus Galviensis, Duacensis ac Adm. Apost. Finaborensis.
- ✠ FR. THOMAS ALPHONSUS, Ord. Praed., Episcopus Corcagiensis.
- ✠ JACOBUS, Episcopus Fernensis.
- ✠ ABRAHAM BROWNRIGG, Epus. Ossoriensis.
- ✠ EDVARDUS THOMAS, Epus. Limericen.
- ✠ PATRITIUS, Episcopus Rapotensis.
- ✠ JOANNES LYSTER, Episcopus Achadensis.
- ✠ EDUARDUS, Episcopus Kilmorensis.
- ✠ JOANNES COFFEY, Epus. Ardfertensis et Aghadoensis.
- ✠ THOMAS M'REDMOND, Episcopus Laonensis.
- ✠ JOANNES K. O'DOHERTY, Episcopus Derriensis.
- ✠ RICARDUS ALPHONSUS, Epus. Waterfordiensis.
- ✠ JOANNES CONMY, Epus. Alladensis.
- ✠ ROBERTUS BROWNE, Epus. Cloynensis.
- ✠ RICARDUS OWENS, Epus. Clogherensis.
- ✠ JOSEPHUS, Epus. Ardac. et Cluan.
- ✠ JOANNES, Epus. Elphinensis.
- ✠ HENRICUS HENRY, Episcopus Dunen. et Connoren.
- ✠ PATRITIUS FOLEY, Epus. Kildar. et Leighl.

- ✠ DIONYSIUS, Ep. Rossen.
- ✠ MATTHIEUS GAFFNEY, Episcopus Midensis.
- ✠ HENRICUS O'NEILL, Episcopus Dromorensis.
- ✠ THOMAS, Clonfertensis.
- ✠ NICOLAUS DONNELLY, Episc. Tit. Canensis, Vic. Gen.,
Dublinensis, olim Auxiliarius Emi. M'Cabe.

Die 14 Octobris, 1903.

THE DAWN OF THE CENTURY ¹

I.

I PROPOSE this evening to put before you a limited, but let me hope, a clear, well-defined view of that outer intellectual world, in which you will soon be called to take your place, and an important one; and with that view to stimulate you to more zealous and earnest preparation for the part you will have to perform. For it is sometimes wise for us all to pause and think and look around us; to wait till the smoke clears away from the field of battle, that we may the better see the alignments of the enemy, arrange our own forces, and make such dispositions that we may gain at least an advantage; for the ultimate victory, I presume, is not for us, nor for any soldiers of Christ, until the day when the great Captain Himself shall come. And measuring as I do the vast energies that lie hidden, and as yet bounded and locked, in the assemblage which I have the honour to address to-night, I feel a certain sense of responsibility—so great, that were it not for the deference I owed to the courteous invitation of your late President, repeated by your present Superior; and at the same time an ambition, I hope a lawful one, of addressing at least once in my life, the young minds and hearts, that are to control the future destinies of the Church in Ireland, I should have hesitated about assuming a duty, which might be left in more capable and zealous hands. Nevertheless, I may be able to give you a glance into the outer world, its forces, its movements, its processes of thought, which may awaken new ideas, and perhaps larger conceptions of your vocation; and with these, fresh determinations that in the serious and solemn duties that lie before the Catholic priesthood in our time, you at least will quit yourselves like men.

All life is a process. Things do not hurry, neither do they

¹ An Address, delivered to the Maynooth Students in the *Aula Maxima* of the College, December 1st, 1903, by the Rev. P. A. Sheehan, D.D.

pause. But, from time to time, there is just a rush as of forces breaking their bounds ; and then again a lull in human affairs—a little breathing time for poor humanity, wherein it stops suddenly, and as if, through sheer exhaustion, refuses to be swept along on the eternal currents of thought. Just such a breathing time we have in the intellectual world of to-day. There is no great ‘movement,’ as it is called, going on in the world outside. The chief revolutions of the nineteenth century ran through their little cycles and ceased. And we, who have seen them, and been blinded by their dust, and stunned by their noise, now look back with a certain kind of wondering humiliation, that we could ever have allowed ourselves to be even temporarily disturbed by such feeble and transitory things. And if we needed a proof of that Divine arrangement in the economy of life, by which truth is safeguarded in the custody of an unerring Church, surely we may find it in the swift judgment that Time has passed upon the insolent assumptions of the century that has just expired. Not that these systems and movements are forgotten. Nay, it is only now they are being studied in detail. There is a curious leisure and repose in the thought of the world of to-day. It is not fretted by any particular system of philosophy. Over there, on the sands of Brighton, Herbert Spencer is rolled up and down in a bath-chair, speaking to no one, looking out with dimmed eyes on the unfathomable sea. He has left a fair amount of printed formulas which no one reads. In that highest domain of philosophic thought, I know no other name that men would care to remember. Science has passed from great principles into mere experiment. Instead of being mistress of great minds, she has become an artificer of toys for men’s hands and human convenience. The discovery of the new metals, ‘uranium’ and ‘radium,’ is heralded as a revolution in Science. But we are too much accustomed to these revolutions to heed them. Darwin and Owen, Huxley and Tyndall have vanished, and Edison and Marconi remain. Great principles, for right or wrong, are no longer laid down, fought for, assailed, accepted, or rejected. The dog listening for his dead master’s voice in

the phonograph, and the group around the Marconi wires in the saloon of a Transatlantic steamer, eager to catch the gossip of two continents, are types of the present. The great voice of poetry has died down into a few artificial notes, that have neither the vigour, nor the secret of inspiration. All the chief singers of the Victorian era, except one, are hushed in death. Swinburne lives, but is silent. The Poet-Laureate seems to have already passed out of public consideration. There are but two names before the world to-day, and they are called by the damning term of 'minor poets,'—Stephen Phillips and William Watson. There is one great poet—a Catholic—Francis Thompson; but he, having given to men of all he was worth, and they were unworthy, has flung his two volumes, with a kind of disdain, at the world's feet, and passed, like a wise man, into the peace and seclusion of a Franciscan monastery. Mr. Lecky, representing history, has just passed away; and amongst the vast crowd of writers, who come under the general designation of 'Men of Letters,' and the great majority of whom are mere magazine writers with but ephemeral reputations, there seems but one, who will conquer the neglect of time, and the indifference and coquetry of fame—and that, too, is a Catholic—Dr. William Barry. Ireland alone appears to be alive amidst the general torpor. The breath of life that seems to have abandoned a dead world is passing through her veins.

What, then, has the 'Dawn of the Century' to show? What are the manifestations that we have to study; and how are we to forecast the future from the symptoms of the present?

Travellers who have ventured to climb the steep ascent and dread escarpments of Vesuvius tell us of the feeling of utter solitude and desolation they experience when they have reached half-way up the mountain. They walk ankle-deep in hot ashes; the half-cooled streams of lava, ridged and smooth, are here and there on every side; the air is dark and sulphurous, and difficult to breathe; the guides are timid and uncertain about proceeding further. All around is horror upon horror; and their hearts are chilled with a sense of loneliness and fear. Yet, looking upward

and onward, there is something more terrible. The cloud that ever hangs above the crater is lurid from the sulphurous fires beneath, and now and again the mountain is shaken by the deep reverberations of the terrible forces that are trying to free themselves there beneath the surface, and high into the air is flung a burning shower of ashes and scoriæ and red-hot stones, and new streams of molten lava are poured down the mountain side. Here is desolation; but there is death. The frightened travellers dare not look upwards; they look around them and behind them, and ask many questions of their guides as to how best they may retrace their steps. Such is the attitude of the intellectual world of to-day. All around it is desolation—the desolation of abandoned spirits on the lonely heights. It dares not look forward. There is but death. Its guides—the prophets of agnosticism—are dumb. All it can do is to stop and look back, and try to see if haply the past can be any guide to the future. Its attitude then to-day is essentially retrospective. It is wearied and tired and frightened. Nothing remains but to study the past, and see is there a gleam of hope, a guidance of life for the enigmatic future that lies before it. Let us, for our own wise ends, follow the example, looking through its eyes, and see what were the forces that guided the world into its present perilous condition, and leave it there with the ashes of dead faiths about its feet.

The great intellectual forces of the nineteenth century resolved themselves into two movements, known to historians as the transcendental and empirical. The former sprang from the writings of Rousseau; affected, even created, the French Revolution, broadened out and developed into the great German systems of philosophy, passed into England and coloured the poetry of Wordsworth and Coleridge, generated in France a whole tribe of soliloquists and dreamers, and finally was caught up and crystallised in the half-prophetic, half-delirious preachings and rantings of Carlyle. Thence it crossed the Atlantic, inspired and originated New England Transcendentalism through the Concord School of philosophy, of which Emerson, a pupil of Carlyle's, was chief prophet. The essential characteristics

of this school were vagueness and abstraction. It took its very name from the fancy that this new knowledge *transcended* all experience, and was quite independent of reason, authority, the testimony of the senses, or the testimony of mankind. Its knowledge was intuitive and abstract. It despised definition. It taught the swift and immediate grasping of a something unrevealed and indefinite, which had hitherto eluded all human effort to compass, embrace, or define. Hence its terminology was vague. It spoke freely of the Infinite, the Infinite Nothing, the Infinite Essence of Things. Then the Germans invented a more prosaic name—the thing that is NOT-I. Coleridge made sub-divisions and introduced the now well-worn words, subjective and objective knowledge. Carlyle spoke of Eternal Verities, the Immensities, the Infinite, the Eternal Silences, etc. Emerson wrote of it as the Over-Soul, the Spirit of the Universe. How far all this differed from pure Pantheism it were difficult to say; but it permeated all literature—history was studied by its light, poetry was inspired by it, it ran through all fiction, became a religious creed, until men everywhere sought the Secret of Being in the question put by Coleridge:—

And what if all of animated nature
Be but organic harps diversely framed,
That tremble into thought, as o'er them sweeps,
Plastic and vast, one intellectual breeze,
At once the Soul of each, and God of all?

Then, somewhere about the middle of the century, men began to ask whether there was any rule of conduct, any code of ethics, under all this cloudy verbiage. Men are known by their works. Systems are judged by their results. What have you to show for all this transcendentalism? How does it affect human life, human relations, human progress? How do such doctrines influence the political commonwealth by educating statesmen into higher ideas of political advancement and social amelioration? What do your prophets say? And lo! it began to be whispered that the sentimental Rousseau did actually send his children away to be shut up in an orphan asylum; and that Carlyle,

interpreting the Infinite Verities as merely brute, blind force, did defend the man who broke his word of honour hundreds of times, and carried fire and sword into every valley and hamlet and town in Ireland; and honoured the Governor who scourged with whips of wire the naked slaves of Jamaica; and wrote his 'Iliad in a nutshell' to condemn the Northern States of America for the emancipation of the Negro. And yet, it would be unjust not to say that Transcendentalism did raise men's minds above a sordid level. If its dogmas were vague, at least it appealed to the higher instincts and emotions. It certainly rated spiritual and mental life above the adjuncts of mere material existence. It took men away from mammon-worship and self-seeking; and by insisting on the paramount importance of Duty, and the vast responsibilities of our short, but sublime existence on this planet, it gave the young particularly higher conceptions of their calling, and put many on the high road towards nobler and sweeter lives. In Fichte's *Nature of the Scholar*; in Carlyle's *Past and Present*; and in Emerson's *Address to the American Scholar*, you will find all this exemplified. Yet, men were not satisfied. All these nebulous hypotheses about Over-Souls and Immensities could not satisfy the imperious demand of the ever-impatient mind of man for something more structural and solid. The eternal question arose as to the First Principles; and reason and logic alike declared the fundamental truth: No Dogma; no Ethics! A rule of life for men and nations must be founded on something more solid than mere verbal abstractions. Yet, all this time, de Maistre in France, Newman in England, were thundering this very truth into the ears of the multitude; but the multitude looked everywhere for illumination, except from the central sun.

Suddenly, a momentous change swept over human thought. With one bound, it leaped to the opposite extreme. 'We are tired of abstractions,' it cried. 'We want facts! No more intuition, but demonstration! Reason shall be omnipotent. There is Nature under our eyes and hands. We will question her; and she will

answer. She will give up her secrets to us, and we will build our systems upon them. We will tear open the bowels of the mountains, and read their signs, as the haruspices of old read the entrails of the sacred, sacrificial fowl, and augured well or ill from the revelation. We will pull down the stars from the skies, weigh them, and test their constituents. We will seek the elemental forces of Nature, and there we shall find the elemental truths. We will pry into all things and everywhere, dredge the seas, sweep the rivers, drag fossils out of Mammoth Caves, construct the forms of dead leviathans from one bone, examine the dust of stars in shattered ærolites, and the structure of the animal creation in the spawn of frogs by the wayside pool, or the tadpoles in the month of May. And we shall find that all things are made for man; and that man alone is the Omnipotent and Divine.' Poets took up the pæan of the New Era, and sang it in verse that is more immortal than the cause. Tennyson laid aside his Higher Pantheism, and all the idealizations of youth to chaunt the praises of the new pioneers of humanity. And the world took up the cry. Through the steamship, the telegraph, distance was annihilated. Mankind was shaken by new emotions. The world was moved from its solid basis; and began to shift its centres of population. Old countries were dispeopled; and new states formed, out of a curious congeries of mixed and very dissimilar nationalities. The agricultural masses began to sweep into the towns which rapidly grew into cities under the increase of population. Vast buildings were flung into the sky, filled with all modern appliances and conveniences; and in the exultation of the moment, men looked back upon the past with a kind of pitying ridicule. 'We are done with cloud-building and abstractions for ever,' they said. 'We have facts instead of faith. This is our earth, our world; and we want no other. The ultimate triumph of humanity is at hand!'

And then?—well, then, at the very height of all this pride, men suddenly discovered that under all this huge mechanism and masonry, they had actually driven out the soul of man; and they began to ask themselves: Is this

the result? And is it a result that we can boast of? Empiricism has triumphed. But is the building of skyscrapers, the slaughter of so many million of hogs, the stretching of wires across our cities, our underground railways, our sea-tunnels—is all this a substitute or compensation for all the ideals we have sacrificed and lost? And when men began to see that beneath all this material splendour, every noble quality that distinguishes man was utterly extinguished; when they saw the horrors of their midnight streets, the masses festering in city slums, the great gulf broadening between the rich and poor, selfishness, greed, Mammon-worship, the extinction of the weak, the sovereignty of the strong, the cruelty, the brutality, that are ever latent in the human heart, developed by the new civilization, they began to shrink back appalled from their own creation, and to think that after all, ‘man liveth not by bread alone.’ And if for a moment they hesitated about this new belief in the terrible destructiveness of a Godless science, there came, ever and anon, the deep mutterings of a new terror, the very offspring of the science they had worshipped—the spectre of socialism and anarchy. ‘Yes,’ cried the latter, ‘we, too, are the children of science. Nay more, we are its servants and ministers; we feed its furnaces with shades over our eyes to protect them from the blinding glare; we work ten hours a day, stripped to the waist, and buckets of water have to be flung over us from time to time to cool our burning flesh; and you, dressed in your silks, with your Turkish baths and servants to fan you from the slightest breath of a summer wind! Who hath decreed this inequality? It is our labour and sweat that have built up your eighty millions of dollars, and our guerdon is barely a dollar a day. You roll by in your Pullman, whilst we keep the road clear for you under a tropical sun. Your children are absolutely weakened with excessive luxury; ours are starving, body and soul, in the slums. And after all, where is the difference between you and us? You doubt it. We’ll prove it. You are the same clay as we. Mark you, this dagger will pierce your flesh, this tiny bullet will extinguish your life. You have whipped us

with scorpions. But we hereby order that you shall sleep beneath the crossed bayonets of your soldiers; that your mightiest Emperor and Czar shall never enter Rome; and you must draw a cordon of soldiers around the quays of New York to save your President's life from the pious vengeance of our emissaries.' So says, in unmistakable language, the latest creation of Empiricism, and the poets take up the cry; and the prophetic voice that chaunted the glories of science in 'Locksley Hall,' grows hoarse in its wailings over a lost world in the 'Locksley Hall Sixty Years After.' Yes! Science hath wrested all its secrets from Nature, but one, the great secret, which she never reveals but to the children of faith.

The attitude of the intellectual world to-day, then, is an attitude of waiting; and in waiting, an attitude of indifferentism. Not indifference, because it is actually aware of its critical condition, and looks forward with anxious eyes. Nay, from time to time, it turns around and gazes towards the Eternal City and the Supreme Pontiff; and in view of the powerlessness of states and governments to conquer the anarchy that seethes in every Empire, it is watching the Church with a 'perhaps' upon its lips. Great Kings have already gone thither, and their royal pilgrimages were universally interpreted as an admission that Rome alone could battle with the new forces which irreligion had let loose on the world; and the peoples, following their royal masters, and in view not only of shattered faith, but of shattered beliefs in human systems, that promised so much and performed so little, are beginning to ask if, after all that has been said and suggested, Rome alone held the secret of the stability of Empires, and the safety and happiness of the individual in those doctrines and precepts which she preaches so uncompromisingly to an unbelieving and scoffing world. Across the Atlantic, where she has more freedom than in older and more conservative states, she is making rapid progress. There, too, the distinction of classes is more sharply drawn, because there wealth and poverty reach greater extremes than in older countries. And there is wanting in America that

strong conservatism, born of traditional feudalism, that is saving, in some measure, the thrones of Europe. And the non-Catholic world of America is beginning to perceive that should the forces of Anarchy and Socialism ever break bounds and attempt revolution, there is no moral force to stop the outbreak but the Catholic Church. Hence, statesmen and Presidents court friendship, if not alliance, with the American hierarchy; and the advance of education, wherein our Catholic schools take a leading place, is gradually acting as a solvent on ancient prejudices brought from the mother country, and fostered by designing and militant controversialists.

But you will reasonably ask, what has all this to do with us who are destined to work within the four seas of Ireland? Tell us something about our own country, its wants, its aspirations, its capabilities, its dangers. We pity the world, stranded there on the mountain heights, unable to go backward, afraid to go forward, its guides dumb and impotent under the spell of modern agnosticism. But we are more deeply concerned about our own people with whom all our best interests are identified. Well, you have a right to ask the question, although, as I shall show you, you have need, too, to be much interested in the attitude of the intellectual world beyond the seas.

I have said, that the breath of a new life has been breathed on our old land. The eternal vitality of our race, not to be extinguished by rack or gibbet, Penal Law or Grecian gift, has broken out these last few years in a vast intellectual revival, the consequences of which it would be difficult to measure to-day. It would seem as if whilst the population waned, the intellectual forces of the country became concentrated in a great effort towards national regeneration. All the best elements of the country seem to unite in a forward movement, that promises well for the future of our country and our race. Our poets have given up the ballads and battle-songs which were so familiar a half-century ago; and gone back to Pre-Christian times for inspiration. A National Theatre has been established for the stage reproduction of dramas, founded on the epics, or

history, or legends of the past ; and the race is more interested with the wars of the Firbolgs and Danaans than with the struggles of the Gael and the Pale. And the attempt to save from extinction that greatest heirloom of the race—our National language—has eventuated in an all-round revival of national sports and pastimes, music and literature, which to one, who witnessed the apathy of a dozen years ago, must seem phenomenal. Yet, there is just a discordant and dangerous note even here. If some Hellenists in England and France have raised the cry : Back to Greece from Christianity ! Back to the beautiful physical life, the art, the drama, the music, the freedom of ancient Hellas, from the restraints and asceticism of Christianity ; there are not wanting amongst ourselves, a certain class of art-worshippers and nature-worshippers, who seem to prefer the free unlicensed Pagan freedom of our forefathers to the sweeter influences which Christianity introduced. I do not regard this, however, as a dangerous symptom. I do not think the work of St. Patrick and fourteen centuries of Saints and Scholars is likely to be frustrated by a few Neo-Pagans and Æsthètes in our time.

Then, of course, with the advance of education, and the creation of the class of the ‘educated-unemployed,’ there must be a certain amount of restlessness, and chafing under control, and a spirit of criticism and censoriousness, which can only be dissipated by larger educational training, or the judicious employment of those who have won distinction in our Colleges and Intermediate Schools. A few weeks ago, on the occasion of the apostasy of a certain realistic novelist, one of our Irish papers had the following paragraph :—

The personality of Mr. Moore would not be worth even a contemptuous reference, were it not that there are thousands of young Irishmen in some of our big cities, whose minds are being slowly and gradually, and very surely, poisoned by influences which lead directly towards the abysmal gulf of George Mooreism. Speeches have been delivered and paragraphs have been printed quite recently which indicate that the speakers and writers are drifting, perhaps imperceptibly, but none the less

steadily, towards a frame of mind, doubting, carping, hypercritical, which will not in the end be distinguishable from Continental Atheism.

And as if to emphasize and corroborate these words, we had, a few days after they appeared, an expression of opinion from the highest quarters to the same effect—that there were probably here amongst ourselves certain thinkers, too small of stature and too limited in numbers to form a school, but whose antipathies and desires seem to run parallel with those of the unhappy men who are bringing ruin upon Catholic France. These things are not alarming, but significant. They are symptoms which we cannot disregard.

II

Such then is the vision of the world as it is shown to us here in the dawn of our century. But I should not have travelled one hundred and eighty miles to reveal to you what might be unfolded from every page of modern literature, if I had not the larger object of applying to your own needs the lessons that may be derived from such a review of modern fact and thought; and of forecasting your own part in their future developments. In making such a practical application, I should feel less scrupulous if I were speaking to older heads than yours. Mind I do not say 'wiser' heads, for I am one of those who think that sometimes the splendid disdain of youth is more than the cautious and careful feeling forward of age. But I should feel then that my words were merely tentative and experimental. But here I feel that I am casting seminal ideas into souls whose principles have not yet hardened in the mould of experience; and which, therefore, owing to this very plasticity, need to be formed on lines that shall be drawn altogether right and fair and well-proportioned. I feel, too, that, as time goes by, each of you will be perforce compelled to try my words at the bar of experience; and there are many counsellors there, and in the multitude thereof there is not much wisdom. Nay, you will be tossed hither and thither by every wind of opinion in your latter lives. You will have to see principles

which you deemed irrefragable, ruthlessly challenged and set aside; and you will have to face the worst of all mental trials—the adjustment of your conduct to lofty ideals, which, however, will be altogether inconsistent with your interests and immediate happiness. Amidst this eternal fluctuation of human opinion, and rushing together of thoughts, feelings, and principles, chaotic and confusing enough—one star shines, ever fixed, immovable, shedding its soft, lambent light across your life-way, fixed as the Polar Star, and bright as Phosphor—the Star of Duty. There is no drawing the curtains across its light, no seeking to shut out its piercing rays. It will shine through darkness as of Erebus; and pierce even through recesses where the soul seeks to hide itself from itself. And what is that Duty?

I doubt if there be a more dramatic scene in all human history than that which took place on a certain mountain in Judæa some twenty centuries ago. A young man, apparently a mere carpenter's son, had just dismissed a wondering, admiring crowd, who had begun to speak of Him as the 'Prophet of Nazareth'; and had gathered around Him a few of His disciples, to whom He had to say more solemn and sacred things. They, that handful of men, were raw, illiterate, unkempt, half-naked; their hands rough from toil, their scanty clothes glistening with the scales of the fish they had pulled from the lake beneath them. And what was his message? After quietly setting aside all hitherto-recognised principles of human wisdom, He suddenly addressed them:—

You are the light of the world! You are the salt of the earth!

What! A lot of half-clad, semi-savage Israelites—the light of the world? Hear it, O ye sophists over there in Athens, listening to the calm, cultured wisdom of one of your rhetoricians, as he expounds and develops the ever-new beauties of the master-minds of Greece! And hear it, O ye Romans, listening in your white togas in the Forum to the greatest of your orators, and the most profound of your philosophers! Hear and wonder at this sublime audacity—

a young tradesman in one of your conquered provinces is telling a handful of fishermen that they are 'the light of the world.' Not you Plato, nor you Socrates; not you Cicero or Seneca; but Peter, the fisherman, and Matthew, the publican; and this boy whom they call John—these are the light of the world! Who could believe it? Well, we, taught by Revelation, by history, by the subversion of an intellectualism that was Pagan, and the substitution of a folly that is Divine—we believe it, and we know it.

And if our Lord were justified in pronouncing and prophesying such a sublime vocation for His disciples, am I not right in saying to you, the future priests of Ireland: You are the Light of the World! You are the Salt of the Earth? Yes! the pure white light that strikes here from Rome is broken up into a hundred, a thousand rays that penetrate even to the ends of the earth. Maynooth is the Propaganda of the West, and you are its Apostles! Now what does that connote?

Although primarily intended for the training of priests of the Irish mission, this great College has become of late years as much a Foreign College as All Hallows,—it is, let me repeat it, for I glory in the title and all its vast significances—the Western Propaganda! Yes! we cannot suppress our instincts—we cannot deny our vocation—we cannot refuse our mission. We are the Apostles of the world to-day. Even in my own remote village, within the last few months, we had three or four deputations of nuns from Cape Colony, from Dakota, from Los Angeles, seeking amongst our Irish children what apparently cannot be found elsewhere on this planet—those pure minds, that keen intelligence, and that personal love of God, that are the constituents of a religious vocation. The same is true all over Ireland. And you, gentlemen, many of you, may—must go abroad, to other countries, and amidst a people different from your own. Instead of the happy, religious, sunny children of Faith, you will have to speak to the people on the gloomy hillside, their feet in the hot ashes, the desolation of unfaith around them, and their guides as dumb and panic-stricken as themselves. You will meet them everywhere. They will come

to hear your sermons in some English church, and to challenge you about your faith on Monday morning. They will cry to you through the Press; and half insolently, half pleadingly, they will ask for light. You will meet them at dinner tables in country houses, and they will ask you, amid the dinner courses, strange questions about modern beliefs or disbeliefs. And if you are the light of the world remember the solemn injunction: Let your light shine before men! Now, these strange, sad people, to whom you, a Catholic priest, are a mysterious, solemn, unintelligible anachronism, will speak to you, not in your language—the language of faith, but in their own tongue; and that you must set yourselves to understand and interpret. If you care to influence them you must go over to their side, stand on their platform, look through their eyes. They know nothing of you—your philosophy, your theology; but if you let them see that you know all about them, it gains their confidence, lessens their pride, shows them that you have seen all, understand all, and that your light is not a shaded lamp, but a sun that penetrates every corner and recess of the human heart. Hence, in pursuing your philosophical or theological studies, you need to have an objective before your mind. Rid yourselves of the idea that yours is routine work. Study that you may know, know that you may understand, understand that you may communicate your knowledge to others. ‘Let your light shine before men!’

In one of Rudyard Kipling’s earliest books he tells of how a raw regiment of British troops was brought up from the lowlands to the Afghan hills to break up and destroy an Afghan horde that were hidden in a gut or ghaut of the mountains. They marched gaily, to the sound of fife and drum, into the valley, deployed, advanced in close formation, saw the enemy grouped ahead, were ordered to fire. They shut their eyes and fired—a half ton of lead into—the bodies of the Afghans? No! Into the ground! In an instant the Afghans were upon them, slashing them, right and left with their terrible triangular knives, and in a moment the British regiment was in full flight, whilst the

Colonel tore his hair and cursed freely from an adjacent height.

Well, you must not waste your forces thus; but always have a clear and well-defined objective before you in all your studies. And to-day, as in the century just dead, you will find that those whom you have to contend with, and those you have to enlighten, divide themselves into the easily recognised classes of Transcendentalists and Empiricists—the mystic and the scientist, the vague dreamer of dreams, and the hard, unimaginative reasoner. And if it pleases God that abroad you shall be called upon to defend your faith in public or in private, by sermon, lecture, or newspaper, see that you quit yourselves like men; and give honour to God, your country, and your faith. But here, in these sacred halls, your preparation must be made. This is your gymnasium, your training-ground. And, if you prove worthy of yourselves, you will have your reward even here below.

That was a sublime moment, when Ingersoll, the Atheistic lecturer, was suddenly called to account by a young Irish Catholic in his audience. He was going on gaily, demolishing Churches, and Revelations, and Christianity, when the young man shouted: ‘What does Father Lambert say to that?’ And the hardened atheist stopped suddenly, and after a long pause replied: ‘Yes, friend, I admit that if there be any Revelation it is that which Father Lambert has defended; and if there be any Christianity, it is that of the Church he represents!’ And that was another sublime moment when another young Irish priest in another American city took up the cause of Holy Church against six or seven ministers, and defended himself, week after week, against their combined assault. It was a brave, nay, almost, a perilous act. For every day, the city was moved, as at a Presidential election. The labourers, at their dinner hour, cut short the time and rushed the cafés, hotels, and newspaper offices with the cry: ‘Is Father —— on to-day?’ And when they found he was ‘on,’ one mounted a barrel, and read the priest’s defence to the admiring multitude. And when at last, in spite of every effort to compromise and

condemn the Catholic Church with the old stock objections about Galileo, Inquisitions, St. Bartholomew's massacres, etc., attack after attack was resisted and beaten back by this young priest, and his adversaries, one by one, slunk from the field, and one, an Episcopalian minister, was actually compelled to close his church, then in the moment of victory, his countrymen gathered around their young champion, collected a sum of £6,000 to help him to decorate his church; the tram-conductors of the city, Irish to a man, presented him with a service of silver plate; and even the Protestant community honoured his valour, and the President of the State appointed him regent of the State University, an unprecedented honour for a Catholic priest.

But, with all that I must not forget that the great majority of you, gentlemen, are destined to spend your lives in the service of your own people, and in your native land. Happy are you beyond the apostles of your race abroad, for you will have the most faithful and deeply-religious people on earth to minister to—a people, who will look up to you with a kind of idolatry as the representative of all they revere in time and eternity. I am speaking now of the great masses of the people, especially the poor. There is nothing like them on the earth. Your chief work will be to lead them on to the higher life; and I am rather sorry that this part of our ministry is not so well understood. What I mean is, that the people need only direction, I mean ascetic direction, to spring at once into the highest and most heroic sanctity. And I earnestly hope, that some at least of you, gentlemen, will find time from other studies to examine the principles and practices of ascetic theology, the direction of souls into the higher life, and such holy mysticism as you will find in the works of St. Teresa or St. John of the Cross. This is the transcendentalism which the Church acknowledges, and which has been the practise of all the saints.

But, as I warned you before, you will have another class to deal with—the semi-educated, the critical, the censorious. Some of these will dislike you, because their

lives are not modelled on Christian principles, and your life is a perpetual protest against theirs. Your sermons, your life, your insistence on the great Christian Verities fret them beyond endurance, and they hate you. *Odit vos mundus!* There is another class, which is not irreligious, but which seems to blot out of their mental horizon any one under the rank of an Archdeacon. These may be good Catholics, but they do not concern us here. They are not an appreciable quantity, so far as we are concerned. There is a third class, and to these I direct your special attention, as they touch closely on that intellectual, godless world of which I have already spoken. There is no use in our trying to close our eyes to the fact that many of our young Catholics have imbibed the Continental spirit, and set themselves up as judges, not only of individuals, even those in the highest offices in the Church, but even of the dogmas of Catholic Faith. These are the people who will tell you that the Dreyfus case was urged on by the Catholic Bishops of France, that persecution of the Religious Orders to-day is not the work of Combes, but has arisen from the jealousies between the regular and the secular clergy in France, that the Bishops were even compelled to call in the aid of the Government to save them from the encroachments of monks and nuns. The same class will coolly tell you that all the evils of Ireland can be traced to the action of the Catholic Church; and if you question them about their authorities, they will quote the infidel papers of Paris; or such a historian as Froude. Then they pass to dogma. Indulgences, Prayers for the Dead, the sacramentals of the Church, the little devotions of the faithful, are *anathema maranatha* to these highly cultivated folk, who condescend to go to Mass, and, under a certain tacit coercion of public opinion, to attend to the Easter Duty.

With that class, and, indeed, with all others, one safe principle may be laid down—that the Irish priest must be in advance of his people, educationally, by at least fifty years. The priests have the lead, and they must keep it. But the right of leadership, now so often questioned, must be supported by tangible and repeated proofs; and these proofs

must concern not only your spiritual authority, but your intellectual superiority. The young priest who has lectured on 'Hamlet' in the town hall on Thursday night, is listened to with deeper respect on Sunday morning. The priest who conducts a long and laborious experiment before a literary and scientific society in any of our cities is, henceforward, an acknowledged and unquestioned guide in his village. And the priest who, quietly and without temper, overthrows one of those carping critics at a dinner-party, may confirm, without the possibility of its being disturbed again, the faith of many who were present, and whose beliefs, perhaps, were rudely shaken by the impertinence of the shallow criticism to which they had just been listening. No, in Ireland at least, gentlemen, we must not hide our light under a bushel. Our national Church must be the 'city built on the high mountains.' And we must not grovel, nor make excuses, nor apologise for our existence. We have the lead, and we must keep it! What all that connotes and signifies I must leave to yourselves to imagine and develop.

But there is one thing in which, above all others, we must keep ahead of our people—the supreme matter of priestly holiness. And this takes me away from your outer duties to address yourselves. I have kept the good wine to the last; and, alas! I have left you but little time to drink it. But, probably, these, my first, will also be my last words to you; and I desire to throw into them all the emphasis of which I am capable. In after life you will increase your intellectual stores; you will enlarge your intellectual horizon. By large reading and much reflection you will find yourselves, in ten or twenty years, in quite a different sphere of thought from that in which you are placed to-day. Your education will only commence the day you leave college and enter the larger life. But in one department you shall never advance or improve—I mean the department of spiritual science. The principles taught now by your professors and spiritual guides are fixed and unchangeable; if ever you change or abandon them, it will be to your temporal detriment and eternal ruin. What do I mean?

You are taught now that on the day when the Pontiff

places his hands on your heads, and your fingers clasp the chalice, you are raised to the highest dignity on earth. That is true. You are taught that you are more than kings on their thrones, or ministers in their cabinets. That is true. You are taught that you are more than the angels or archangel. That is true. Furthermore, you are instructed that it is by no choice of yours, or your parents, that you are raised to the sacerdotal dignity. That is true. For you are instructed that the Divine Master applies to you the words He applied to His Apostles: 'You have not chosen Me; but I have chosen you.' You are also warned that no sanctity, however great, can be deemed commensurate with so high an office; and that your lives, and all that is connected with them, your talents, abilities, mental and spiritual faculties, are also placed in pledge with Christ for the fulfilment of your sublime vocation. Why do I insist on such patent and palpable truths? Because you will be tempted to deny them. Experience, so much lauded as a successful master, is also a most dangerous master. It teaches, we know; but often it teaches perilous and subversive doctrines. And the worst and most deadly temptation of your lives will come from experience the day that, looking around you and watching the ways and lives of men, you will utter that word of the Psalmist: *Omnis homo mendax!* or the more melancholy verdict of St. Paul: 'All seek their own interests; not the interests of Jesus Christ!' Beware of that moment; for it is in that moment you will be tempted to forget, or deny, the sacred principles you have learned in these halls. You will be tempted to believe that your sacred office is not a mission and vocation, but a mere profession; and that you are at liberty to introduce the language, and the customs, and the principles of the world into that sanctuary, where the maxims of the Gospel alone should be recognised and accepted. You will stand for a moment half-paralysed with the spectacle of men rushing wildly into forbidden paths, and then, panic-stricken, you will be tempted to follow the herd with its treasonable cry: *EGO et Rex Meus!* If you harbour that temptation for a moment, in that

moment you have bartered and forfeited your birthright ; you have cancelled the charter of your nobility ; you have revoked your oath of ordination ; and from being a *miles et amicus Christi* you have descended to be the slave and sycophant of self.

Hence the necessity of acquiring here, and developing hereafter, a certain phase of character, which I can only designate as 'individualism.' You must study to be self-centred, self-poised on the strong summits of conscience, not moving to left or right at every breath of opinion. This is quite compatible with that modesty, that humility, that gentleness that always characterize thoughtful minds—minds that move on a high plane, and that will not descend to the vulgarities or commonplaces of ordinary men. Priests of this class or calibre never forget their college lessons. But whilst striving in remote hamlets, as Workhouse Chaplains, or even in the slums of large cities, to develop themselves intellectually by wholesome and judicious studies, they are ever sensible of the gentle whispers of their Master, first heard here, never to be stifled in after life—'You are the light of the world ! You are the salt of the earth.' 'You have not chosen Me, but I have chosen you !' 'I do not any longer call you servants, but friends.' 'Filioli mei.' Ah, these are the 'burning and shining lights' of the Church of Christ, within whose rays men shelter themselves for warmth and illumination ; who cannot be extinguished in life by envy or hatred or criticism ; who even in Death leave behind them in memory a certain twilight or aurora, for their words and works survive them ; and many a soul, recalling them from the peace of eternity, justifies the presumption in the words of the Psalmist :—

Thy Word was a lamp to my feet ;
And a light along my ways !

Here is what you have to strive after ; here is what you have to attain, if you desire to maintain the traditions of the Irish Church ; and to be, in very deed, the leaders of your people, the shepherds of your flock !

And so I, passing rapidly into the evening of life, say

this farewell word to you in the morning of your days, and in the dawn of the century, where your life-work shall be placed. The intellectual and spiritual energies, gathered into this hall to-night, must exercise a tremendous influence in that future, when emancipated, they will have free play, and a boundless sphere of action. It is a pathetic, yet consoling thought that, when, far out in the century, our faces shall be upturned to the stars, you will be striving for the same eternal cause as that for which we shall have spent ourselves. Nor have I a moment's doubt, that when the torch falls from our feeble hands, you will take it up and carry it forward through all those years that are sweeping towards us from Infinity, and that come fraught with such solemn issues for the country we love, the Faith to which we cling, the Church, which is our Mistress and our Queen, and Him, who is our Captain and our *King*.

THE RISE AND PROGRESS OF HIGHER CRITICISM

ELOHIM AND JEHOVA

AN incident connected with these words occupies a unique position in the history of modern rationalistic misinterpretation of Scripture. As we saw already, it was the regular appearance of the one and the other alternately in certain passages of Genesis that suggested to the unconscious founder of higher criticism the central idea or the germ of his dangerous theory. Astruc, indeed, was not the first to notice this frequent recurrence, but he was the first to make it the basis of a system. He thought that the two largest and most important among the numerous documents from which he supposed Moses to have compiled Genesis, could be distinguished from the rest and from each other by means of the names which they respectively employed to denote God. His hypothesis was that the series of Elohim passages, if put together, would form one document, which he called 'A'; and in the same way that the scattered Jehova passages would, if recombined, represent another document to which he gave the title of 'B.'

In our Vulgate version almost everywhere the first of these names is represented by *Deus*, and the second by *Dominus*. Of course we know that only He is *Dominus* Who is *Deus*, and conversely, hence when speaking Latin we may often use these divine appellations indiscriminately yet there are special occasions when we feel the need of speaking precisely, or circumstances in which we employ these words respectively in order to connote different attributes or distinct aspects of the One Supreme Being. We then select the fit word and call God *Deus* for one reason, and *Dominus* for another. Long ago the first of the Latin Fathers observed that in the version of Genesis which he

was accustomed to read, a distinction of this kind was made. In his treatise against Hermogenes he says :—

Scriptura nobis patrocinator, quae utrumque nomen ei distinxit et suo tempore ostendit. Nam Deus quidem, quod erat semper, statim nominat ; in *principio fecit Deus cælum et terram* : ac deinceps, quamdiu faciebat quorum Dominus futurus erat, Deus solummodo ponit ; *et dixit Deus, et fecit Deus* ; et nusquam adhuc Dominus. At ubi universa perfecit, ipsumque vel maxime hominem qui proprie Dominus intellecturus erat, tunc etiam Dominus nomen adjunxit ; *et accepit Dominus hominem*, etc.

And St. Augustine evidently agrees with Tertullian, for he makes the following remark in his work, *De Genesi ad litteram* :—

Proinde nullo modo vacare arbitror, sed nos aliquid et magnum aliquid admonere, quod ab ipso divini libri hujus exordio, ex quo ita cœptus est, *In principio fecit Deus cælum et terram*, usque ad hunc locum nusquam positum est *Dominus Deus*, sed tantummodo *Deus* ; nunc vero ubi ad id ventum est, ut hominem in paradiso constitueret, eumque per praeceptum operaretur et custodiret, ita Scriptura locuta est, *et sumpsit Dominus Deus hominem quem fecit et posuit eum in Paradiso operari eum et custodire* : non quod supradictarum creaturarum Dominus non esset Deus, sed quia hoc nec propter angelos nec propter alia quae creata sunt, sed propter hominem scribebatur, ad eum admonendum quantum ei expediat habere Dominum Deum, hoc est, sub ejus dominatione obedenter vivere quam licentiose abuti propria potestate, nusquam hoc prius ponere voluit, nisi ubi perventum est ad eum in paradiso collocandum, operandum et custodiendum.

The alternative use in the Latin version of these two names, *Dominus* and *Deus*, which as we saw above respectively correspond to *Jehova* and *Elohim*, suggests at once the further question whether these Hebrew words also differ in signification, and if so in what that difference may consist. Before entering into details, it is just as well to say at once that a certain shade of meaning, or *nuance*, is expressed by one of the names exclusively. This is, indeed, only what we should expect ; for it is not in the nature of human speech that any two words such as *Jehova* and *Elohim* should possess for an appreciable length of time exactly the same signification and import. Even supposing that

originally they were equivalent terms, some variance in connotation would be sure to arise. Synonyms serve a purpose, and are on that account likely to be both numerous and permanent; but heteronyms as being superfluous are of necessity but few and fleeting. For language spontaneously rids itself of the encumbrance caused by two words identical in meaning and application, either by quietly dropping one of them, or else by restricting it henceforth to the indication of a definite and distinct aspect of the common subject. If, then, the material word is not doomed to disappear, it must change part of its meaning; it must develop into a synonym, if it is to continue to exist; it must be of some use, if it is to retain its position.

Hence, were we merely reasoning from a universal law of the evolution of language, or judging the present question from the standpoint of antecedent probability, we should say that seemingly there ought to be some difference in meaning between these two Hebrew names for God; that *Jehova* presumably connoted some attribute or relationship which *Elohim* did not, or *vice versa*. And if we proceeded to suppose a concrete instance, we should think that in Scripture there would in all likelihood be found certain contexts to which one of these divine titles would be more suitable than the other.

Assuming, however, for the present, the truth of what was stated above, as we are justified in doing, our next step naturally is, to examine the actual employment of these names in Genesis and in the first six chapters of Exodus. But here at the outset a question in textual criticism confronts us. Are we sure that in every single instance the name we see before us now in our ordinary Hebrew Bibles, is the one that Moses used? The question is an indispensable one, for, unless we know the facts, it is worse than useless to speculate about their probable cause.

In reply it must be said, that in a small number of passages, some of which will be mentioned later on, the reading is not absolutely certain. But, on the contrary, in the vast majority of instances the MSS. of both the Hebrew and the Samaritan texts, and those of the ancient

versions as well, agree in testifying to the presence either of Elohim or of Jehova, and, therefore, in all these places the correctness of the reading is sufficiently and satisfactorily guaranteed. Consequently, until evidence to the contrary has been produced—a most unlikely contingency—scholars may rest assured that they know what Moses wrote.

But our readers will not suppose from what has been said that even the Hebrew Masoretic text in every passage meets with unquestioning acceptance. For instance, in Genesis xvi. 11, we read: 'Thou shalt bring forth a son and thou shalt call his name Ismael, because the Lord hath heard thy affliction.' The etymology of the name is given here. It comes, as the angel explains to Agar, from 'Isma' = *heard*, and from 'El' = *God*. But if an etymology founded partly on one of the divine names be taken as an indubitable sign that originally this divine name and no other was used, then it follows that in respect of this, the Hebrew text has been corrupted, because here it reads, 'Jehova (*i.e.*, *the Lord*), has heard thy affliction.' It is equally evident that El is the only one of all the divine titles that can be the second component of the name of Agar's son. Professor Hoberg of Freiburg University attaches great importance to the presence here of the word Jehova, which he regards as proof positive of deliberate alteration. However, with all due respect to the Catholic *savant*, it may still be thought that inasmuch as El and Jehova are only different names for the same God, the word we read now in Genesis is the one spoken by the angel, particularly if a probable reason for the selection can be assigned.¹

On the other hand if, as Hoberg thinks, Jehova was substituted for El, can he explain why was not at the same time Ismael changed into Ismaia? Consistency would demand it. The name Ismaia, which means 'Jehova heard,' does actually occur in 1 Paralipomenon xxvii. 19. If it were introduced into Genesis xvi. 11, it would satisfy the requirements of a verbal explanation dependent on the

¹ See Hengstenberg on the Pentateuch, vol. i., p. 346.

name Jehova which is supposed to have been in the immediate context. But we must acknowledge that we have no confidence in conjectural emendations undertaken in order to make the text suit a theory, and that we derive anything but satisfaction from an examination of Hoberg's work in this respect. In the edition of the Hebrew text, published with his commentary (so far as we can remember), wherever the Masoretic edition has Jehova-Elohim he eliminates Jehova, and wherever it has Jehova alone he substitutes Elohim for it. This is not to answer the critics, but to imitate them in one of the most unjustifiable liberties they take. We all know that if they see the name Jehova where they do not like, they explain its appearance by remarking that it was put in by the Redactor, and calmly erase it, or perhaps insert Elohim instead. This they call a restoration of the original text. There can, however, be no reasonable discussion of the question at issue, unless the value of the Masoretic and of all other readings be assayed by the test of textual criticism. The testimony of Hebrew and Samaritan MSS., of versions, of quotations, etc., may not produce certainty, but in opposition to them or part of them—subjective criteria will produce nothing. The traditional text must be employed by commentators, and if it happens that in some places we cannot see why one divine name is written rather than another, let it be so. And let us say so, but let us not, of our own authority, alter the text.

It may very easily happen in some passages that owing to a want of agreement on the part of venerable texts and versions uncertainty should exist as to which of two or more readings is the true one, or again it may happen that Jehova occurs in a passage where, owing to our experience of the use of the divine names, we expected to find Elohim; but in either case, it seems to be our plain duty to accept the fact. Let us then be content to note the presence of various readings, or of the employment of a name which is not in accordance with our provisional theory, but let us beware of altering a passage. What right have we to do it? The value of the Masoretic edition is altogether independent of

our subjective notions; of course everyone will admit that owing to recent advances in textual criticism, this edition no longer enjoys the almost boundless confidence that many Protestants and some Catholics reposed in it, but such a change of opinion has been produced solely by the application of objective criteria. It is not the offspring of imagination. Parallel passages, quotations, etc., have been investigated, and thus the comparative value of the traditional text and of the versions has been ascertained. But this is reasonable, this is diametrically opposed to the criticism born of inner consciousness.

Extraordinary powers of observation are not required to perceive the regular recurrence of the names in question throughout some sections in the beginning of the *Pentateuch*, and also their appearance in one and the same section, or even in a manifestly indivisible passage or verse. In the course of their microscopic investigations and imaginative theories the higher critics of the *Pentateuch* do not make the latter fact prominent, or rather they pass over it silently perhaps because it would tell against them. As regards the first fact just before mentioned, or the recurrence in alternate sections, it is found in books the unity of which is not denied by them; or if denied, is so for pretexts altogether different. Thus, for example, in cases of non-denial: *Jeremias* writes *Jehova* 563 times, and *Elohim* 140 times; *Esdras* writes *Jehova* 23 times, and *Elohim* 55 times; the author of 3 *Kings* has *Jehova* 210 times, and *Elohim* 105 times, while the author of 1 *Paralipomenon* uses *Jehova* 141 times, and *Elohim* 111 times. Yet critics do not dissect these works. This shows that in the opinion of some higher critics the employment of the two names here should not be regarded as implying diversity of authorship. Now in a case of denial, nearly all the rationalists maintain the existence of a *Deutero-Isaias* (though indeed some of them actually believe in a *Trito-Isaias*, and a few of the more adventurous spirits, such as *Cheyne* and *Gressmann*, are not satisfied with even this number of hypothetical authors); but nevertheless in the commonly alleged two independent compositions (ch. i.-xxxix. by *Isaias*, ch. xl.-lxvi. by the *Deutero-Isaias*) and

in parts of both that some even of the most enthusiastic followers of Astruc do not dream of cutting up, Elohim and Jehova occur. But if the presence of both names is compatible with homogeneity in the case of parts of the alleged books of Isaias and of a Deutero-Isaias, why should it militate against the unity of Genesis? No sane man would restrict an author to the use of only one divine name, and demand that there should be no variety of diction, under the penalty for violation of having the book belonging to him assigned to a number of obedient chimeras. Otherwise it would go hard with St. Paul, who had the temerity to write *κύριος, ο κύριος, ο κύριος ημών, ο κύριος Ιησους, ο κύριος Χριστος, ο κύριος Ιησους Χριστος, Χριστος Ιησους ο κύριος, κ.τ.λ.* The following remark deserves to be quoted:—

In the Epistle to the Romans, St. Paul uses the name of Jesus 5 times, Christ 33 times; in the two to the Corinthians, Jesus 16 times, Christ 77 times; in Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, and Colossians, Jesus 4 times, Christ 87 times; in the Epistle to Timothy, Titus, and Philemon, Jesus twice, Christ 4 times—in all, Jesus 27 times, Christ 201 times. In the two Epistles to the Thessalonians, however, we find precisely the reverse usage, Jesus 13 times, Christ 4 times; conclusive proof, no doubt, of diverse authorship!

It is a pity that the critics have not analysed these two sets of passages, and treated us to a disquisition about the *Jesuit* author of the one and the *Christian* author of the other. Or, as St. Paul writes sometimes *κύριος* (= *Jehova*) sometimes *Θεός* (= *Elohim*), that they have not divided him into a Jehovist and an Elohist.

It was shown a moment ago that some of the critics are happily inconsistent; but it must be said that all are not. For there is a devoted band that apparently proposes to extend the Pentateuchal Jehova-Elohim-Theory to all the other Hebrew writings. We mean the contributors to Haupt's critical edition of the *Sacred Books of the Old Testament* and to its English translation, *The Polychrome*—or, as it is familiarly called, *The Rainbow-Bible*. Here the parts selected for the various hypothetical authors are printed each on a ground of different colour, in order 'to

make the best results of modern scholarship visible at a glance'! Our readers can imagine what an appearance must be presented by a page on which paragraphs, half paragraphs, quarter paragraphs, lines, portions of a line, and single words are printed in motley hue. The plan is thus explained in the prefatory note to a volume ('Genesis') of the first series, edited by Rev. C. J. Ball, Examining Chaplain to the Bishop of London:—

The combination of *red* and *blue*: PURPLE (*e.g.*, xv. 13) indicates the composite document (JE), commonly known as the Prophetic Narrative of the Hexateuch, compiled by an editor or redactor (RJE) about 640 from two independent sources: viz. (1) the Judaic document (J), whose various strata seem to have originated in the Southern Kingdom after 850 B.C., and (2) the Ephraimitic document (E), written by a native of the Northern Kingdom prior to 650 B.C.* The older strata of J (J¹, about 850 B.C.) are printed in dark red (*e.g.*, vi. 1), and the later strata (J², about 650) in light red (*e.g.*, vii. 1). E is printed in blue (*e.g.*, xx. 1). Green (*e.g.* xxvi. 5) is used for the Deuteronomistic expansions (D²) which were added to JE during the second half of the exile (560-540), while brown marks (*e.g.* xlvi. 8) later strata of the Priestly Code (P), the main body of which (compiled in Babylonia about 500 B.C.) is printed black without any additional colouring. Chapter xiv., which seems to be derived from what might be termed an Exilic Midrash,† has been printed

* Our readers will notice a development here. Critics have at length found a habitation for J, because he describes events that happened in Southern Palestine, and for E, because he shows an interest in matters connected with the Northern part of the country.

† The epithet which this writer thinks good enough for a historical chapter of Scripture cannot be allowed to pass unnoticed. Midrash, a Rabbinical term, means an allegory, a hyperbole—whether intrinsically considered it be a narrative, or the interpretation of a narrative. (Buxtorf's *Lexicon Chaldaicum*, ed. Fischer, p. 298, where several explanatory quotations are given). But are the contents of Genesis xiv. mythical? Are they of late Babylonian origin?

It is scarcely worth while to observe that those who deny the Mosaic origin of Genesis can offer no proof whatever of their impudent assertion respecting its fourteenth chapter. As a matter of course they confidently state that it contains conclusive evidence of having been written during the exile, but as a matter of fact none of them has ever been able to point out that evidence.

'Che vi sia ciascun lo dice,
Dove sia nessun lo sa.'

The obvious reason of their failure is that no such evidence exists. If, indeed, the chapter contained a reference to Ezechiel or Daniel, or any indication of a captive's acquaintance with Babylonia in the fifth century B.C., then there would be something in favour of the critics; but unfortunately for them, the only knowledge of matters Babylonian that it manifests is about a

in orange. Overlined passages represent redactional additions. Overlining has also been used to mark tertiary strata of J (J³, about B.C. 600, e.g. ii. 10), in distinction from J².

Three volumes of this precious Polychrome Bible were published some time ago: 'Judges' (Moore), 'Isaias' (Cheyne), 'Psalms' (Wellhausen). Professor Moore informs his readers that the Book of Judges is largely of post-exilic date, being in fact part of a comprehensive History of Israel; he also makes the interesting announcement that criticism has detected among its sources, an early 'History of Israel under the Judges,' a 'Judaic History,' and an 'Ephraimitic History,' which were variously combined by different redactors. Professor Cheyne requires for his dissection of Isaias besides the ordinary white background no less than six varieties of colour. This is no doubt an exceedingly liberal use of polychrome, but then we must bear in mind that the Oriel Professor of Scripture is a very high critic. Yet even he is surpassed by Wellhausen. At first sight, however, it is impossible to know how the Göttingen Professor's contribution was admitted into the series, for his volume is all printed in plain black and white, without so much even as one band of colour or a single tint of the rainbow. But

campaign in Palestine undertaken by a Babylonian king and his allies about twenty-two centuries before the Christian era. This event belonged to a period four generations earlier than the time of Moses. The description of the event has always formed part of the book written by him. So far as the unanimous voice of the past testifies, this is so. Moses presumably got his knowledge from existing sources, either oral or written. A remarkable event such as Chedorlahomor's campaign would naturally be recorded on some tablet, or a tradition about it could easily be preserved by Abraham's immediate descendants. There was, so far as one can see, no more need of a revelation to Moses than there was long afterwards in somewhat similar circumstances to St. Luke, who says of himself that he used the ordinary means to obtain information. If perchance there was any error or misconception on the part of the informant, as conceivably there might be, we know that such error remained there. It could not be transmitted to the inspired writer. He would infallibly discriminate between incorrect and true statements, and eliminate all the former. Nor would his use of the latter imply dependance on the human source from which he received it. In nowise could that source be regarded as a voucher for the correctness of anything in his book. It was written under divine guidance, and every statement contained in it had divine authority.

Before the discoveries recently made in Assyria, the names of the four kings mentioned by Moses—Amraphel of Sennaar, Arioch of Pontus, Chedorlahomor of Elam, and Thadal of nations—were names and nothing more. No one could even tell their meaning, and no one knew anything about the men

Wellhausen has made a wonderful discovery. It is nothing less than this: 'The entire collection of Psalms dates from a period considerably later than that of E and J, in fact it was the hymn-book of the second temple.' Comment on this is unnecessary. Wellhausen has outstripped all his associates, after this the inventors of E, J, P, D, etc., may retire.

One very important fact has to be remembered in connexion with Genesis, and the alternate use of the two names in some of its parts. It is that only these two names (*Elohim* and *Jehova*) occur in the history of the primeval period, Genesis i.-xi. inclusive. In the remainder of the book, which contains the history of Abraham and his descendants, other names are also found. These are *El* (*God*) with its compounds *El-Elion* and *El-Shaddai*, both of which connote an attribute. *Adonai* (*Lord*) is also met with, but it is used only as a vocative, or in addressing God. The two names we are concerned with are the oldest and the

that bore them beyond what was recorded in the fourteenth chapter of Genesis. Those who believed in Scripture accepted its account of the campaign of these allies; those who did not believe rejected it. To some of the higher critics, viz., Knobel and Hitzig, it seemed ridiculous to say that four kings came from unknown or doubtful regions to wage war in Canaan, while to his own satisfaction Grotefend explained the narrative as a solar myth, and Nöldeke, who is still lecturing in Strasburg, looked upon it as 'a fragment of a post-exilic romance of the life of Abram.'

But now a great change has come about. Assyriology has vindicated Scripture. From the dim and distant past it has recalled the dynasty of Elamite kings called *Kudurides* (from the first part of their compound names, 'Kudur,' which means 'a servant of'), that once held Southern Babylonia in subjection. For in one of his inscriptions Assurbanipal mentions that when he overran Elam and took Susa, its metropolis (about 650 B.C.), he recovered there the image of the goddess Nana, which had been carried off from Erech, in Southern Babylonia, by the Elamite king Kudurnanhundi (i.e., servant of the god Nanhundi) 1635 years before, i.e., 2285 B.C.

To speak now of our four kings individually.

1. Chedorlahomor must have belonged to the same Elamite dynasty. In Genesis xiv. he appears as the head of the confederate kings (vv. 5, 17), and even in its transformed pronunciation his name Chedorlaomor (Hebrew) or *Χοδολλαγομος* (Sept.) is unmistakably Elamite, the original or native form being Kudurlagamar, 'the servant of Lagamar,' a goddess often mentioned in cuneiform inscriptions (see Schrader's *Die Keilinschriften und das A. T.*, p. 484, 3rd ed., 1902). Kudurlagamar himself is not mentioned on any monument discovered up to this, but no one would be surprised if some day or other a tablet bearing this monarch's name were brought to light. Stranger things have happened in Chaldea. Indeed, the present curator of the Imperial Ottoman Museum in Constantinople, Père Scheil, O.P., published in the *Revue Biblique* (October, 1896) a transcript of a tablet found at Larsa on which he thought he could read Ku-dur-la-ukh-ga-mar, and Professor

most frequently employed. Their almost rhythmical recurrence cannot escape the notice of an ordinarily attentive reader. And as he knows that it is impossible it should be the outcome of blind chance, he naturally asks what can be the cause of the phenomenon? To this question, as our readers may easily infer from the foregoing remarks, two answers have been given; answers diametrically opposed one to the other. 1. 'Dual authorship,' say the critics; 'one writer calls God *Jehova*, and another calls Him *Elohim*.' 2. 'Difference in the subject-matter of those passages respectively,' say the defenders of tradition, 'one and the same author in some places uses the name *Jehova* in order to emphasise his mention of a certain divine attribute, or for similar reasons; in other places, where such emphasis is not needed, he uses the name *Elohim*.'

The first answer is of an *extrinsic* character, and, to say the least, is the merest conjecture; the second is of an *intrinsic* character, and rests on tradition and on induction.

Hommel, of Munich, approved of this decipherment, but L. W. King, of the British Museum, one of the best Assyriologists in England, maintains that the group of symbols should be pronounced Inukhsamar. This appears to be the accepted transliteration. (See it from a photo of the tablet in Ball's *Light from the East*, p. 68). Some months before Père Scheil announced what he believed to be a discovery, Mr. Pinches, late of the British Museum, stated that one of the tablets preserved there contained the names of three of the kings mentioned in Genesis xiv., viz., Kudurlagamar or *Chedorlahomer*, Eriaku or *Arioch*, and Todhula or *Thadal*. The tablet is dated not earlier than the fourth century B.C., but the inscription it contains may be a copy of a much earlier one, as is the case with the 'Deluge Tablets.' Schrader is inclined to agree with Pinches' reading. But at the same time there is some uncertainty; it appears to be not Eri-aku, but Eri-eku, or something similar. Again, the name which they take to stand for Kudur-lagamar, should, according to Mr. King, be read Ku-dur-ku-mal or Ku-dur-ku-ku-mal, and though he is called King of Elam, there is nothing to show that he was a contemporary of Hammurabi. It is, however, very probable that these three are the kings mentioned in Genesis xiv. The names may have been copied incorrectly, or wrongly deciphered. At all events, Cheyne and other critics are quite mistaken when they remark, in a tone of bland compassion, that the truth of Genesis xiv. is not yet proved. It needs no proof, or rather it admits of no proof. The word of God is incapable of being proved true by the word of man. It is just the reverse of what the critics imagine, and the Assyrian inscriptions can be proved; if they agree with Scripture, they are true. To us believers at the present day they are of course of incalculable use, as illustrating Scripture or enabling us to understand its historical statements better, but they are not *proofs* of its veracity.

2. Amraphel. From Genesis xiv. he would appear to have been the chief vassal of Chedorlahomer. Hommel, Schrader, and Ball, three learned Assyriologists, identify him with Hammurabi, or Hamma-rapaltu. If they are right, as there can be no doubt, then Amraphel is one of the best known

Nor is this the only difference. There is also a marked contrast between the manner in which they are maintained, when their respective champions are called on to reply to objections. The critics alter the text, they transpose phrases, they remove Jehovah in one place and Elohim in another, or, on the other hand, they insert them *ad libitum*; whereas the believers leave the text untouched. This reminds one of a well-known episode. Of old there was a king before whose judgment-seat two women appeared, each of whom claimed the same child as her own. One of them was willing to divide the child; 'Do not kill it,' implored the other. The king knew thereby which woman was the child's mother.—If that wise king returned to life now, and a higher critic and a believer in Scripture were to come before his tribunal, the one contending that the authorship of the Pentateuch should be divided among P, E, J, R, etc., the other demanding that it should be left in the possession of Moses, without any alteration

monarchs in remote antiquity. A great many of his inscriptions and his portrait are in the British Museum (also several inscriptions preserved elsewhere), and two large volumes of his correspondence have been published. Hammurabi was the sixth king of the first Babylonian dynasty, which Sayce and Hommel have shown to be of Arabian origin. He reigned fifty-five years, and apparently it was he united the numerous city kingdoms and thus founded a Babylonian empire. The exact date of his reign is not known, but the following table taken from Hommel's *Ancient Hebrew Tradition and the Monuments*, will show the dates proposed by some leading Assyriologists:—Winckler (1889) 2292-2237: Winckler (1894) 2314-2258: Maspero (1896) 2304-2249: Delitzsch (1891) 2287-2232: Hilprecht (1893) 2277-2222: Feiler (1891) 2139-2084: Carl Niebuhr (1896) 2081-2026: Hommel (1895) 1947-1892: (1886) 1923-1868. Quite recently from an unexpected quarter more light has been shed on the reign of Hammurabi. In January, 1902, while excavations were being made at Susa, in Persia, or ancient Elam, a stone was dug up which bore on its sides the renowned legislation of Hammurabi. The text has been translated by Père Scheil, and afterwards by C. H. Johns, Cambridge, (*The Oldest Code of Laws in the World*, Clark, Edinburgh, 1903). Some time after the expedition mentioned in Genesis Hammurabi overcame Rim-Sin, the last King of Larsa (Ellasar), united under his own sway the kingdoms of Southern Babylonia, and made Babylonia the capital of the empire. It is not known at what time the monument inscribed with his laws was carried off to Elam.

3. Arioch is certainly Eri-aku. There is still extant a votive tablet of Eri-aku (=a servant of the moon-god)—see the photo of it in Ball's *Light from the East*, p. 67—for himself and his father, Kudurmabug (servant of the god Mabug), King of Ur, of Sennaar, and Accad. The Elamite viceroy, who was generally a relative of the king, had his official residence in Larsa. In connection with him Schrader remarks, *loc. cit.*, p. 367, 'Ob der Name des Königs Arioch von Ellasar, Genesis xiv., wie vielfach angenommen wird, auf eine sumerische Aussprache Eri-Aku des semitisch-babylonischen Namens des

whatever: it is not difficult to forecast what the decision of the monarch would be.

The purpose of the present article is to set forth briefly the reasons generally accepted in support of the second answer, or to explain as far as may be why Elohim is found in some passages and Jehovah in others.

As regards the first answer, which to use its own proud title is 'higher criticism,' we need only to remind our readers that it is subdivided into four rival systems, viz.: the Old-Document Theory, the Fragment Theory, the Supplement Theory, and the New-Document Theory, which last is from the names of its inventors sometimes called the Graff-Wellhausen one. Much as these contending theories may differ one from another in specific character, they all agree in denying to a greater or a less extent the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch. This opposition to Scripture and Tradition is presupposed by the four, it is the hypothesis on which they rest, the first principle they have in common. It is only in their respective attempts to account for the origin of Genesis that divergency arises. In other words, their negative or destructive tendency is one, their positive or constructive methods are many. As regards their own intrinsic merits, three of them have been exhibited in preceding articles and the fourth will be shown also in due time, so that now we are free to consider what principle of selection guided Moses in his employment of Elohim and Jehova.

The following tables are designed to show the number of times that each of the names occurs in those chapters of

Rim-Sin, Königs von Larsa, zuruckgeht, ist äusserst unsicher.' At some time during their eighty years occupation of Babylonia the invaders appear to have pushed on and to have conquered Chanaan, kings of which paid them tribute for thirteen years (Genesis xiv. 4). On bricks found in Ur of the Chaldees Kudur-Mabug styles himself 'King of the West Country' (*Amurru*), which includes Chanaan. Some scholars hazard the conjecture that the king we call Chedorlahomer had two names, Kudurlagamar and Kudurmabug, but this is a point on which it is better to wait for some further discoveries.

4. Thadal. Nothing more is known about this king. But though in his title, 'King of nations,' the last word be a correct translation of '*goim*,' which is now found in the Hebrew text, it is thought that the text is corrupt, and that 'Gutium' was the original reading. 'King of nations' makes no sense, but 'King of Gutium' is intelligible. The Guti, frequently mentioned in the cuneiform inscriptions, were a powerful tribe, and dwelt near the river Zab. Their country would almost correspond to the modern Kurdistan.

the Pentateuch where it occurs. The tables will, it is hoped, be found fairly accurate, for they have been compiled with the assistance of the best Hebrew Concordance (Mandelkern's, Leipzig, 1896).

ELOHIM

(N.B.—The Roman numeral indicates the chapter of the book, the Arabic shows how often this divine name occurs in it.)

Genesis		Exodus		Leviticus		Numbers		Deuteronomy	
I.	30	I.	3	II.	I	VI.	I	I.	14
II.	3	II.	5	IV.	I	X.	2	II.	7
III.	12	III.	15	XI.	2	XV.	4	III.	5
IV.	I	IV.	5	XVIII.	4	XVI.	2	IV.	23
V.	4	V.	4	XIX.	10	XXI.	I	V.	18
VI.	7	VI.	3	XX.	2	XXII.	7	VI.	14
VII.	2	VII.	2	XXI.	10	XXIII.	3	VII.	15
VIII.	2	VIII.	6	XXII.	2	XXIV.	I	VIII.	10
IX.	8	IX.	3	XXIII.	5	XXV.	I	IX.	8
XVII.	9	X.	7	XXIV.	2	XXVII.	I	X.	9
XIX.	2	XIII.	4	XXV.	6			XI.	10
XX.	5	XIV.	I	XXVI.	5			XII.	20
XXI.	11	XV.	2					XIII.	10
XXII.	5	XVI.	I					XIV.	10
XXIV.	6	XVII.	I					XV.	10
XXV.	I	XVIII.	12					XVI.	18
XXVI.	I	XIX.	3					XVII.	8
XXVII.	2	XX.	9					XVIII.	9
XXVIII.	8	XXI.	I					XIX.	18
XXX.	7	XXII.	I					XX.	7
XXXI.	13	XXIII.	2					XXI.	5
XXXII.	5	XXIV.	3					XXII.	I
XXXIII.	3	XXIX.	3					XXIII.	10
XXXV.	8	XXXI.	2					XXIV.	5
XXXIX.	I	XXXII.	4					XXV.	5
XL.	I	XXXIV.	3					XXVI.	15
XLI.	9	XXXV.	I					XXVII.	9
XLII.	2							XXVIII.	11
XLIII.	2							XXIX.	9
XLIV.	I							XXX.	15
XLV.	4							XXXI.	7
XLVI.	3							XXXII.	2
XLVIII.	6							XXXIII.	2
L.	5								
TOTALS	189		104				23		339

JEHOVA

Genesis		Exodus		Leviticus		Numbers		Deuteronomy	
IV.	10	III.	7	I.	9	I.	4	I.	24
V.	1	IV.	17	II.	11	II.	3	II.	16
VI.	5	V.	7	III.	10	III.	16	III.	12
VII.	3	VI.	14	IV.	17	IV.	8	IV.	29
VIII.	3	VII.	14	V.	8	V.	12	V.	24
IX.	1	VIII.	22	VI.	14	VI.	15	VI.	22
X.	2	IX.	24	VII.	17	VII.	3	VII.	20
XI.	5	X.	21	VIII.	18	VIII.	13	VIII.	13
XII.	7	XI.	6	IX.	11	IX.	17	IX.	33
XIII.	6	XII.	19	X.	15	X.	12	X.	21
XIV.	1	XIII.	15	XI.	3	XI.	20	XI.	18
XV.	7	XIV.	17	XII.	2	XII.	9	XII.	26
XVI.	8	XV.	16	XIII.	1	XIII.	2	XIII.	11
XVII.	1	XVI.	22	XIV.	11	XIV.	23	XIV.	11
XVIII.	10	XVII.	8	XV.	4	XV.	28	XV.	15
XIX.	7	XVIII.	6	XVI.	12	XVI.	26	XVI.	22
XX.	1	XIX.	18	XVII.	9	XVII.	6	XVII.	11
XXI.	3	XX.	9	XVIII.	7	XVIII.	16	XVIII.	19
XXII.	5	XXII.	2	XIX.	22	XIX.	4	XIX.	9
XXIV.	19	XXIII.	3	XX.	5	XX.	10	XX.	7
XXV.	4	XXIV.	11	XXI.	8	XXI.	9	XXI.	7
XXVI.	7	XXV.	1	XXII.	21	XXII.	16	XXII.	1
XXVII.	3	XXVII.	1	XXIII.	36	XXIII.	8	XXIII.	16
XXVIII.	4	XXVIII.	7	XXIV.	12	XXIV.	5	XXIV.	7
XXIX.	4	XXIX.	13	XXV.	6	XXV.	6	XXV.	4
XXX.	3	XXX.	13	XXVII.	18	XXVI.	6	XXVI.	20
XXXI.	2	XXXI.	5			XXVII.	12	XXVII.	10
XXXII.	1	XXXII.	13			XXVIII.	13	XXVIII.	40
XXXVIII.	3	XXXIII.	8			XXIX.	8	XXIX.	20
XXXIX.	8	XXXIV.	16			XXX.	7	XXX.	18
XLIX.	1	XXXV.	12			XXXI.	23	XXXI.	19
		XXXVI.	4			XXXII.	18	XXXII.	9
		XXXVIII.	1			XXXIII.	5	XXXIII.	8
		XXXIX.	11			XXXIV.	4	XXXIV.	7
		XL.	14			XXXV.	3		
						XXXVI.	6		
TOTALS	145		397		307		399		549

The number of occurrences is summed up somewhat differently by Père Prat, S.J., in Vigouroux' *Dict. de la Bible*, and as the matter is of importance we think it better

to quote his computation. In addition to Mandelkern's *Père Prat* has used Furst's *Concordance*, and his figures are :—

	Gen.	Exod.	Levit.	Num.	Deut.
Elohim	103	129	53	27	372
Jehova	134	359	303	386	233
Jehova-Elohim	20	1	—	—	—

The learned writer then remarks : ' Ces resultats ne sont et ne peuvent être qu'approximatifs ; sans parler des erreurs presque inevitables dans un travail de ce genre, les concordances ne sont pas toujours d'accord et les editions different assez souvent.'

In addition to these tables, it may be well to illustrate, by means of the respective contexts, the alternate appearance of the two names from Genesis i. to Exodus vi., from which chapter forth sections in which Elohim recurs with any marked frequency are rare (as xiii. 17-19, xviii. 1-7), and Jehova is nearly always used.

Genesis i.-ii. 3 (the account of the six days' work of creation) contains Elohim 35 times (once preferably), Jehova not once.

Genesis ii. 4-iv. (the history of Adam and Eve, Cain and Abel) contains Jehova 10 times, Jehova-Elohim 20 times, Elohim alone 4 times (3 times in the mouth of the serpent).

Genesis v. (the genealogies from Adam to Noe) contains Elohim 5 times (once preferable), Jehova once, verse 29.

Genesis vi. 1-8 (the history of the first part of the deluge) contains Jehova 5 times, Elohim not once.

Genesis vi. 9-22 (the same continued) contains Elohim 5 times, Jehova not once.

Genesis vii., 1-15 (the same continued) contains Jehova twice, Elohim not once.

Genesis vii. 6-viii. 19 (the same concluded) contains Elohim 5 times, Jehova once (vii. 16).

Genesis viii. 20-22 (the sacrifice of Noe) contains Jehova 3 times, Elohim not once.

Genesis ix. 1-19, 28, 29 (the covenant with Noe) contains Elohim 6 times (once preferably), Jehova not once.

Genesis x. 20-27 (the misconduct and curse of Chanaan) contains Jehova-Elohim once, Elohim once.

Genesis x. (the genealogies of the sons of Noe) contains Jehova twice, Elohim not at all.

Genesis xi. 1-9 (the confusion of tongues) contains Jehova 5 times, Elohim not once.

Genesis xi. 10-32 (the genealogy of Abram) contains neither name.

Genesis xii., xiii. (the early history of Abram) contains Jehova 13 times, Elohim not once.

Genesis xiv. (the war with Sodom) contains El-Elyon (=the Most High God) 4 times, Jehova once.

Genesis xv., xvi. (the further history of Abram), xv. contains Jehova 5 times, Adonai twice; xvi. contains Jehova 8 times, El-Roi once. Neither chapter contains Elohim.

Genesis xvii. (the same continued) contains Elohim 9 times, Jehova once, El-Shaddai once.

Genesis xviii., xix. (history of Abraham : visit of the angels, destruction of Sodom) contains Jehova 17 times, Adonai 6 times, Elohim twice.

Genesis xx. (Abraham's experiences in Gerara) contains Jehova once, Elohim 6 times, Adonai once.

Genesis xxi. (Isaac and Ismael, etc.) contains Jehova 3 times, Elohim 11 times, El-Olam = Everlasting God) once.

Genesis xxii. (sacrifice of Isaac) contains Jehova 5 times, Elohim 5 times.

Genesis xxiii. (Sara's death) contains Jehova not at all, Elohim once.

Genesis xxiv. (Isaac's marriage) contains Jehova 14 times, Jehova-Elohim 5 times, Elohim alone once.

Genesis xxv. 1-18 (Abraham's death, generations of Ismael), contains Elohim once, Jehova not at all.

Genesis xxv. 19-xxvi. 35 (generations of Isaac, his experiences in Gerara) contains Jehova 11 times, Elohim once.

Genesis xxvii. (blessing of Jacob) contains Jehova 3 times, Elohim twice.

Genesis xxviii. 1-9 (departure of Jacob) contains Elohim once, El-Shaddai once, Jehova not all.

Genesis xxviii. 10-22 (Bethel) contains Jehova 3 times, Jehova-Elohim once, Elohim 7 times.

Genesis xxix.-xxxii. (Jacob and Laban) contains Jehova 10 times, Elohim 25 times, El occurs in xxxi. 13.

Genesis xxxiii. (Jacob and Esau) contains Elohim 3 times; Jehova does not occur here nor before xxxviii.

Genesis xxxiv. (Jacob at Sichem), no divine name.

Genesis xxxv. (Jacob at Bethel, deaths of Rachel and Isaac) contains Elohim 8 times, El twice, El-Shaddai once.

Genesis xxxvi. (generations of Esau), no divine name.

Genesis xxxvii. (Joseph's dreams and bondage), no divine name.

Genesis xxxviii. (Juda and Tamar) contains Jehova 3 times, Elohim not at all.

Genesis xxxix.-xli. (history of Joseph) contains Jehova 9

times, Elohim 11 times (9 of which in conversations with Egyptians).

Genesis xlii.-xlviii. (history of Joseph continued) contains Elohim 25 times, El once, El-Shaddai thrice, Jehova not at all.

Genesis xlix. (Jacob's blessing), contains Jehova once, El once, El-Shaddai once.

Genesis l. (deaths of Jacob and Joseph) contains Elohim 5 times, Jehova does not occur.

Exodus i., ii. contains Elohim 8 times, Jehova not at all.

Exodus iii. contains Elohim 15 times, Jehova 7 times.

Exodus iv. contains Elohim 5 times, Jehova 17 times.

Exodus v. contains Elohim 4 times, Jehova 7 times.

Exodus vi. 1-3 contains Elohim once, Jehova thrice.

Elohim is the ordinary name for God, and is therefore used where no need of emphasis exists. It occurs 2,570 times. It may or may not take the article; thus we find Elohim and Ha-Elohim in the Old Testament just as we find *κύριος*

² Elohim has the termination of a masc. plural (*cp.* Cherub, *plural* Cherubim; Seraph, *plural* Seraphim), but Elohim is not a plural noun. This is certain, because almost invariably the adjective or the verb agreeing with Elohim is in the singular (*e.g.*, Elohim creates, Elohim is one). See for details, Gesenius, Grammar and Thesaurus. It is best to regard the termination as that of a plural of excellence (*Clark's Dict., Encycl. Bibl., Spurrell*). Such a usage was not unknown in early times; the Tell-El-Amarna letters address the Egyptian monarch as 'ilāni' = my gods.

There is a singular form 'Eloah' (occurring fifty-seven times), used in poetry and in very late prose. Some scholars regard it as an artificial word coined from Elohim, others as a genuine singular. But whichever view be the true one, this at least is certain that the plural form is no indication of polytheism in primitive ages, though Robertson Smith asserts that 'the Elohim of a place originally meant all its sacred denizens, viewed collectively as an indeterminate sum of indistinguishable beings'. See for proof of the opposite *Clark's Dict.*, the *Encycl. Bibl.*, and Lagrange's *Religions Semitiques*. It is also certain that the rare union of a plural predicate or attribute with Elohim where it means God found little favour. As Gesenius says, *De Pentateucho Samaritano*, p. 58: 'Ac primum Samaritani doctrinam de uno Deo ita urgent et inelamant, ut vel minimum polytheismi suspicionem cane pejus et angue defugiant, unde verba - non est Deus, nisi unus—in liturgiis eorum utramque, quod dicunt, paginam faciunt. Jam vero opera danda erat, ne in ipsis Bibliis polytheismi remanerent vestigia. Hoc igitur consilio quatuor Pentateuchi locis (Gen. xx. 13, xxx. 53, xxxv. 7; Ex. xx. 9), quibus Elohim cum plurali construitur, singularem numerum substituunt. Eadem superstitio dicam, an veteris lingue ignoratio est apud scriptores judaicos sequiores qui ejusmodi offencicula non minus studiose devitant, et antiquiorum scriptorum loca quae forte in suum usum convertunt, eundem in modum corrigere non dubitant, 2 Sam. vii. 23 (Chron.), Ex. xxxii. 4, 8 (Neh. ix. 18).' We may add that what Gesenius remarks about the Samaritan text of Genesis applies also to the Septuagint, Peshitta, Vulgate, and Arabic versions. They all have a singular verb in the three passages referred to.

N.B.—Exod. xx. 9, and some other passages quoted by Gesenius in his Thesaurus are irrelevant.

and *o kyprios* in the new. It would be difficult to indicate the difference between Elohim, which admits of definition or determination, and Jehova, which admits of none, more clearly than has been done by Girdlestone in his *Hebrew Synonyms*. His words are:—‘The Hebrew says *the Elohim*, the true God, in opposition to all false Gods; but he never says *the Jehova*, for Jehova is the name of the true God only. He says again and again *my God* (Elohim), but never *my Jehova*, for when he says my God he means Jehova. He speaks of the God of Israel, but never of the Jehova of Israel, for there is no other Jehova. He speaks of the living God, but never of the living Jehova, for he cannot conceive of Jehova as other than living.’

In addition to this, it may be observed that there are two passages which show clearly the superiority of the tetragrammaton, viz., Josue xxii. 22, and Psalm l. (xlix.) 1. In the first one the Reubenites and others say to the Princes of Israel, ‘*El, Elohim, Jehova—El, Elohim, Jehova, hu jodea*’=The Mighty One, Elohim, Jehova—the Mighty One, Elohim, Jehova, He knoweth. The climax, which is so striking in the original, has unfortunately not been preserved by the Vulgate (‘Fortissimus Deus Dominus, Fortissimus Deus Dominus, ipse novit’). In the second passage Asaph says, ‘*El, Elohim, Jehova.*’ Here, too, the ascending series is plain, but the Vulgate has ‘*Deus deorum Dominus.*’

If a person were to examine all the relevant passages, he would arrive at the following results in connection with the use of Elohim and Jehova. The classification of the instances has been taken, but with some modifications, from the greatest Catholic work on the subject, Reinke’s *Beiträge*. The instances themselves have been verified.

1. When the covenant with Israel is the subject of discourse, Jehova is the divine title employed (the only text of this kind in which Elohim alone occurs is Psalm. lxxvii. (lxxvii.) 10). For the same reason, where the law, the decalogue, the commands are mentioned, Jehova is the usual designation of God. Since the one true God made known His will to Israel, it is Israel’s duty to obey Him.

Hence the frequent expression, '*halach aharei Jehova.*' In this sense, '*halach aharei Elohim*' never occurs. But it is used to express the service and worship of false gods, '*halach aharei Elohim aberim*' means *to go after strange gods*, and thus we find the expression, *to go after* Baal, Astoreth, etc. Again, we read of the just as clinging to Jehova (never to *Elohim*), and of the unjust as falling away from Jehova (never from *Elohim*). He who sins against God sins against Jehova (the solitary instance where sin against *Elohim* occurs, Genesis xxxix. 10, is only an apparent exception, for a Hebrew when speaking to a Gentile about God calls Him, not Jehova but *Elohim*). In like manner, a man is said to do evil in the eyes of Jehova (never in those of *Elohim*; once in those of *the Elohim*, i.e., 1 Par. xxi. 7), whereas a person that acts well is said to do what is right in the eyes of Jehova (never in those of *Elohim*).

2. In the oaths and the vows of Israelites, Jehova is the name of God. To the first class there is, indeed, one exception, Isaias lxxv. 16: 'He who swears in the land swears by the true *Elohim*'; but it is an exception that proves the rule, for *Elohim* is determined by an adjective. To the second class there is also one sole exception, Genesis xxxi. 13, but this is due to the circumstance that an Israelite addresses a non-Israelite.

3. The Israelite must *worship* Jehova. *Elohim* is found with this verb only in Exodus iii. 12. It is for the obvious reason that Moses has not yet heard the incommunicable name Jehova, the revelation of which is described in verse 14, *ibid.* We read of a feast of Jehova, but never of a festival day of *Elohim*; thus the Passover, the Paschal Lamb are spoken in connexion with Jehova exclusively.

4. An altar of the true God is called the altar of Jehova, but never the altar of *Elohim*. It may be observed that there is one and only one passage in which such an altar is spoken of as belonging to El, Genesis xxxv. 1, but the reason for departing here from the uniform practice of saying Jehova's altar is easily seen. Jacob is commanded to build an altar to El at the place which he had named Bethel (Beth-El, *House of God*), on account of the divine appari-

tion, Genesis xxviii. 22. Again we see that the Tabernacle and the Temple are almost invariably spoken of as Jehova's. So, too, we find the 'House of Jehova.' Only in four places we do read of the House of Elohim, viz., 2 Paralipomenon xxxiv. 19, Psalms xlii. 5, lii. 10, 15. Elsewhere in this connexion Elohim takes the article or some other determining adjunct. On the other hand, Beth-Elohim is applied to the temple of a false god (Judges xvii. 5, 1 Paralipomenon x. 10), but it would be impossible to call it Beth-Jehova.

5. Sacrifice is offered to Jehova, never to Elohim—unless the name is accompanied by something which restricts its application to the one God. Thus in Genesis xlii. 1, Jacob offered sacrifice to the Elohim of his fathers, and the Hebrews in Egypt say 'let us go and sacrifice to our Elohim.' On the other hand, sacrifice to false gods may be designated simply as sacrifice to Elohim.

6. Priests of God are always priests of Jehova. Not even in a single instance, are they styled priests of Elohim. Again, true prophets are prophets of Jehova, never prophets of Elohim. And the solemn prophetic exordium is, 'Thus saith the Lord,' or *Neum-Jehova*, but in no instance *Neum-Elohim*. And when Almighty God is introduced as speaking, the customary formula is, 'Thus saith the Lord,' *Co-amar-Jehova*; but *Co-amar-Elohim* does not occur. And what we may call the 'stylus theocratiae' attests the same usage. As Israel's King God speaks of Himself as Jehova, but as Elohim simply never. This holds good of His earthly representative, who is called Jehovah's, but not simply Elohim's, anointed. Wherever Elohim is used in reference to either, a determinative accompanies it. Lastly, in countless passages God says of Himself 'I Jehova'; in none does He say 'I Elohim.'

Other classes and many other instances could be quoted, but these are amply sufficient for our purpose. They show clearly that the Hebrews made a great difference between Elohim and Jehova.

THE IRISH COLLEGE IN PARIS DURING THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

THE Revolution in France at the close of the eighteenth century marks an epoch in the history of that country, and of the world. Hence historians of all countries study its progress, its causes, and its results. French men of letters, in particular, have been indefatigable in collecting all that can throw light on that period of their country's history. In recent years two works, models of patient research, have been published, which cannot fail to be invaluable to students. One is entitled *Répertoire Général des Sources Manuscrites de l'Histoire de Paris pendant la Revolution*, par Alexandre de Tuetey. Paris 1890-1902. 6 vol., 4to. The others bear the title. *Bibliographie de l'Histoire de Paris pendant la Revolution Française*, par Maurice Tourneux. Paris 1890-1900. 3 vols., 4to. The latter gives an account of printed sources, the former of the manuscript sources, of the history of Paris during the Revolution, and indicates the libraries and the archives where they may be found.

During the Revolution there were two Irish establishments in Paris, which frequently became the object of public attention, and in consequence many documents concerning them are still extant in various public collections. Thanks to the guidance received from the two works just mentioned, the present writer has been able to consult some of those documents, and to obtain a fuller knowledge of the fortunes of the two colleges during the revolutionary period. His purpose, therefore, in the present paper is to bring together certain details concerning the part which the two Irish Colleges in Paris had in the events of that period, and he trusts they will not be devoid of interest to the readers of the I. E. RECORD.

I

When the States-General met in May, 1789, the task which lay before them was to provide a remedy for the evils

under which France was groaning. The three estates soon formed the project of merging themselves into one body, which took the name of the National Assembly. The Assembly resolved to give to France a new Constitution, which, it was hoped, would strengthen the throne, while it guaranteed the liberty of the people. But the country was crushed beneath the weight of a great debt, and an annual deficit in its Budget. To provide a remedy for this state of things many expedients were suggested. At length Necker proposed that citizens possessed of means should contribute one-fourth of their income to relieve the pressing necessities of the exchequer. The proposal was supported by Mirabeau, and adopted by the Assembly.

The expedient proved ineffectual, but it led to an act of generosity on the part of the Irish College in Paris which received honourable mention in the Assembly, and is recorded in the Parliamentary archives in the following terms, under the date 8th October, 1789¹ :—

Count Lally-Tollendal, on behalf of the Community of Irish Students established at the Estrapade, rue du Cheval-Vert, announced a patriotic gift of plate and silver vessels which they had handed in at the Exchange, at the Mint of Paris, on 24th and 28th September last, as is shown by the receipts laid on the table. Count Lally-Tollendal spoke as follows :—

‘The students and clerics of the Irish College established in Paris, rue du Cheval-Vert, charge me to lay at the feet of the king, and of the National Assembly, the product of all their plate, and of all the silver vessels of their church. They point out to me that their offering seems to them too small to warrant them to address it directly to your President. It is in truth the widow’s mite ; but they give much, for they give all they possess. Moreover, they point out to me, that in their poverty they feel too happy to offer to France this small tribute of their gratitude for her benefits. I know their hearts, gentlemen, I guarantee their sentiments, and I share them. Bound to them by the ties of a common origin, conducted hither, all of us, a century ago by our fidelity to the worship of our fathers and the line of our kings, we have sworn the same sentiments to our new Fatherland and to the prince who has adopted us. Never, gentlemen, has any of us proved false to these sentiments, and we never will. I lay upon the table this

¹ *Archives Parlementaires proces verbal de l’assemblée Nationale*, Tom. V. n. 95., p. 8, 8th Oct., 1789.

receipt of the Director of the Mint; and I am happy to raise my voice once more in this assembly, to offer you the homage of an act of patriotism.

'Gentlemen, in any other circumstances, as you will readily understand, I should never have had the temerity to speak of myself personally, but I ask your permission to associate myself to my ancient race, and to join my contribution to theirs, and to lay upon this table the quarter of my income, as the following declaration testifies :—

'I declare that I deliver up to the Royal Treasury as a contribution a quarter of my income, and even more, viz.—3,000 livres of the present year's, and 1,000 livres of next year's income, as well as as a pension of one thousand crowns, which I possess, and which represents a capital of 36,000 francs, arising from a deposit which my unhappy father left, before his death, in the hands of Mademoiselle Dillon, and which she delivered to the late king, and he ordered to be handed over to me, but which was only delivered to me in the reign of the present king, and by his order. I feel doubly bound to make this sacrifice when I call to mind that the personal justice of the king, and the manifest interest of the nation have saved for me this small remnant from the bloody catastrophe, wherein the loss of my fortune was the only thing I should not have thought about.

'At Versailles, 8th October, 1789,

'Signed, LALLY-TOLLENDAL.'

Sacrifices such as that of Lally-Tollendal were insufficient to make up the deficit in the Royal Treasury. The National Assembly was soon compelled to seek other and more violent remedies. Meantime popular excitement went on increasing, and it was resolved to celebrate a national festival in 1790 on the first anniversary of the fall of the Bastille. The Champ-de-Mars was selected as the site of the festivities, and an altar, called the Altar of Fatherland, was erected upon it. There, on the 14th July, the King, attended by the Queen, met the members of the National Assembly; a *Te Deum* was sung. In the presence of a great concourse of people, the King swore to be faithful to the New Constitution. When the ceremony was over the Altar of Fatherland remained on the Champ-de-Mars as the emblem of the national aspirations. In an evil hour for their own tranquillity the students of the Irish College had

the temerity to tamper with it. There are various accounts of the incident, which took place on 6th December, 1790. According to one account the Irish students were engaged in a game of football on the Champ-de-Mars; one of their number, named Charles O'Reilly, in the heat of the game came in contact with the altar, and upset the statute of liberty which stood upon it. According to another account² thirty or forty students from the Irish College, rue du Cheval-Vert, tore down the inscriptions on the altar, and threw stones at the National Guard. The people assembled in crowds, and the lives of the students were in imminent danger, when they were saved by the intervention of Lafayette, who chanced to be passing at the head of a body of troops. In a letter, dated 9th December, and published in the *Mercure de France* of 18th December, a graphic account of the occurrence is given. It runs thus:—

On Monday, some Irish students having dined at Chaillot, went to the Champ-de-Mars. One of them leaned against the Altar of Fatherland. The sentinel ordered him to move off. He did not understand French, and remained where he was. The sentinel insisted; some others of those young men arrived, and a dispute arose between them and the sentinel, and they struck him. Immediately bands of workmen and of inhabitants of the Gros-Caillou flocked to the spot. The students were dispersed. Six of them fell into the hands of the mob, who, in accordance with the new justice and morality, wanted to hang them on the spot. M. de Lafayette, with one hundred horse, hastened to the scene, and prevented this crime, the bare possibility of which makes one shudder. The six unfortunate students were dragged to the Hotel-de-Ville, and interrogated, and it is reported they have been imprisoned. Yesterday thirty popular pamphlets, cried up over the capital, informed the people that those students were certainly aristocrats who had attempted a counter-revolution by profaning the Champ-de-Mars.

So far the writer in the *Mercure de France*.

In consequence of this event popular indignation was excited against the Irish establishments. The superiors were alarmed, and applied to the municipal authorities for protection. M. Bailly, Mayor of Paris, granted their request, and in the following letter he issued instructions to

² See Tuetey, Rep. Genle. Vol. II., p. 423.

M. de Lafayette to take measures for the protection of the British establishments.

7th December, 1790.

SIR,—You have been informed at the same time as the Municipal Body of what took place yesterday at the Champ-de-Mars. The Irishmen who were the occasion of it have been examined, as well as all those who could depose to the facts of the case. It is admitted that they were guilty of an escapade which is actually being punished. To-day the Irish, Scotch, and English establishments, which the people are accustomed to look on as one, fear the resentment of the populace which this incident may have excited. I beg of you to give orders, and to take the most efficacious measures for the protection of their houses and persons. Their houses are situated nearly all in the same quarter; one in rue des Carmes, and this has been the first to ask for protection, the three others are in rue du Cheval-Vert, rue de St. Victor, and rue des Postes.³

The protection of M. de Lafayette was effectual, for, as we shall see, the Irish establishments continued to exist for some time longer.

II

But already certain measures had been decreed in the National Assembly, the effects of which were felt by the Irish Colleges. These were the confiscation of ecclesiastical property, and the civil constitution of the clergy. By the first of these measures, which was decreed in November, 1789, all Church property throughout France was confiscated for the benefit of the nation, and early in 1790 a large portion of that property was set up for sale. The agents of the Government regarded the British establishments as included in the decree of confiscation. But the superiors presented a petition to the Ecclesiastical Committee of the Assembly, pointing out that those establishments were foreign in their origin and in their purpose, and formed no part of the property of the Church of France.

On behalf of the Irish College the following Memorandum was presented in August, 1790:—

Lord Fitzgerald,⁴ who interested himself on behalf of, the

³ *Correspondance de M. Bailly, Maire de Paris, avec M. de Lafayette.* Fol. 109, Bibliothèque Nat., MSS. fonds français 11,697.

⁴ Lord Robert Fitzgerald, Minister Plenipotentiary at the British Embassy in Paris

Scotch, would have used all his influence on behalf of the Irish priests, his compatriots, but the latter preferred to rely on the loyalty of the noble nation, which for nearly two centuries has afforded them an asylum in the cities of Paris, Nantes, Bordeaux, Toulouse, and Douai. Now the citizens of those several Departments will bear testimony to the utility of these priests, who in case of need, supply the place of the parish priests and curates, and act as private chaplains.

These establishments, without being a burthen to the State, furnish in time of war chaplains and interpreters to the French armies, as MM. d'Orleans, du Guichan, de la Motte-Picquet, and Rochambeau can testify. The French Colonies also experience the utility of these establishments.

The Irish priests established in Paris, in the house known as the Lombard College, invoke with confidence the testimony of the parish priests and citizens of the Department. The Mayor holds in his hands offers of service which become more and more necessary.

The Superior of this house is a agent-general for the Irish Catholics, who invest their money in France, in preference to any other country, in consequence of the attachment which those priests foster in the hearts of their fellow-countrymen.

When the colleges *without exercise*,⁵ were, in 1764, made subject to the Board of Administration of Louis le Grand, the Irish establishment was excepted; and the Government recognising the necessity of a special *regime* for foreigners, was pleased to refer to a particular tribunal acquainted with their usages, their matters in dispute, to be determined free of expense. Doubtless, an establishment respected under the old *regime* will be still more respected under the happy revolution which shall preserve fraternity between the citizens of the two empires.

These priests enjoy this house by full right of ownership, legally acquired, confirmed by letters patent duly registered, and strengthened by possession for 120 years. During the course of their studies they subsist on funds annually received from Ireland. For these reasons, the Irish priests will not require the intervention of the British Ambassador, and they rely with confidence on the justice and honour of the National Assembly, and request the honour of its protection.

The gentlemen of the Committee will be good enough to observe:—

1^o. That the Catholics of Ireland, who number two millions, cannot avail themselves of home education, because they would have to abjure their faith in order to be admitted to the

⁵ Colleges *sans exercise* were those whose students attended lectures outside their own halls.

University of Dublin. They are, therefore, under the necessity of making their studies in France, and considerable sums, annually coming from abroad for the support of a thousand⁶ students, increase the circulation, and merit the attention of the French legislator.

The English Government at the present moment makes attractive offers to hinder the emigration of Catholics, and to keep their money in the country. They will certainly succeed if the Superior of the Irish priests is not authorised to contradict the Court Gazetteers, who repeat with affectation, 'That the petition of Lord Fitzgerald has not been favourably received; and that all foreign establishments will be suppressed in France.' Now, this assertion has caused alarm and consternation amongst the Catholics of Ireland, who have ceased to send the moneys, without which the students could not subsist, nor meet the engagements they have contracted with their furnishers.

2^o. That the Irish priests established in Paris never compete with the French clergy for any offices whatever, as they cannot leave their own country until they have attained their majority. They are ordained priests before commencing their philosophy, and they are bound to return as soon as they have finished their studies.⁷

On 14th September, 1790, the Ecclesiastical Committee gave a favourable reply to the foregoing memorandum, and declared that the Irish College, being a house of education, was exempt from the operation of the law confiscating ecclesiastical property.

Soon after this Dr. Walsh addressed the following memorandum to the Ecclesiastical Committee⁸:—

The Superior of the Irish priests, rue des Carmes, has the honour to inform the Committee that he has notified to the Bishops of Ireland the decision of the 14th September past, which is to the effect that the Committee is of opinion that this house is excepted in the Decrees of 14th and 15th April, and that it is entitled to continue the management and administration of its property.

That he is charged by the Bishops to express to the Committee their very respectful gratitude, and to add that their joy will be complete when they learn that the opinion of the Committee has been confirmed by the National Assembly. Now a decree to this effect is very urgent.

⁶ The number of Irish ecclesiastical students then in France was about 348 See *The Irish College in Paris*, p. 132.

⁷ *Archives Nationales*, Papers of the Ecclesiastical Committee, D. XIX. 30-472.

Ibid.

1°. Because the Irish Parliament will meet in a short time, and the English Government, seeking to keep money in the country, will use all its influence to pass a bill for home education, with the object of inducing the Catholics to renounce their establishments in France. But, *timentes Danaos et dona ferentes*, they will reject this insidious offer if the Assembly is pleased to decree the preservation of their establishments.

2°. The trades-people who supply this house eagerly await this decree, because it will authorise the payers of the Public Funds to pay the dividends, as they have reached the letter L.⁹

The Bishops of Ireland also merely await that decree to forward the sums which this house requires to meet its engagements.

3°. That decree will attract many Irish investors to France, because individuals will have confidence in the inviolability of their property, when they see the property of the body which represents their nation respected.

The Superior has the honour to observe that this house has nothing in common with any foreign Religious whatever, nor with the English and Scotch of Paris. These latter ask permission to sell in order to leave France. On the contrary, the Irish only ask to attach themselves to it more and more. The Committee is therefore requested to take into consideration the number, the utility, and the (*civisme*) patriotic sentiments of the Irish priests making their studies in France, and to establish the basis of their tranquillity by promptly decreeing the preservation of their principal house, the Lombard College.

OBSERVATIONS FOR THE REPORTER

1°. That the Irish Establishments interest two-thirds of the people of Ireland. The sun which shines above the horizon of France will soon enlighten the neighbouring countries, and it is to be presumed that those two-thirds will not long endure the fetters with which they are loaded by a third, which is made up of foreign usurpers.

Those two-thirds are excluded from all offices, civil and military. They have not the right to choose a single representative, and they obey laws made without their consent, and often to their prejudice.

Those two-thirds will feel the rights and the dignity of man, and will throw off the yoke of such thralldom. What then will become of those fleets which menace Europe, when deprived of the provisions and of the sailors furnished by Ireland? What would be the condition of the commerce of England without the raw material which Ireland furnishes in abundance? Doubt not, if Ireland becomes independent of England, France will have

* The initial of Lombards.

nothing to fear from her rival, who shall be humbled without it being necessary to strike a blow.

The English Government detests the Revolution which regenerates France, and it will do all in its power to hinder Irish students from coming to imbibe in our schools the principles which sooner or later will cause the germ of liberty so natural to man to burst forth. France is, therefore, interested both by humanity and by sound policy to preserve the foreign establishments, to say nothing of the lustre and the glory of becoming the centre and the Athens of the sciences.

2°. The plan of M. of Autun¹⁰ might suit French establishments, and yet be ruinous to those of foreigners. If the latter were thrown into the whirlwind of periodical elections, it is evident the superiors would possess only a precarious authority, and like the Ministers of the *Ancien Regime*, they would be more concerned for their situations than for the public interest. There would be no connexion and continuity in their administration; and they would be without influence with the bishops of their country, to whom they would be unknown.

In addition to this, I venture to remark that France has an interest in having at the head of those houses men of sure and Gallican principles, who have the confidence and act as the general agents of foreign Catholics.

3°. The history of the Lombard College and the changes brought about by intrigue and by the caprice of Ministers would weary the Reporter. Suffice it to say that the Government has re-established therein the primitive principle of unity of *regime* at the request of the Bishops of Ireland, and on the report of the Archbishop of Paris. The latter is the superior *natus* of the Irish establishment in spirituals; he receives the accounts, and solicits from his brethren, the Bishops of Ireland, the sums necessary to make up the annual deficit. He has the right to appoint the Superior and the Prefect,¹¹ and it appears that the Municipality or the Department could not take his place in this respect.

4°. Since 1737, there existed a tribunal consisting of the Archbishop, three Counsellors of State, and two Masters of Requests to adjudicate on disputes, present or to come, make rules, etc. Since the Decrees of the Assembly, this tribunal no longer exists. Yet such a tribunal is necessary for foreign establishments, and it appears that the latter would naturally fall under the Department of Foreign Affairs. The Minister of that department, the Minister of Paris, the Archbishop, the Mayor, and the Procurator of the Commune, would be suitable persons to take the place of the ancient tribunal.

¹⁰ Talleyrand. Election of Superiors by the students.

¹¹ Vice-Rector.

In conclusion, the Irish Seminary in the rue Cheval-Vert is only a branch of the Lombard College; and, although separate since 1776, it is subject to the principal house in the rue des Carmes.

This appeal was successful.

The National Assembly issued a decree, dated 29th October, 1790, declaring that 'there was nothing in the law of France to hinder foreigners from continuing to enjoy the property they had acquired with their own money.'

By a further decree of the National Assembly, March, 1791, the Superior of the College was empowered to administer not only the property of the College, but also the revenues of the burses, for the management of which the concurrence of the Canons of St. Victor's and the Abbot of St. Geneviève was formerly required.¹²

On 24th May, 1791, the four archbishops of Ireland, at their meeting in Dublin, drew up a petition to the National Assembly, requesting that body to confirm by decree certain rules concerning the discipline, studies, and administration of the College. So little were the excesses in which the Revolution culminated then foreseen!

III

A second measure adopted by the Assembly was the civil constitution of the clergy. By the law of 12th July, 1790, it was enacted that bishops and parish priests should be elected in the same way as the heads of the departments and the deputies to the Assembly, and that bishops should receive institution not from the Pope, but from their metropolitan. All beneficed clergy were required to take an oath declaring their acceptance of the new constitution. The King at first opposed his veto to this measure, but at last he withdrew his opposition—on 26th December, 1790—on the plea that he was no longer a free agent. On 13th April, 1791, Pius VI. formally condemned the civil constitution of the clergy. The clergy of France nobly maintained their allegiance to the Holy See. When required to swear fidelity to the new

¹² *Moniteur*, 29th October, 1790.

¹³ *Archives Nationales*, D. xix., 44-702.

constitution fifty thousand of the clergy and all the bishops, except four, refused to take the oath. In consequence they were deprived of their stipend, and the churches were closed against them. Mass could no longer be celebrated in public, except by the constitutional clergy, who by their oath had become schismatics.

The Irish Colleges were exempt from the operation of the civil constitution of the clergy, and Mass continued to be celebrated in their chapels. The concourse of the faithful to the divine service in those chapels soon aroused the anger of the agents of revolution. On 25th September, 1791, an attack was made on the people attending divine worship at the chapel of the Lombard College. In a letter addressed to the Municipality of Paris, Dr. Walsh, Superior of the College, gave an account of what took place, and made an emphatic protest against the outrage which had been committed. His letter, which we take from the *Mercure de France*, 15th October, 1791, is as follows:—

The undersigned Superior of the Irish College, called of the Lombards, rue des Carmes, has the honour to lay before you his humble petition, and to state that certain malevolent persons have sought to mislead public opinion by an article inserted in the *Feuille du Soir* of Sunday last, at page 3, a copy of which is hereto annexed, in which there is no truth except the annoyance to foreigners, and the unworthy treatment of which they have been the witnesses or the victims. A simple and true statement of what took place will enable you to form an opinion and to judge.

Established in this capital under the protection of the Government and the safeguard of the laws, we enjoy, in virtue of treaties, the free exercise of Catholic worship. Our private chapel has ever up to the present been open to all those whom piety has attracted to it, and especially to our compatriots of both sexes, who hardly knowing a word of French, are, by the fact, obliged, when they come to Paris, to address themselves to us for their spiritual necessities. On Sunday last, 25th September, several of them accompanied perhaps by some French friends or servants, assisted at our Mass, and on leaving were pursued, hooted, and maltreated by individuals, who came from a neighbouring wineshop; and, as if insults and threats were not enough, those individuals laid hold on a respectable woman (it is stated she was *enceinte*) and whipped her cruelly. This scandalous scene was applauded. This was

the way, it was said, to punish those devotees, those aristocrats ! The Commissary of Police arrived on the scene with a detachment of the National Guard ; he addressed the mob and promised them satisfaction ; he brought in four of the men who besieged the door, and reprimanded me in their presence, and called on me in the name of the law to make all those in the chapel leave without waiting for the end of Mass, which was already far advanced. He himself entered to make an inspection, and he forbade me to open the door of the College to any person whatever. I represented to him the attachment of my compatriots to a chapel wherein repose the ashes of their relatives, and I referred to laws and to treaties, but to no purpose. The Commissary answered that he knew not the treaties. The commander of the detachment, who should have been the mute instrument of the civil authority, addressed those who came out of the chapel in the following terms :— ‘In the name of the man of justice, I summon you to follow me to the church of St. Etienne, else I will abandon you to the people.’ They left the chapel in the midst of a mob, who loaded them with the greatest insults. I know not what followed. All the rest of the day I heard nothing but insults and threats, to which I replied only by patience.

Gentlemen, I offer judicial proofs that neither the parish priest nor the curates of St. Hilary's¹⁴ have exercised any function of the ministry in the College since the funeral of Lord Caher, at the beginning of 1789. I might also affirm that no inhabitant of that parish has heard Mass here since the date of the Oath. In consequence of the foregoing statement, we expect from you, gentlemen, security, protection, and liberty. Always animated with the spirit of meekness and charity which our ministry dictates, we easily forget insults and this first outburst of a misguided people. We content ourselves with invoking, we even claim with confidence the law of nations, the decrees of the National Assembly respecting the freedom of religious opinions, and, moreover, the treaty of 1786 between Great Britain and France. This treaty secures to the subjects of the respective Powers liberty of worship in their national establishments. Now, gentlemen, this treaty would be null and our liberty would be chimerical, if men whose duty it is to protect us, abandon us to a misguided people ; and if we are forced to set up at the doors of our establishments a rigorous and impossible investigation as to the quality of persons, and to separate our compatriots from their friends. I ask of you then, gentlemen, to take prompt, certain, and efficacious measures to

¹⁴ St. Hilairè du Mont was the ancient parish in which the Lombard College was situated. It now forms part of the parish of St. Etienne du Mont.

protect us henceforward from insult and outrage, or else to pronounce our expulsion from France, We shall leave it without a blush, for we have ever been obedient to the laws of the empire without ceasing to be inviolably attached to the British Monarchy, of which we are the faithful subjects. We even venture to flatter ourselves that, so far from ignoring the benefits we have received from a noble nation, which opened to us an asylum, we have been and ever shall be the first to set the example of submission in all that is not contrary to our religious principles.

(Signed), WALSH.

Paris, 1st Oct., 1791.

The *Mercure de France*, in publishing the foregoing letter, remarks that in reading it, one can easily judge how the rights of man and the most valued laws are observed. It adds that the Superior of the Irish College had greatly softened down the account of what took place, and it states that the alarm caused by the attack was so great, that one of the priests of the College fell ill and died within a few days. The commotion caused by the celebration of Divine worship still continued, and soon after, on 9th October, a similar attack was made on the people coming from the chapel of the College in rue du Cheval-Vert. A pamphlet published at the time, evidently by some one with revolutionary sympathies, gives the following graphic account of what occurred :—

Exact details¹⁵ of the great Revolution which took place at the Irish Seminary, rue du Cheval-Vert, near the Estrapade, Faubourg St. Marceau, when 27 female bigots, counter-revolutionists, along with the Superior of the Seminary, were whipped by the holy wrath of the people, together with a list of the names and quality of all those whipped.

For a long time past the refractory priests of Paris have found a delightful resort in the Irish Seminary, rue du Cheval-Vert, at the Estrapade, where they assembled a large number of devotees, complaisant enough to listen with pleasure to the false doctrines which they teach contrary to the good principles

¹⁵ 'Detail exact de la grande Revolution arrivée au Seminaire des Irlandais rue du Cheval-Vert, à l'Estrapade, Faubourg St. Marceau, où 27 bigotes contre-revolutionnaires ont été fouettées, par la sainte colère du peuple, ainsi que le Supérieur du Seminaire, avec la liste des noms et qualités de toutes (*sic*) les culs fouettés.' De l'Imprimerie de Labarre au coin de la rue du Puits et du Marché aux Poirées à la Halle. (*Bibliothèque de la Ville de Paris*, n. 7502.)

of our Constitution. After several aristocratic sermons, these extravagant devotees carried so far the audacity instilled into them by these counter-revolutionary priests, that they insulted a number of lady citizens, and even the National Guard. This conduct irritated all the brave patriot women of the Faubourg St. Marcel against them to such a degree that yesterday they seized them as they were coming out from service, and beat and whipped them à cul nud publicly in the middle of the street Cheval-Vert, after having made them make an apology, and ask pardon in a clear and intelligible voice.

The feast of St. Denis, patron of the clergy, was the date on which all the non-juring priests of Paris were to meet there to celebrate the festival of him who brought the faith to France; and at the close of a sermon which led the whole audience to believe that the faith is ruined since the Revolution began, and is no longer observed except by themselves and such as follow their principles, they made an act of reparation before a large Crucifix, moved by a spring, which, by means of a wire, turned its head at pleasure, and caused it by a sign to answer yes, or no, according to the petitions offered. All those people having their heads excited by superstition cried out, 'A miracle!' with such vehemence, that from all quarters people assembled to the place, as did the National Guard, who were not able to restrain the people exasperated by those insolent begins. The first who was whipped was the most insolent, namely, Mary Peloise, a bigot furious against the Revolution; the others are—Josephine Rivons, Catharine Goujon, Julia Fichetz, Rosalie Davelous, Maryanne Leffay, Frances Palisot, Augustine Mary Feron, Antoinette La-Teay, Frances Grosflay, Julia Pelusard, Mary Rose Panau, &c., and others, almost all housekeepers of refractory old curés. One of them fainted three times, principally, when she saw that they were going to whip the Superior of the Seminary. This scene commenced about two o'clock in the afternoon, and ended only about six, or even later. The Guard was obliged to remain until very late, for, after having administered this correction, the people would not have failed to enter and totally destroy that nest of superstition.

The foregoing account is interesting as showing the state of popular feeling at the time. But other and more reliable documents show how serious were the disturbances which took place on this occasion, viz., the declarations of the Commissary of Police of the Section of the Observatory made on 9th, 10th, 11th, and 15th October, and still preserved at the archives of the Police Office, Paris. The

Commissary of Police deposed that the celebration of divine worship at the Irish College had excited the displeasure of the people, that service was attended by a large number of persons not belonging to the College, and especially by women. When he arrived at the scene of the disturbance on Sunday, 9th of October, he found both ends of the street Cheval-Vert blocked by a large crowd of people ; the sides of the street and the space in front of the College door was occupied by the National Guard, who feebly aided a battalion from Val-de-Grace, which was making every effort to restore order.¹⁶ The Commissary expressed his regret that some members of the National Guard had entered the College, and made certain persons leave without escorting them, thereby exposing them to the fury of the mob. He added that certain individuals excited the mob to violence by declaring that the conduct of those in the Seminary was an act of rebellion against the laws ; and that as the magistrates did not do their duty, the people should take the law into their own hands. Students were seen, who by their gestures exasperated the mob still more. It was alleged that one of them had thrown an earthenware vessel from the windows, but as no fragments were to be found the Commissary considered the statement improbable.

Two persons were seen at a window, one of whom was preparing to throw a tile from the roof, when he was restrained by a companion. The tumult continued until late in the evening and was resumed next day. To restore order it was found necessary to call in the aid of two detachments of grenadiers and a detachment of cavalry.

The sergeant of the battalion from Val-de-Grace also made a declaration, stating the measures he had taken up to eight o'clock in the evening to restore order. Several persons were brought to trial for their conduct on this occasion. One of these was an ex-cavalry officer who stood opposite the College, and excited the people by holding his beads in his hands and declaring that he belonged to the Holy Catholic Apostolic Church. On examination he was

¹⁶ *Archives de Police*, Section de l'Observatoire 9-10-16, October, 1791.

pronounced to be of weak mind and was dismissed. Another was a woman, a servant in a house in the rue de l'Estrapade, who signalised herself by her violence, and dealt the sergeant a blow in the stomach. Her employers declared that she was habitually well conducted, and she was released. A third was a woman whose conduct was still more violent. She was arrested for having struck a nun, and beaten a woman named Jane Michael Pothain, addressing her in the vilest language (*la traitant de cul-fouetté et lui disant des horreurs*), and at the same time calling on the woman present to whip all the women who entered the College. In spite of her protests she was sent to prison.

By the vigorous efforts of the police and the military the troubles occasioned by the celebration of divine worship at the two Irish Colleges were put a stop to for a time. On the 8th December, however, the disturbances broke out once more at the Lombard College. An old man and a woman on leaving the chapel were attacked and thrown violently to the ground. For this misconduct some arrests were made. Again, on 2nd February, 1792, similar scenes of violence were renewed and orders were given to the police at the place Maubert, to make frequent patrols in the rue des Carmes, to hinder the mob from assembling. The chapel of the College in rue du Cheval-Vert continued to be frequented. On 21st May, 1792, a certain Sieur Minot made a complaint to the Mayor of Paris that 'a large number of false devotees (*faux devots et des fausses devotes*) of both sexes assiduously frequented the offices celebrated by the Irish priests, rue du Cheval-Vert, to the great indignation of the whole neighbourhood against those hypocrites of whom society ought to be purged.'¹⁷

At length the indignation of the mob became uncontrollable. On 10th and 12th August, 1792, the College was again attacked, the chapel, the rooms, the stores, offices, and cellar, were broken into and pillaged. Dr. Kearney saved himself by flight, but soon returned to his post. After this date all the ecclesiastical students must have returned

¹⁷ *Arch. Nat.*, D, iii, 235.

to Ireland, for we learn from a statement of Dr. Walsh that from 1792 until the reorganization of the College, after the peace of Amiens, ecclesiastical studies had ceased in the two Colleges.

IV

Meanwhile, undaunted by these disturbances, Dr. Walsh had organised a series of retreats at the Lombard College for French priests living in concealment in Paris. Six retreats took place in the years 1791 and 1792. One of Dr. Walsh's colleagues, Rev. Mr. O'Brien, protested vehemently against the continuance of them, fearing they would prove a danger to the safety of the College. Dr. Walsh, however, was not to be intimidated, and in a letter to the Abbé de Salamon, who, in the capacity of Internuncio, was in correspondence with Cardinal Zalada, he writes as follows :—

Be good enough to forward to its destination the letter herewith enclosed, signed by the retreatants, who have just concluded their retreat in the greatest tranquillity; thanks be to God, who protects this good work, and has caused it to triumph over the malice of men. You will see by the letter of Mr. O'Brien, chaplain of one of the residences of *Monsieur*, how he opposed the continuance of the exercises with all his energy. Under the influence of fear and panic himself, he sought to inspire the students with his own alarms, saying that they would get themselves massacred if the retreat took place. I possessed sufficient influence over their docile hearts to reassure them against these perfidious insinuations. Seeing that his manœuvres were ineffectual, he burst out publicly, and threatened to denounce to the new magistrates my unpatriotic conduct (*incivisme*), in authorising meetings which compromised the existence of the house. God gave me the grace not to allow myself to be moved by his threats, nor by the steps which he took to deprive those good ecclesiastics of the only support which remained to them. I thought it my duty to inform you of this conduct, because I have heard that Mr. O'Brien is on the list for the Archbishopric of Cashel, in Ireland. His Eminence the Cardinal Prefect will in his wisdom judge whether such a man is worthy to occupy a place in the Hierarchy.

I have the honour to be, with respect, your very humble and obedient servant,

WALSH.

To M. l'Abbé de Salamon. 5th May, 1792.

P.S.—The Vicars-General will testify to you regarding the

blameworthy projects of Mr. O'Brien, who will oppose in the same way the retreat announced for 29th of this month.

The vacancy in Cashel was filled on this occasion by the appointment of Dr. Bray. The Sacred Congregation had a short time before promoted the Right Rev. Dr. Teahan, Bishop of Kerry, to the Archbishopric of Cashel. When there was a prospect of a vacancy in Kerry, Dr. Walsh, through the Abbé de Salamon, advocated the appointment of the Abbé Cook as bishop of that see. On 30th Nov., 1791, Cardinal Zelada, in a letter to the *Internuncio*, writes :—

As I had promised to you, I strongly recommended your Abbé Walsh to Cardinal Antonelli, the very worthy Prefect of Propaganda ; and I pointed out his desire to have the Abbé Cook appointed to the bishopric of Kerry. I must tell you that the Congregation has already promoted the Bishop of Kerry to the Metropolitan See of Cashel ; but it is not known whether he will accept. In general the Congregation has the greatest respect for the recommendation of the bishops of the province.¹⁹

But to return from this digression : the zeal of Dr. Walsh in organizing those retreats merited for him the eulogium of Cardinal Zelada and of his Holiness Pius VI.²⁰ Nor were his services forgotten by the ecclesiastical authorities in Paris. In later years when, through the intrigues of a faction, he was obliged to retire from the post of Administrator-General of the Irish Foundations, he received from the Archbishop of Paris the following certificate, to be used in his justification :—

To all whom it concerns or may concern, we testify that the venerable man, M. John-Baptist Walsh, an Irish priest, Doctor of the Sacred Faculty of Paris, Administrator-General of the English, Scotch, and Irish Foundations, showed himself so commendable by many titles, that after having wisely governed the Irish College at Nantes, he was chosen about twenty-two years ago by our Most Illustrious and Most Rev. predecessor, Mgr. de Juigné, Archbishop of Paris, to preside over the education

¹⁸ Unpublished Letter from the Secret Archives of the Holy See, *Vatican Archives, Francia*, 583, kindly communicated by the Vte. de Richemont.

¹⁹ *Correspondance secrète de l'Abbé de Salamon chargé-d'affaires du Saint-Siège pendant la Revolution, avec le Cardinal Zelada (1791, 1792) par le Vte. de Richemont* p. 148. Paris, 1898.

²⁰ See *The Irish College in Paris*, p. 62.

of the Irish in Paris, and to administer the property of all the foundations left by Irishmen, and in the discharge of that office he fully satisfied the expectations of the aforesaid Most Illustrious and Most Rev. Archbishop.

We testify, moreover, that at the time when our dear France began to be disturbed by those most lamentable civil commotions, the said venerable man most strenuously defended the Holy Catholic religion so grievously attacked, and did everything in his power for its advantage at the Lombard College, of which he had been then for five years rector. And this he accomplished by lodging and boarding as many priests from all parts of France as the College could receive, and by organizing and sedulously promoting during an entire year spiritual retreats, which, as everyone knows, are of the greatest advantage to revive and nurture the grace of the priesthood.

And we testify, that the zeal of the aforesaid venerable man did not stop here, but during the whole time of the persecution, both when at the height of its fury and when it began to slacken, he exerted himself to re-establish Divine worship, and by his prudence assisted in the government of the diocese of Paris in most difficult times our predecessors' Vicars-General to whose meetings he was admitted.

We testify, in fine, that the said venerable man has ever been most loyal to the Catholic Faith and to the Holy Apostolic See, that he is free from all censures, and has proved himself commendable by morals worthy of a priest, as well as by zeal, piety, and charity.

In testimony whereof we have ordered the present commendatory letters to be issued.

Given at Paris in the year of our Lord 1808, and 10th of March.

(Signed), ✠ J. B. DE BELLOY,
*Cardinal-Archbishop of Paris.*²¹

V

Whilst many of the laity continued faithful to the practices of religion, and many of the clergy found strength in spiritual exercises to bear their trials, the Revolution was increasing in violence. The Constituent Assembly had given place to the Legislative ; the Tuileries had been sacked, and the King made a prisoner in the Temple. The Prussians had

²¹ From a printed Petition by Dr. Walsh to the Provisional Government, Paris, 1814.

invaded the soil of France, and the revolutionary leaders were making vigorous preparations to repel the invasion. But they resolved before setting out to strike a blow which should fill the Royalists with terror. Domiciliary visits were made throughout Paris, and many persons, especially priests, who had refused the oath, were seized and cast into prison. Forthwith the assassination of the prisoners was resolved on, and a band of three hundred assassins in the pay of the magistrates assembled at the Hotel de Ville awaiting the signal to commence. On the 2nd September the massacres began, and continued to the 6th. At the *Hotel de Ville*, the *Abbaye*, the *Carmes*, and other prisons, according to the most moderate accounts,²² 1,089 persons, of whom 200 were ecclesiastics, were slain amidst scenes of the most savage cruelty. Some affirm that as many as 5,000 perished. At the Church of the Carmes almost all the victims were ecclesiastics. They were put to death because they were faithful to their allegiance to the Holy See. They are regarded as martyrs, and the cause of their Beatification is being prepared. The triumph of their cause will be an honour to the Irish College; for it is believed that several of them were prepared by the retreats at the Lombard College to win a martyr's crown. Amongst those who narrowly escaped death on the occasion of the September massacres was an Irish priest named Flood, then Procurator-Syndic of the College of Navarre, and resident in the College of Boncour, an annex of that establishment. There is good reason to believe that he was no other than Dr. Peter Flood, who from being a student of the Irish College in 1772 became Provisor of the Lombard College, then royal professor of Theology at the College of Navarre, and subsequently President of Maynooth. His escape is thus recorded in *Archives Parlementaires*, under the date 5th September, 1792:—

On 5th September, MM. Guirault and Hennisart were admitted to the bar of the National Assembly. M. Guirault presented to the Assembly a new victim rescued from the sword of the armed mob. This citizen, an Irish priest, named Flood, procurator of the College of Boncour, was on the point of being included in the number of refractory priests attached, like

²² See *Lalanne Dictionnaire historique de la France*, 2 ed., Paris, 1877.

him, to the said college. M. Guirault, in the name of the law and at the voice of innocence, succeeded in rescuing him. He requests the Assembly, by placing him under its protection, to give to the English people a new proof of fraternity and generosity; and to furnish him with the means of returning to his native land (applause). Then MM. Guirault and Hennisart took the oath of 3rd September. The President applauded their zeal, and granted them the honours of the sitting. M. Chaudieu presents as a motion the proposal respecting the Citizen Flood, and asks that a second honourable mention be made of the conduct of M. Guirault. The Assembly decrees that M. Flood is placed under the protection of the French nation; and orders that the name of M. Guirault be entered on the minutes, as having twice saved a man's life.²³

The massacres of September were followed by the trial and execution of Louis XVI. on 23rd January, 1793. We have elsewhere given an account of the share taken by Dr. Kearney, Rector of the Irish College, in a plan for the escape of Louis XVI., and of his presence on the tragic occasion of the King's execution.²⁵ A little later we find mention of him in the Register of the Revolutionary Committee of the Section of the Pantheon.²⁴ The awful period of the Reign of Terror was approaching, yet Mass continued to be celebrated in the College until March, 1793. On 17th March of that year Dr. Walsh was summoned before the Committee of General Safety and asked why he permitted fanatics to attend Mass at his establishment. He replied, that it was at rue du Cheval-Vert that Mass was celebrated. Soon after the two superiors were summoned to account for their conduct. On 9th May, 1793, the Committee of Public Safety issued the following order respecting them :—

The Committee of Public Safety of the Convention, charges the Commissaries of Inspection of the Section of the French Pantheon to proceed to the Irish College, rue St. Jacques (*sic*), to seize the persons called Kearney and Walsh, Superiors of the said College, to examine their papers, and extract from them

²³ *Archives Parliementaries*, 5th Sep., 1792. Tom. xlix., p. 377.

²⁴ I. E. RECORD, May, 1902, p. 448.

²⁵ *The Irish College in Paris, 1578-1901*, p. 66.

²⁶ *Archives Nationales*, F. 2520.

anything that appears suspicious, and bring it to the Committee and to have the said individuals brought before it.

Signed by the Members of the Committee.

The Committee having learned that Kearney resides in the College, rue du Cheval-Vert, in the Section of the Observatory, resolves that the present order shall be communicated to the Revolutionary Committee of the said Section, in order to invite them to put it into execution with regard to Kearney, and appoints the citizen Mandisson to deliver the order to our brothers of the Revolutionary Committee of the Observatory, to advertise them to concert measures with the Revolutionary Committee of the Pantheon to bring the two persons mentioned before the Committee of General Safety ; and it appoints the citizens Gillard and Champagne to execute the order respecting Walsh at the Lombard College, rue des Carmes.

Immediately the Commissaries proceeded to the Irish College, and examined the papers. They reported as follows :— ‘ We found no letters dated within three months. The citizen declared that at a previous visit, carried out at his house, several English letters had been taken away. We found a receipt signed Walsh and Schomberg, dated Paris, 6th Nov., 1790 ; a receipt for a loan of 600 livres, made to the said Schomberg by the aforesaid Walsh and Kearney ; a letter signed O’Crowly, asking for a bursar for a person named Lee, punished by the tribunals ; a bill signed Xavier Schomberg, dated 1st Nov., 1790 ; a letter in English, without signature or date ; a note of 21,065 fr., which the said Walsh stated he had in cash, and which he laid before us in a box, which he sealed ; 76 leaves of *assignats* of four sous ; also, a deposit of a legacy, of which he is the testamentary executor, for the sisters and nephews of Hertot (?), residing in Ireland. This deposit consists of a gold watch, 54 louis, about 800 livres in *assignats*, and 600 livres in other *assignats*, five silver table-services, which, he said, were specified in greater detail in the inventory made by the Mayor, as notary, and all deposited by him in a box. Being required by us, in virtue of the order presented to him, to proceed to the Committee of Public Safety of the Convention, he declared that he was prepared to obey every requisition of the law.’

These minutes were drawn up in the presence of Walsh, who signed them, and they were deposited with the Committee.

We have not been able to discover an account of the appearance of Dr. Walsh and Dr. Kearney before the Committee of Safety on this occasion. In the following August the Convention decreed that foreigners who were

subjects of States with whom the Republic was at war should be arrested, and seals put upon their papers and effects. This decree was notified to the Committee of the Section of the Pantheon on 2nd August, 1793. In October all British subjects were placed under arrest. At this time the Irish Colleges were seized as belonging to the subjects of a foreign State; their papers and effects were put under seals. The two superiors were imprisoned. Dr. Walsh was deprived of his liberty during the whole period of the Terror. Dr. Kearney underwent imprisonment at various times—in the Temple, in the Luxembourg, and in the Scotch College:—for thirty-six days he was detained in a dungeon (*cachot*) from which he was told he would only come forth to go to the scaffold. The intervention, however, of Camille Desmoulins saved his life.

VI

The revolutionary storm was at length beginning to subside. Dr. Walsh, freed from imprisonment, was allowed to return to his college. Here he occupied himself in preserving all that remained of its property. At the same time he co-operated with the Vicars-General of Paris in superintending the religious interests of the diocese. After the death of Robespierre a certain measure of religious toleration was exercised, and about three hundred priests ministered in Paris to the wants of the faithful. In 1795, besides oratories, several churches were opened, by permission of the Municipality, to the clergy who had not taken the oath. In 1797 fifty parish churches were open at Easter, and were insufficient to contain the people who flocked to them. In the provinces similar toleration existed. The priests who had emigrated began to return; and before the *Concordat* was signed, there were on French soil over 20,000 priests; and, as Abbé Sicard shows from official statistics, deducting those who had taken the oath, as well as the aged and infirm, there were already from 18,000 to 19,000 zealous priests engaged in the work of the

ministry.²⁷ While Dr. Walsh was occupied in co-operating with the Vicars-General of Paris, at that time as the Abbé Sicard calls them, the light of the Clergy of France; Dr. Kearney also re-covered his liberty. In May, of the year IV. (1796) the seals were taken off the College property, and Dr. Kearney reentered on the provisional administration of it. As there was no prospect of students coming from Ireland, he let the College for a period of nine years to Abbé MacDermott, an Irish priest, who kept a school for young gentlemen. Abbé MacDermott's school was attended by the sons of many distinguished French families, and an interesting account of its character, taken from O'Reilly's *Irish Abroad and at Home*, may be seen in the pages of the I. E. RECORD of March, 1866, p. 255. Abbé MacDermott continued to occupy the College as tenant until about 1804, when he was obliged by Dr. Walsh to give up possession.

Meanwhile order was slowly emerging from chaos. Bonaparte had entered into negotiations with the Holy See for the official re-establishment of public worship in France. Negotiations for peace with England were also in progress. At this juncture Dr. Walsh addressed a petition to the First Consul for the reorganisation of the Irish College in Paris. He was aided by the influence and diplomatic skill of the illustrious Bishop of Waterford, Most Rev. Dr. Hussey. That prelate, who had formerly been chaplain to the Spanish Embassy in London, came to Paris, and represented the views of his colleagues the Bishops of Ireland. The Spanish Ambassador in Paris presented him to Napoleon and supported his petition for the re-establishment of the Irish Colleges. His efforts were crowned with success. On 19th Fructidor, of year IX. (1801) a decree of the First Consul sanctioned the reopening of the College, and appointed a *Bureau of Surveillance* to superintend its reorganisation. Dr. Hussey, who had so large a share in the happy issue of a negotiation so important for the Church in Ireland, addressed a letter to

²⁷ *L'ancien clergé de France pendant la Revolution.* par l'Abbé Sicard. Paris, 1903, pp. 432-543.

His Holiness Pius VII. to inform him of the success of his mission to France. He received from the Holy Father the following reply, for which we are deeply indebted to Most Rev. Dr. Sheehan, his distinguished and accomplished successor in the See of Waterford. His Holiness writes as follows :—

PIUS VII. POPE.

Venerable Brother,

Health and Apostolic Benediction,—We have received the expression of your devoted sentiments on the occasion of our promotion to the Supreme Pontificate, the more gladly as we are convinced that it proceeds not so much from mere ceremony as from great zeal for religion, for which you are especially commendable. How much you excell herein is testified, not only by your former services performed with singular fidelity, labour, and assiduity for the welfare of the Catholic Church, but also by what you have recently achieved in France, where aided by the influence of the Catholic King you have once more secured to your nation the colleges established in that country for the education of Irish ecclesiastics. We therefore praise the excellent work you have performed, as well as your Apostolic zeal. We thank you extremely for having made us participators in the joy which you feel at the successful issue of your Apostolic efforts. The matter, in truth, is one which redounds to your great glory and joy, and fills us with marvellous pleasure. Wherefore we pray God, who is infinitely good, and to whom you so laudably refer your success, to assist you by His powerful aid in your labours for the Church, so that we may often be able to rejoice at the fruits of your labours; and for their greater increase day by day, while we extend to you our aid, we lovingly impart to you the Apostolic Benediction as a pledge of heavenly blessings

Given at Rome, at St. Mary Major's, 5th September, 1801, the second of our Pontificate,

JOSEPH MEROTTI,
Secretary of Latin Letters.

To our Venerable Brother,

THOMAS, Bishop of Waterford.²⁸

When permission had been secured to reopen the Irish College in Paris the work of reorganisation commenced.

²⁸ From a copy of the original in Latin, kindly communicated by Most Rev. Dr. Sheehan, Bishop of Waterford.

The house in rue du Cheval-Vert was made the seat of the new establishment. Finally, after many difficulties had been overcome, on 1st of August, 1805, Dr. Walsh published a prospectus announcing the opening of classes for the 1st of October following—feast of Remy.²⁹

Pius VII., on the occasion of his visit to Paris for the coronation of Bonaparte, gave his blessing to the work in which Dr. Walsh was engaged. Since October, 1805, many generations of students have made in the old College their preparation for the work of the mission. *In omnem terram exivit sonus eorum.*³⁰ Another Pius now sits upon the throne of Pius VI. and Pius VII. When the centenary of its re-opening comes round in 1905, the College will have many blessings for which to offer thanks to God. May its children in the future be as loyal to Pius X. as their predecessors have been to the great Pontiffs who preceded him.

PATRICK BOYLE, C.M.

²⁹ *The Irish College in Paris, 1578-1901*, p. 207-210.
Psalm xviii.

Notes and Queries

LITURGY

DECREES OF THE S.R.C.: JUBILEE OF DEFINITION OF IMMACULATE CONCEPTION. WHETHER REVERENCES ARE TO BE MADE AT MENTION OF A SAINT'S NAME IN MASS SAID DURING HIS OCTAVE WHEN HE IS NOT COMMEMORATED. PREFACE TO BE SAID IN VOTIVE MASSES DURING OCTAVES. NOTES ON DECREES.

DECRETA S. R. C.

1.

Urbis et Orbis.—Adventante anno quinquagesimo ab auspiciatissima die 8 Decembris anni 1854, qua in maximo Templo Vaticano de Immaculata Conceptione B. M. V. dogmatica definitio a sa. m. Pio Papa IX solemniter pronunciata fuit, ut huiusce iubilei cursus in gloriam divini nominis, in eiusdem Deiparae Virginis honorem, atque in fidei et pietatis incrementum verteret, Leo Papa XIII, nuper vita functus et felicitis recordationis, Commissionem ex quibusdam, Emis. Patribus Cardinalibus compositam instituit, quae fidelium cuiusque ordinis et coetus studia et opera ad hunc specialem finem dirigendo et provehendo prospiceret.

Nunc vero haec sacrorum Purpuratorum Commissio, sub novis faustisque auspiciis Sanctae Matris Eccles. coelesti sponso et capiti perenniter iunctae, et post brevem viduitatis luctum, altero visibili sponso et capite iucunde decoratae, communia complurium Pastorum et fidelium vota humilesque preces Apostolicae Sedi reverenter porrexit. Quas a subscripto Sacrorum Rituum Congregationis Secretario relatas Sanctissimus Dominus Noster Pius Papa X, pro eo quo erga Deiparam Virginem studio et amore flagrat, benignissime excipiens, indulisit ut, decurrente anno, a proximo die festo Immaculatae Conceptionis B. M. V. computando, die octava cuiusque mensis, vel, iustis de causis, Dominica eam immediate sequente, in Ecclesiis aut Oratoriis, ubi, approbante loci Ordinario, quaedam exercitia pietatis fiant in honorem B. M. V. Immaculatae, praeparatoria quinquagenariis sollemnis enunciatae, dogmaticae definitionis, unica Missa votiva, sive cum cantu sive lecta, de Ipsius SS. Virginis Imma-

culata Conceptione celebrari valeat, cum iisdem privilegiis quae competunt Missae votivae solemni pro re gravi et publica Ecclesiae causa, iuxta Decretum N. 3922 de Missis Votivis, 30 Iunii 1896 § 2, quaeque concessa fuere Missae Votivae de S. Corde Iesu pro prima feria VI uniuscuiusque mensis ad normam Decreti N. 3712 "Urbis et Orbis," 28 Iunii 1889, et subsequentium declarationem : ita ut huiusmodi Missa dicatur cum *Gloria et Credo*, et unica Oratione, et dummodo non occurrat festum duplex primae classis aut Dominica item primae classis aliquod festum eiusdem B. M. V., feria, vigilia aut octava ex privilegiatis : in quibus solummodo Commemoratio fieri poterit Orationem Missae Votivae post Orationem Missae de die, sub unica conclusione.

Insuper eadem Sanctitas Sua, supplici postulationi plene cumulateque satisfaciens, hoc etiam liberaliter concessit, ut in praefatis Ecclesiis aut Oratoriis, praeter memoratam Missam Votivam, qualibet die octava mensis vel Dominica proxime sequente indultam, ceteris Missis tunc addi possit Commemoratio Immaculae Conceptionis B. M. V. ad instar festi duplicis simpliciter : servatis tamen in omnibus Rubricis. Contrariis non obstantibus quibuscumque. Die 14 Augusti 1903.

M. Card. MOCENNI.

D. PANICI, Archiep. Laodicen., *Secret.*

II.

Ord. Fratrum Minorum.—Rev. P. Pascalis a Perusia, sacerdos professus Ordinis Fratrum Minorum, de consensu sui Rmi. Procuratoris Generalis, Sacrorum Rituum Congregationi sequentia dubia, pro opportuna solutione, humillime exposuit, nimirum :

I. An infra octavam alicuius Sancti octavam habentis, cuius nec officium recitatur, nec fieri commemoratio per accidens potest, caput inclinari debeat, quando dicti Sancti nomen occurrit in Missa ?

II. Quaenam praefatio dicenda sit in Missa votiva conventuali, quando alia celebretur Missa de die infra octavam vel eius fiat commemoratio in Missa de officio occurrente, an scilicet praefatio communis vel praefatio de octava ?

Et Sacra eadem Congregatio, ad relationem subscripti Secretarii, exposito voto Commissionis Liturgicae, omnibusque accurate perpensis, rescribendum censuit :

Ad I. *Affirmative*. Ad II. *Affirmative ad primum. Negative ad secundum*.

Atque ita rescripsit die 19 Iunii 1903.

S. Card. CRETONI, *Praefectus*.

D. PANICI, Archiep. Laodicen., *Secret*.

NOTES ON DECREES :

1. December 8th, 1904, will be the fiftieth anniversary of the promulgation of the Decree that made the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of the Mother of God an article of Catholic Faith. The advent of the Golden Jubilee of the Definition will be the occasion for general rejoicing throughout the Catholic world, and will be celebrated with befitting pomp and ceremonial in every clime where Mary's name is held in honour. It was the chief concern of the last days of the late Sovereign Pontiff to make the celebration worthy of its object and expressive of that ardent devotion to our Lady that characterised his own life. The noble designs of Leo are being carried into execution by his successor, who has ordered that the following year shall be in a very special manner consecrated to the honour and worship of the Blessed Virgin. The first year of his Pontificate, accordingly, is to be a year of preparation for the Jubilee of the Immaculate Conception. During it he has desired that special devotions should be practised in Mary's honour, and to render these practices of piety the more feasible he has granted the privileges contained in above Decree. During the coming year a Votive Mass of the Immaculate Conception, either chanted or read, is permitted in any Chapel or Oratory where devotions are practised in honour of Mary Immaculate on the 8th day of each month, or, if not possible on this day, on the following Sunday. The privileges of this Mass are the same as those granted to the Votive Mass of the Sacred Heart on the first Friday of each month. That is to say, it is to be said with *Gloria*, and *Credo*, and one prayer, and may be said on any day that is not occupied with a Double of the First Class, a Sunday of the First Class, any Feast of the B.V., a privileged feria,

vigil or octave. (On these days a commemoration only of the Votive Mass is allowed to be made under the same conclusion with the Prayer of the Mass for the day.) Moreover, wherever the Votive Mass is said a commemoration of it is also allowed, when permitted by the Rubrics, in all the other Masses said in the same place.

2. The Rubrics order an inclination of the head at mention in the Mass of the Saint whose office is being recited, or who is even commemorated. The Congregation of Rites decided that this does not apply to the titles of the Epistles and Gospels.¹ Supposing that, for some reason, during the octave of a certain Saint neither his office nor commemoration of him is allowed on a particular day, is a reverence to be made at his name when it occurs in the Mass? This is the question decided by above Decree and the answer is: If the office and commemoration excluded only *per accidens*, *affirmative*, if excluded *per se*, *negative*. As far as we can ascertain a commemoration is regarded as excluded *per accidens* when the solemnity of some occurring office prohibits it, and *per se* when there is no affinity whatsoever between the two Masses—as in the case of a Festive Mass and a Mass for the Dead—or when the Votive Mass is completely extra *ordinem officii*. An almost similar process of reasoning would seem to account for the decision regarding the Preface in a conventual Votive Mass which is altogether dissociated from the office and Mass of the day. Here it stands completely by itself, and if it has not a *proper* preface, then the *common* one is to be said.

¹ S. R. C. Dec., 3767, nov. coll.

CORRESPONDENCE

ALTAR WINE

REV. DEAR SIR,—In your last issue Fr. O'Callaghan of Cork calls attention to a very important matter, namely, that of ALTAR BREADS. On this I should merely like to remark that the question is not where were they *consecrated* but when were they *baked*, and this is the very point which is overlooked by many.

But a far more important question, because more open to abuse, is that of ALTAR WINES. I would earnestly beg of your clerical readers to study a series of articles contributed by Dr. J. A. Mooney, of New York, to the *American Ecclesiastical Review* (March, April, May, and June, 1900), and I venture to think that like myself, they will be not alone interested and instructed, but *alarmed* by the perusal thereof.

He proves up to the hilt on most reliable and scientific authority that a vast proportion of the so-called 'Wine' which is on the market and on our tables is not wine at all, for, that *not a single grape was used in its manufacture*, but that it is the product of chemical processes. This surely is enough to give us pause and make us enquire who is the wine merchant from whom our Altar Wines are procured. I have been told by a layman of undoubted veracity that his P.P., a venerable canon, gets his Altar Wines from a local public-house!

Some of these 'Wines' contain alcohol to the extent of 30 per cent. and more, which, even if they were (what Dr. Mooney says they are not) the genuine fruit of the vine would render them wholly unfit for the Altar. And even Altar Wines properly so-called sometimes contain 18 per cent., on the ground that it is necessary for the purposes of preservation.

With all these facts staring us in the face, may a person who is seriously perturbed by them—and I admit I am—substitute *Unfermented Wine*, that is, Wine free from alcohol, for the kind now in use? Which kind did our Divine Lord make use of at the Last Supper? Is it not reasonable to suppose that the Jews who were so scrupulous in avoiding *leavened* bread would be equally so as regards *fermented* Wine. In fact, I take it, they

were utterly ignorant of the modern art of 'doctoring' their wines.

Yours faithfully,

WALTER O'BRIEN, C.C.

Doneraile.

[Father O'Brien may rest assured that the Jews knew how to ferment their wine; and that at the Last Supper it was naturally fermented wine that was used. We think with him that too much importance cannot be attached to the necessity of securing pure wine for the altar; but we cannot see our way to adopt as our own his suggestion that people in this country should proceed to manufacture pure wine for themselves. Even on the supposition that the hot-house grape or the imported grape were capable of yielding the proper quality of must the process of fermentation demands more knowledge, skill and experience than is usually at the command of an individual priest.

It seems to us that there are many more practical ways of meeting the difficulty than by writing about it in the periodicals. The solution suggested by Mgr. Mooney in America is a physical impossibility in Ireland. We do not wish in the least to minimise the gravity of the question raised, and we are well aware that Father O'Brien is very far from being alone in his uneasiness about the quality of the wine supplied.—Ed. I. E. RECORD.]

DOCUMENTS

OFFICES FOR IRISH PATRON SAINTS

ARMACANA, CASSILIEN., DUBLINEN., AC TUAMEN.

Apostolicae Sedis Decreto quum instantibus Rmis. Sacris Hiberniae Antistibus, anno superiore confirmatus sit cultus ab immemorabili tempore nonnullis ipsius Hiberniae Dei famulis praestiti, Sanctis nuncupatis, quorum elenchus huic Decreto subiicitur; iteratas preces Rmus. Dominus Joannes Healy, olim Episcopus Clonferten., nunc Tuamensis Archiepiscopus, una cum ceteris Hiberniae Praesulibus Sanctissimo Domino Nostro Pio Papae X preces humillime submitit, ut Officia atque Ellogia, Martyrologiis inserenda pro festis peculiarium Sanctorum approbare et petentibus Hiberniae Dioecesibus concedere dignaretur, quorum schema demississime subiecit.

Eiusmodi porro Lectiones secundi nocturni atque Orationes Officiis ac Missis de respectivo Communi addendas, necnon memorata Ellogia pro Dioecesuum Martyrologiis, quum de more Emus. ac Rmus. Dnus. Cardinalis Vincentius Vannutelli, Episcopus Praenestinus, Relator, in Ordinariis Sacrorum Rituum Congregationis Comitiis, subsignata die ad Vaticanum habitis, proposuerit; Emi et Rmi. Patres sacris tuendis Ritibus praepositi, re mature perpensa, auditoque scripto et voce R. P. Alexandro Verde, S. Fidei Promotore, rescribere rati sunt: Pro gratia; et ad Emum. Ponentem cum Promotore Fidei. Die 1 Septembris 1903.

Omnium denique exhibitarum Lectionum atque Ellogiorum revisione diligenter peracta, hisque omnibus Sanctissimo Domino Nostro Pio Papae X. per infrascriptum Secretarium relatis, Sanctitas Sua sententiam Sacri ipsius Consilii ratam habens, suprascriptas Lectiones, Orationes, atque Ellogia suprema Auctoritate Sua approbavit, atque Officia cum Missis de respectivis festis a Clero cuiusque Dioeceseos Hiberniae sub ritu expetito quotannis recolendis benigne indulgere dignata est: servatis Rubricis. Contrariis non obstantibus quibuscumque. Dei 7 iisdem mense et anno.

ELENCHUS

DEI FAMULORUM HIBERNIAE SANCTORUM NUNCUPATORUM

S. Celsus, Ep. et Conf.

S. Albertus, Ep. et Conf.

S. Colmanus, Ep. et Conf.

S. Brendanus, Abb.

S. Columba, Abb.	S. Carthagus, Ep. et Conf.
S. Comgallus, Abb.	S. Cataldus, Ep. et Conf.
S. Eugenius, Ep. et Conf.	S. Colmanus, Ep. et Conf.
S. Fedliminus, Ep. et Conf.	S. Declanus, Ep. et Conf.
S. Finianus, Ep. et Conf.	S. Fachananus, Ep. et Conf.
S. Macanisius, Ep. et Conf.	S. Flannanus, Ep. et Conf.
S. Macartinus, Ep. et Conf.	S. Finbarrus, Ep. et Conf.
S. Canicius, Abb.	S. Otteranus, Ep. et Conf.
S. Coemgenus, Abb.	S. Asicus, Ep. et Conf.
S. Conlethus, Ep. et Conf.	S. Colmanus, Ep. et Conf.
S. Edanus, Ep. et Conf.	S. Jarlathus, Ep. et Conf.
S. Kiranus, Ep. et Conf.	S. Muredachus, Ep. et Conf.
S. Laserianus, Ep. et Conf.	S. Natheus, Ep. et Conf.

S. Card. CRETONI, S.R.C. *Praef.*

L. ✠ S.

✠ D. PANICI, Archiep. Laodicen., S.R.C. *Secret.*

**ALLOCUTION OF HIS HOLINESS POPE PIUS X. AT THE
CONSISTORY OF NOVEMBER 9th.**

Venerabiles Fratres,

Primum vos hodierna die ex hoc loco Nobis alloquentibus, illud ante omnia occurrit animo, attingere oportere factum proximo tempore, quum delatam per vestra suffragia Apostolici fastigii dignitatem declinare obtestando conati sumus. Etinam nolumus, id Nos fecisse ob eam rem arbitremini, quod aut parum voluntatis vestrae significatio honestissimumque de Nobis iudicium moveret, aut pigeret etiam laborare amplius Ecclesiae causa, cui quidem aetatem omnem animamque devotam haberemus. Verum quum explorata Nobis esset sive inopia virtutis Nostrae sive exiguitas ingenii, quumque simul constaret, quae quantaque a Pontifice romano essent iure expectanda, quid mirum si tanto sustinendo muneri Nos ipsos plane impares fore videbamus? Profecto evangelica curare et vulgo servantur praescripta, rite custodiantur consilia; sarta tecta Ecclesiae praestare iura; multiplices maximasque diiudicare causas, quae de societate domestica, de institutione adolescentis aetatis, de iure et proprietate extiterint; perturbatos civitatis ordines ad christianam aequabilitatem componere; brevi, terras expiando caelis comparare cives: hae inquit, similesque Apostolici officii partes maiores eae quidem videbantur quam ut his viribus expleri digne possent. Accedebat, id quod in Encyclicis Litteris proxime

significavimus, ut excipiendus locus eius esset Pontificis, cuius et studium in religione amplificando fovendoque multipliciter pietatis cultu, et sapientia in profligandis erroribus horum temporum, doctrinaeque vitaeque christianae integritate publice privatim revocanda, et providentia in relevanda humilium inopumque fortuna atque incommodis civilis societatis opportune subveniundo, sic eluxere, ut humani generis immortalem ei cum admiratione gratiam pepererint. Quem non deterreret haec tanta excellentia et magnitudo viri ab ista tamquam haereditate adeunda muneris? Nos certe, tenuitatem Nostram reputantes, deterebat vel maxime.

At quoniam arcanæ Dei voluntate visum est, supremi Apostolatus Nobis onus imponere, id equidem, ipsius ope auxilioque unice confisi, feremus. Quantum autem est in Nobis, certum destinatumque est, omnes curas cogitationesque illuc conferre ut sancte inviolateque servemus *depositum* fidei, et sempiternae omnium saluti consulamus; eiusque rei gratia nihil quidquam aut laborum aut molestiarum unquam defugere. Quum vero necesse sit christianaeque rei publicae quam maxime intersit, Pontificem in Ecclesia gubernanda et esse et apparere liberum nullique obnoxium potestati, ideo, quod conscientia officii, simulque iurisiurandi quo obstringimur, sacrosancta religio postulat, gravissimam in hoc genere iniuram Ecclesiae illatam conquerimur.

Porro ea Nos magnopere cogitatio recreat, in perfunctione tam gravi tamque difficili ministerii huius praeclaro Nobis adiumento vestram, Venerabiles Fratres, et prudentiam et navitatem fore. Siquidem ob eam praecipue causam adesse Nobis, divino munere beneficioque, Collegium vestrum novimus, ut administrationem Ecclesiae universae, consilia operamque conferendo, utilissime adiuvet. Quocirca dicere vix attinet, illud Nos solemnes habituros, in omni rerum cursu, praesertim si qua causa gravior inciderit, iudicii sollertiaeque vestrae subsidium expetere; idque eo etiam, ut pro sua quisque parte immensum officii onus, quo premimur sustineatis. Quippe res agitur ea, quae praeter haec fluxa bona ad immortalia pertineat; nullis locorum inclusa finibus, orbis terrarum rationes complectatur; evangelicorum reverentiam praeceptorum in omni tueatur genere; denique curas Nostras non ad fideles modo, sed ad homines afferat universos, *pro quibus mortuus est Christus*.

Itaque mirari licet, esse complures, qui novarum rerum cupidine, ut est aetatis ingenium, conicere laborent, quae Nostra

gerendi pontificatus ratio futura sit. Quasi vero investigatione res egeat, aut planum non sit, Nos eam ipsam insistere velle, nec aliam posse viam, quam decessores Nostri usque adhuc institerint. *Instaurare omnia in Christo*, hoc ediximus Nobis esse propositum; et quoniam *Christus est veritas*, idcirco obeundum Nobis est in primis magisterium et praeconium veritatis. Hinc simplex dilucidus sermo Iesu Christi et efficax perpetuo, curabimus, dimanet ex ore Nostro, alteque inculcetur animis, sancte custodiendus; quam quidem custodiam Ipse adiumentum dignoscendae veritatis voluit esse maximum: *Si vos manseritis in sermone meo, vere discipuli mei eritis. Et cognoscetis veritatem, et veritas liberabit vos.*¹

Pro munere autem tuendae veritatis christianaeque legis Nostrum necessitate erit: notiones illustrare et asserere maximarum rerum, sive natura informatas, sive divinitus traditas, quas nunc obscuratas passim atque oblitteratas videmus; disciplinae, potestatis, iustitiae aequitatisque, quae convelluntur hodie, principia firmare; universos singulos, neque solum qui parent, sed et qui imperant, utpote omnes eodem prognatos Patre, in privata publicaue vita, in genere etiam sociali et politico ad honestatis normam regulamque dirigere. Utique intelligimus nonnullis offensionem fore, quod dicimus, curare Nos rem etiam politicam oportere. Verum quisque aequus rerum iudex videt, Pontificem a magisterio, quod gerit, fidei morumque nequaquam posse politicorum genus diiungere. Praeterea caput quum sit rectorque summus perfectae societatis, quae est Ecclesia, ex hominibus coalescentis, inter homines constitutae profecto velle, debet, cum principibus civitatum et gubernatoribus rei publicae mutua sibi officia intercedere, si catholicorum in omni ora ac parte terrarum velit et securitati et libertati esse consultum.

Insitum quidem est homini, ut veritatem sitienter appetat, oblatamque amplexetur amanter et retineat. Sed tamen vitio naturae fit, ut nimis multi nihil oderint peius, quam denuntiationem veritatis, utpote quae errores ipsorum nudet cupiditatesve coerceat. Horum omnium convicia minaeque Nos minime commovebunt; sustentamur quippe admonitione illa Iesu Christi: *Si mundus vos odit, scitote, quia me priorem vobis odio habuit.*²

¹ Ioann. viii. 31, 32.

² Ioann. xv. 18.

Caeterum illa, de quibus quotidie veritatem catholicam invidiose criminantur, quod libertatem impediat, quod scientiae officiat, quod humanitatis progressionem retardet, num disserere opus est quam sint plena falsitatis? Enimvero infinitatem sentiendi agendique licentiam, cui nullius auctoritatis nomen nec divinae nec humanae sit sanctum, nulla sint intacta iura, quaeque, ordinis disciplinaeque fundamenta convellens, in exitium rapiat civitates damnat eam quidem Ecclesia cohibendamque severe censet; sed istud corruptio libertatis est, libertas veri nominis non est. Sinceram autem germanamque libertatem, qua nempe cuique liceat, quod aequum iustumque sit facere, tantum abest ut Ecclesia compescat, ut expeditissimam debere esse semper contenderit. Nec minus distat a vero quod aiunt, obsistere scientiae fidem: quum contra verissimum sit, prodesse etiam nec ita parum. Praeter enim ea quae sunt supra naturam, de quibus nulla potest esse homini sine fidei cognitio, multae res sunt aequae maximae in ipso naturae ordine, quas quidem sibi pervias habeat humana ratio, sed, fidei aucta lumine, multo certius clariusque percipiat; in caeteris autem vera veris pugnancia facere, quando utrumque genus ab uno eodemque capite et fonte, Deo nimirum, proficiscitur, absurdum est. Ita vel ingenio inventa, vel experientiae reperta, vel incrementa disciplinarum, quaecumque demum actionem vitae mortalis provehant in melius, quid est causae cur Nobis, qui catholicae veritatis custodes sumus, non probentur? Imo est, quare fovenda etiam, Decessorum exemplo, videantur. At vero recentioris philosophiae, civilisque prudentiae decreta, quibus hodie humanarum rerum cursus eo impellitur, quo legis aeternae praescripta non sinunt, ea Nos refellere et redarguere, memores Apostolici officii, debemus. In quo quidem non humanitatem remoramur progredientem, sed ne ad interitum ruat prohibemus.

At enim necessarium aggressi pro veritate certamen inimicos hostesque veritatis, quorum vehementer miseret, amantissime complectimur, divinitiaeque benignitati cum lacrimis commendamus. Nam si, quae vera iusta recta sunt probare et tueri, quae falsa iniusta prava detestari et reiicere, lex est sanctissima romani pontificatus; non minus est, misericordiam veniamque dilargiri peccantibus, idque ad similitudinem Auctoris sui, qui pro *transgressoribus rogavit*. Siquidem Deus, qui *erat in Christo mundum reconcilians sibi*, per Pontifices romanos potissime, ut Vicarius Filii sui, prorogari in aevum vult *ministerium reconci-*

liationis, quae propterea ab earum esset auctoritate iudicioque requirenda. Autumare igitur reconciliandam esse Nobis cum quopiam gratiam, esset id quidem iniuriose et perverse iudicantium de munere officioque Nostro, quo ipso debemus paternam erga omnes gerere voluntatem.

Equidem non confidemus quod decessores Nostri nequivere, assequi Nos posse, ut late fusos errores iniustitiamque omnem vincat usquequaque veritas; in id tamen summa contentione, ut diximus, nitimur. Quod si vota Nostra non sunt plene eventura, illud certe, Deo dante, fiet ut impenium veritatis et in bonis constabiliatur, et ad alios complures, non male animatos propagetur.

Nunc vero iucundum est, animum adiicere ad amplissimum Collegium Vestrum, Venerabiles Fratres, supplendum; cuius honores afficere hodie duos lectos viros decrevimus. Alter, vestris ipsorum testimoniis per interregnum ornatus praestantem animi et ingenii indolem, paremque gerendarum rerum prudentiam paucis hisce mensibus Nobis egregie probavit. Alterius eximia pietatis doctrinaeque ornamenta, et in diuturna episcopalis procuratione muneris absolutam numeris omnibus diligentiam iamdiu Ipsi habemus exploratissima. Ii autem sunt:

RAPHAËL MERRY DEL VAL, Archiep. Tit. Nicaenus.
IOSEPHUS CALLEGARI, Episcopus Patavinus.

Quid vobis videtur?

Itaque auctoritate omnipotens Dei, sanctorum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli, et Nostra, creamus et publicamus S. R. E. Presbyteros Cardinales

RAPHAËLEM MERRY DEL VAL
IOSEPHUM CALLEGARI

Cum dispensationibus, derogationibus et clausulis necessariis et opportunis. In nomine Patris ✠ et Filii ✠ et Spiritus ✠ Sancti. Amen.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

STUDIES ON THE GOSPELS. By Rev. Vincent Rose, O.P.,
Professor in the University of Fribourg. Authorised
English Translation by Mgr. Robert Fraser, D.D.,
Domestic Prelate of H. H. Pius X.

THESE studies from the pen of a Catholic University Professor come very opportunely at the present time. No one acquainted with current Theological literature needs to be told how much attention has been directed of late to the Gospels, or how momentous are the questions that have been raised. In England, and even among the clergy of its Established Church, the supernatural conception and virgin birth of our Saviour, and the character and extent of His knowledge, have been called in question ; in Germany a host of Rationalist scholars, led by the Berlin Professor, Harnack, are endeavouring to strip Christianity of everything supernatural, and to wrest the Gospels into a confirmation of their views ; while in France startling theories, alleged to be based on the Gospels, regarding the person of Christ, His Resurrection, His Church, and Sacraments, have been advanced by some even of the Catholic clergy. It is no longer a question between Protestants and us as to which is the true form of Christianity. No, Protestantism, as a dogmatic faith, is practically dead ; the ' private judgment,' that in Luther's time claimed liberty to interpret freely the text of Scripture, has pushed its claim to the extent of criticising and deciding upon the character and authority of the Sacred Books, and in the exercise of this claim has denied their inspiration and rejected their supernatural authority. The real conflict, then, is no longer with Protestants, who having pinned their faith to the Bible and now having nothing but private judgment to oppose to the private judgment of Rationalists, are utterly helpless in the domain of dogma. It is with Rationalists that we have now more than ever before, to deal, with men who deny the Divinity of Christ, the existence of a supernatural religion, and the inspired authority of the Scriptures, and who endeavour to support their denials by the Gospel story, regarded as mere history, of Jesus Christ and His teaching.

The work before us is meant to meet the Rationalists on their own ground. Father Rose takes up the Gospels as ordinary history, abstracting entirely from their inspired authority, and in eight 'studies' discusses some of the most fundamental questions of Christianity. The subjects with which he deals are: the Fourfold Gospel; the Supernatural Conception; the Kingdom of God; the Heavenly Father; the Son of Man; the Son of God; the Redemption; and the empty tomb, or Resurrection of Jesus Christ. This bare enumeration of the subjects is enough to show how intensely interesting and important these 'studies' are. Space will not permit us to enter into detail, but we would recommend specially the treatment of the fourfold Gospel, the supernatural conception, the Divinity of Christ, and the empty tomb.

Father Rose's method throughout is critical, and scientific in the 'critical' sense; facts and texts are carefully and minutely scrutinised, inspiration and the Church's authority are never invoked, Jewish history is made to shed light on the Gospel story, and the whole inquiry is conducted in a calm and judicious spirit. The work is, indeed, one of great merit, the fruit of deep and acute thought, and reflects credit not only on the learned professor himself, but on the great Dominican Order to which he belongs.

Having said so much in praise of the work, which we heartily recommend to all Scriptural scholars, we desire, in view of a second edition, which we hope soon to see needed, to notice a few points that have attracted our attention. To begin with, on the last page of the introduction, Acts iv. 12 is not quoted quite accurately. The rendering given is not in agreement with the Douay version, nor with the Greek text, nor with the Latin Vulgate—though the latter may, at first sight, seem ambiguous. In the note in Greek at the foot of page 48 *ὁναρ* is omitted after *κατ*'. In the note on page 69 the reasons given to prove that it is the genealogy of the Blessed Virgin that is given by St. Luke, are inconclusive. They would prove that St. Matthew too, even though writing for Jews, should have given the genealogy of Mary. For Matthew as well as Luke had recorded the virgin birth, and for him as well as Luke it was only through Mary that the blood of David was transmitted to our Saviour. In this same note it is stated that St. Luke, xviii. 38, affirms that Jesus is really the son of David, whereas in reality St. Luke merely records the words of the blind man at Jericho, just as St. Matthew does, xx. 30.

Again, too little stress is laid upon the witness of St. Matthew, who indeed is hardly more than alluded to, in establishing the supernatural conception. On page 187, some of the postulates require to be reconsidered and proved, in view of the recent statements of men like Loisy. On page 201, Matt. xxii. 46, Mark xii. 35, 37, are ascribed to the *early* preaching of Christ, but the context in both cases shows this to be inaccurate. Finally on page 306, we read : ' We concede to Harnack that those theologians reason superficially for whom Christianity rests on faith in the resurrection. The Apologist who would bring an unprepared mind to the tomb of Jesus would be inexperienced, naïve. The first proceeding of him who is invited to believe should be, it seems to us, to come in contact with Jesus Christ Himself, to study His teaching, to examine the value of the testimony which this Man gave of Himself, touching His Divine origin. He will follow that life to its term, and he will at length find himself at the dawn of the resurrection day. Then only will meditation at the mouth of the tomb be fruitful.' Now, in a sense, this is very true, in the sense, namely, that Christ's resurrection is not the only and exclusive evidence of Christianity, and that it ought to be viewed in connexion with His predictions regarding it. But if it be meant the resurrection is not a valid and even conclusive evidence of Christianity, we doubt whether the concession made to Harnack is justified. For either the resurrection is absolutely guaranteed by the Gospels or it is not. If it is, then we cannot admit that a theologian would reason superficially, even if he rested his faith on it alone. For if Christ raised Himself from the dead, He must be more than man, and if, being more than man, He founded a religion, that religion must have Divine authority. On the other hand, if the resurrection is not guaranteed fully and absolutely by the Gospels, it can only be because they are unreliable, for all four most clearly state the fact ; and if they are unreliable here, how are we to know that we can ' come in contact with Jesus Christ Himself,' where can we be sure that we have His teaching, or the testimony that He bore to Himself ? In other words, if we cannot rest our faith on the resurrection, as testified to by the four Gospels in the clearest language, how can we rest it on anything they testify ? We thought it necessary to make these remarks, in order to guard the reader against a very possible misunderstanding.

We wish Father Rose's work, in its English dress, every success, and we congratulate him heartily on the excellent and

timely contribution he has made to a most important branch of New Testament study. Our thanks are due to Monsignor Fraser, D.D., Rector of the Scotch College, Rome, for the admirable manner in which he has done the work of translation.

J. MACR.

A HEBREW AND ENGLISH LEXICON OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.
Oxford: Clarendon Press. Part XI. קין-שני. Price 2s. 6d.
1894.

ALL students of Hebrew will rejoice at the approaching completion of this desirable work which is based on the Lexicon of Gesenius. Since the issue of its first part in 1892 the present reviewer has successively used each part as it appeared, and almost invariably with satisfaction. The most recent discoveries in Biblical topography, archæology, etc., as well as the best results of Semitic philology are made use of or embodied in its pages. The English work is far superior to the modern German editions of Gesenius by Mühlau and Volck, indeed from the purely linguistic standpoint it comes as near to perfection as could well be expected. Besides the perspicuous arrangement of its articles the ingenious devices for saving the reader's time, and the abundant references—all placed in order—make it a pleasure to consult this book. For numberless words it may well serve as a Concordance, and it is more exact than Mandelkern's cumbersome volume. Special attention has been paid to the usage of the cognate languages in so far as it helps to determine or to illustrate the precise meaning of a Hebrew word. But where this has been done so fully, one could wish that in reference to the more important passages of the Old Testament, *v.g.*, the Messianic prophecies, the testimony of the ancient versions had been mentioned. This was one of the most valuable features of the Thesaurus. It would have been better to preserve it than to make room for notices of the characteristic diction of E., J., and other airy creations of higher criticism, about whom no sensible person as such cares one jot. No one, in fact, believes in their existence except those who disbelieve Scripture. Finally, it must be said that as a Hebrew Lexicon is a work on a sacred subject, on the language of part of the inspired volume, the occurrence in it of rationalists' names is an unseemly intrusion. They may have been good linguists, but they were bad expounders of Scripture.

It is certain that those among our readers who may use this Lexicon will be able to avail themselves of its many notable excellencies, and at the same time to keep themselves unaffected by blemishes and shortcomings such as have been here indicated. To all these readers it is heartily recommended.

R. W.

THE BLESSED VIRGIN IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY : APPARITIONS, REVELATIONS, GRACES. By Bernard St. John. London : Burns & Oates, Limited. New York : Benziger Bros. Price 6s.

IN view of the commemoration next year of the fiftieth anniversary of the definition of the Immaculate Conception of the Mother of God, the book under review should prove both opportune and interesting. For it comes in seasonable time to tell us in plain and simple narrative of the kindly visitations with which the Blessed Virgin, during the century just closed, has favoured this vale of tears, and of the goodly heritage of blessings that have followed in the wake of each earth-coming.

Is there not need to marvel that the country selected for the scene of our Lady's most glorious apparitions is the one that to-day lifts her heel against the Church of Christ, and, in the Saviour's words, 'stonest them that are sent to her'? Yet so it is. France, the modern home of religious disquiet and oppression, is the highly favoured land that has witnessed these very remarkable supernatural manifestations of the Virgin's good-will, and enjoyed the fullest measure of her fostering solicitude. It was here that Sister Catherine Labouré, of the Order of Charity founded by St. Vincent de Paul, had, in 1830, the revelation in which she received the miraculous medal of the Immaculate Conception. About the same year the shrine of 'Notre Dame des Victoires' in Paris was made famous when the good curé M. des Genettes, was inspired to found the Arch-Confraternity of the Immaculate Heart of Mary. A little later our Lady unveiled herself to the shepherd-children, Maximin and Melanie, at Salette, high up in the almost inaccessible peaks of the Alps, while some dozen years later, when the star of La Salette was waning in its brilliancy, a new light appeared in a grotto among the Pyrenees which has scarce lost a particle of its lustre even to this day. This time Bernadotte was the privileged *voyante*. The apparition at Lourdes is celebrated even to the ends of the

earth, and it is not easy to say whether its world-wide celebrity is due more to the impious pen of Zola, or to the sympathetic and reverent labours of Henri Lassere. Two other less renowned apparitions are recorded in this book—that of Portmain, near the town of Laval, and Pellevoisin in the diocese of Bourges. Glancing over the volume before us we can trace, as it were, the triumphant progress of the Blessed Virgin through France in the nineteenth century. And what strikes us as strange is, that nearly in all cases the Virgin revealed herself to children, thus fulfilling in herself what the Psalmist predicted of her Son, 'Ex ore infantium et lactentium perfecisti laudem.'

The author narrates these wonderful occurrences with a simple, unhesitating, unwavering faith. His is not the carping, critical spirit that would banish the supernatural altogether from mundane affairs. At the same time he relates nothing of the miraculous that is not vouched for and attested to by unimpeachable authority. The book is sure to do much good. Those who have faith and confidence in the intercessory powers of the Mother of God will, on reading it, have their faith made firmer and their confidence stronger. The publishers have executed their work well, but we would prefer to be spared the trouble of having to cut the pages.

P. M.

HISTORY OF IRELAND. FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE YEAR 1547. By Rev. E. A. Dalton, C.C. Dublin, 1903.

FATHER DALTON deserves the earnest thanks of the supporters of the Irish Ireland movement by the publication of his *History of Ireland*. In doing so he has placed at the disposal of students a scholarly, and at the same time, a racy and interesting narrative of our country's affairs down to the Reformation struggles. Though we must honestly confess that, personally, we should prefer a real scientific study according to the method sketched by O'Curry in his closing lecture at the Catholic University, of ten years of Irish history, to a dozen handbooks covering the whole or nearly the whole period, yet, judging the handbook by its own standard, as we must do, we are convinced that Father Dalton's is one of the best yet published.

The volume before us evidently represents years of patient study and research. It was not in a month nor in a year the writer could have consulted the sources and literature on Irish history upon which he relied for his information, especially when

we remember that the great public libraries were not within easy reach, and the moments of leisure of a hard-working missionary priest are, as a rule, short and far between. Father Dalton has spared no pains to put the facts of Irish history honestly before his readers. He seems to have fully realized that it is the duty of the historian to strive after the truth, and not to waste his energies in bolstering up defences of pre-conceived theories and opinions. But the author aimed at something more than the bald presentation of facts; he strove to sketch, at least in outline, a real living picture not only of the political movements, but also of the culture, the social life of Ancient and Middle Age Ireland, and to a great extent he has been successful in his efforts. He has given us a book, which, unlike most of the publications of the same kind, arouses the interest of his readers, and compels them to read on from page to page and from chapter to chapter.

Still, as we have constituted ourselves critics of his work we feel in duty bound to find or pretend that we have found, some points that might excite hostile criticism. Though Father Dalton has generally consulted standard authorities for his opinions, yet, now and again, we find him citing in support of his views writers who are themselves by no means reliable, or who at best are recognised as only compilers. The citation of such authorities, however correct their statements may be, tends only to arouse the suspicion of the reader, and to subtract a great deal from the scholarly finish of a work. Again, the author despatches very briefly, indeed, the work of the Irish missionaries on the Continent, and in doing so, we believe he makes a very serious mistake. We have heard a learned German professor in a three months' course of lectures which covered the whole Middle Age period of Church history, devote nine or ten lectures to the influence of the Irish missionaries on Religion, on Learning on Scholastic Philosophy, on the Penitential System, and Civil and Canon Law, on Manuscript Writing and Illumination, and on the Arts generally, and we are convinced that the subject was worthy of the attention he paid to it. We trust that Father Dalton will see his way to give us a more extended treatment of this chapter in his next edition.

There are some statements, too, in the book with which we cannot find ourselves in agreement. We do not, for instance, see why the author should be so positive in asserting that St. Columba's going to Iona was due rather to the penance of St.

Molaise than to the spirit of missionary zeal which had already driven so many of his countrymen abroad. The statement that no trace of Pelagianism in Ireland is to be found in Irish Annals would require explanation, as the *Annals of Clonmacnoise* seem to state expressly that the Pelagian heresy had found some following in the country. Neither do we believe that the abduction of the wife of O'Rourke exercised any serious influence in bringing about the English invasion, nor that the picture drawn by St. Bernard of the low state of morality in Ireland at the beginning of the twelfth century is to be interpreted strictly and to the letter, especially when even the author himself would admit that the saint's account of the wonderful reformation wrought by Malachy must be accepted as an impassioned panegyric, rather than as a simple presentation of facts.

But these are points of little moment about which every student has a right to advance his own views. We offer the author our sincere congratulations on the work which he has published, and we look forward with pleasure to the publication of the second volume of his *History*.

J. MACC.

GESCHICHTE DER ALTKIRCHLICHEN LITERATUR VON OTTO
BARDENHEWER, Professor der Theologie an Der Univer-
sität München. II. Band. Freiburg, 1903.

By his standard work on Patrology Bardenhewer is already favourably known to some of our readers. But useful as this work was, the learned author, on account of the interest excited nowadays on Early Christian literature, and especially in view of the publications of his countrymen Harnack and Krüger, felt that a more extended treatment of the subject was necessary. Hence, he resolved to write a complete history of the Ecclesiastical Literature of the first centuries in six volumes, the first of which has already appeared, and was enthusiastically received even in the most critical Protestant circle of Germany. The present volume covers the whole of the third century, the period when the energies of the ecclesiastical writers seem first to have been devoted to a scientific exposition of the Christian System of Theology, based on Philosophy and History. The Eastern Church, under the influence of the learning and civilization of Ancient Greece, naturally took the lead in such a movement, and Alexandria, standing as it did between the two civilizations—the

meeting point of the world—became famous as a Christian centre. From Alexandria the movement spread to Jerusalem and Cæsarea, and thence to Asia Minor. This will serve to explain the classes into which our author groups the Eastern writers. In the West the difficulties were greater. The want of a terminology with which to clothe theological opinions seemed to have effectually barred the way to the creation of a Latin Ecclesiastical literature. But the Church of Africa came to the rescue, above all, the first of the Latin Apologists, Tertullian. His example was followed by Cyprian and Lactantius. Of the purely Roman writers Hippolytus is by far the most important. The present volume, then, is a review of this whole field, Eastern and Western, of the works of such men as Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Julius Africanus, Firmilian of Cæsarea, Tertullian, Cyprian, Lactantius, and Hippolytus. Nobody who has any acquaintance with Patristic studies can doubt the importance of such a period. It is a volume which does credit to Catholic scholarship. No man need fear to quote Bardenhewer in any learned assembly. The name of the author, together with the authorities which he cites, are sufficient to guarantee his opinions.

In his concluding chapters the author gives an account of the earliest 'Acta Martyrum' and their publications, as well as of the heathen and Jewish works which were utilized by the Christians and modified to suit their purposes. The book is one which we should like to see in the hands of every man who wishes to make an earnest study of Patristic literature.

J. MACC.

THE BEGINNINGS OF CHRISTIANITY. By Rev. Thomas Shahan, S.T.D., J.U.L., Professor of Church History in the Catholic University, Washington. New York: Benziger Bros. 1903. Price 8s.

THE interest aroused in recent years by the study of early Ecclesiastical history is shown in the number of eminent scholars who have devoted themselves to such a work. Catholic, Protestant, and Rationalist alike seem to have fully realized that the first centuries of our era are the field on which the battle of the Church and of Christianity is to be lost or won. Men of such opposite views as Harnack and Funk, Duchesne, Battifol, Le Camus, Loisy, Semeria, Giffert, not to speak of a host of others equally distinguished, are unanimous in their appreciation

of the issues at stake. We are glad, then, that the young Catholic University of America, which has done so much and which promises to do so much for English-speaking Catholicity, has thrown itself into the work.

We warmly congratulate Professor Shahan on his book. At first, believing as we did from the title that it was a regular scientific study after the model of Duchesne, of the beginnings of Christianity, we were somewhat disappointed to find that it was only a reprint of essays published in some of the American magazines on some striking subject connected with early Church history. Amongst these essays we find such chapters as 'St. Paul, Teacher of the Nations,' 'Slavery and Free Labour in Ancient Rome,' 'The Origin of Christmas,' 'Woman in Pagan Antiquity and in the Early Christian Communities,' 'The Church and the Empire (A.D. 250-312).' The last chapter entitled 'The Columbus of the Catacombs,' is fittingly devoted to the great Catholic archæologist, De Rossi, who according to a very competent authority was the glory of the Church in the nineteenth century. These essays written in the easy flowing style of the magazine bear traces of the deep study and careful research of the author. They remind us in many things of the work done by Allies in our own Catholic University in days long since gone by. We are confident that the present volume is only an introduction to the publications which we may expect from the learned Professor of Church History in Washington.

J. MACC.

THE LIFE AND PONTIFICATE OF LEO XIII. By P. Justin O'Byrne. London: Washbourne. 1903.

IN the history of the nineteenth century the name of Leo XIII. must always hold a prominent place. In Religion, in Politics, in the struggles between Capital and Labour, in Education, in Biblical and Historical Studies, the late Pontiff proved that the Church was not false to her traditions, and that she was ever ready to lead the way.

Many authors in almost all languages have already undertaken to write his life. Amongst the latest English works is that under review from the pen of Mr. O'Byrne. It is a book which we read with the greatest interest. The first six chapters are devoted to a careful review of the life of Leo before the

Conclave of 1878. The author deals in the following chapters with the Conclave and the relations of the Holy See at the time with the different countries, the Reunion of the Eastern Churches, Leo and England, Leo and Germany, Leo and Ireland, Leo and France, Leo and America, the Pope and the Workmen, the Pope and Society. These very titles indicate clearly the author's method of treatment. It is written in an easy, taking style; and altogether is a work which we can recommend.

J. MACC.

SAINT CUTHBERT'S. By Rev. J. E. Copus, S.J. Author of 'Harry Russel, a Rockland College Boy.' New York, Cincinnati, Chicago: Benziger Bros. Price 3s. 6d.

THIS is a real good book for boys. It treats of life with its lights and shadows, successes and reverses, in an American middle-class Catholic school. If St. Cuthbert's is representative of its class, we may conclude that the American Catholic youth is trained to play his part in life in an atmosphere where a high moral tone prevails, and along lines best calculated to develop a character in which, honour, manliness, frankness, and sincerity are very conspicuous. The writing is easy and graceful. There is no exaggeration or impossibility in the situations the author pictures, and his portraits seem to be as real as it is possible to find them in a work of fiction. For the youthful the book may be warmly recommended.

P. M.



THE GREAT WESTERN SCHISM¹

IN his recent work, *Christianity and Civilization*, Mr. Lilly has dealt with many interesting problems, perhaps none more so than that discussed in his introductory chapter—‘The Philosophy of History.’ Here, the author is inclined to maintain that the old view put forward by St. Augustine in his *City of God* is not so far from the truth, and that the facts of history unmistakably point to the existence of an all-seeing Ruler, who is sure to visit the lapses of the nation as well as those of the individual with a speedy and adequate retribution.

If this be the moral of history in general—and the facts seem to warrant the conclusion—what shall we say of the history of the Church? Is there anything in the story of its origin and growth and development; in its ceaseless struggles against open foes and secret betrayers who would handle irreverently, if not discard, the deposit committed to its charge; in its endeavours, despite of menace or bribe, to uphold its liberty and independent jurisdiction against the encroachments of unscrupulous rulers; in its universality of time and place and people, and yet its unbroken and apparently unbreakable unity; its conservatism and yet its progress; its unchangeableness and yet its capability of adaptation—is there anything in all this which, in the eyes of the scientific investigator, must distinguish the Church

¹ *La France et le Grande Schisme d'Occident*. Par Noel Valois. 4 vols. 1896-1902. Paris: Picard et Fils.

from all civil institutions, and make him, at least, pause before answering the question: 'Is it entirely the work of man, the product of human brains assisted by human credulity?'

We have no hesitation in saying that the history of the Church, though it may not always convince the earnest inquirer that he is dealing with a society maintained by a power higher than that of man, yet, it will certainly force him to think more kindly of those who put forward such an opinion. Scandals he may meet with, we admit—the weaknesses, the passions, the struggles of poor human ambition may stand out before his gaze—but taking the Church all in all, in itself and in its effects on the civilization of the world, it cannot fail to make a lasting impression on the really scientific mind, and to awaken doubts, if not to convey clearly, that it is not like the kingdoms of this world—of the earth, earthly.

Hence, we have long been convinced that Catholics need not fear to face, in a straightforward manner, the facts of ecclesiastical history. If there have been unworthy Popes—and the number of such is very limited indeed; if there have been abuses and dissensions which reflect little credit on the overseers; if men, who entered the sanctuary and devoted themselves to God, forgot God and the Church for the sake of their own petty personal ambitions; if the human element in the Church's constitution became at times painfully evident—what do all these things prove? That the Church has no divine sanction or support? Nothing of the kind. For so long as the Church is amongst men and ruled by men, however the spirit of God may encircle it, human passions must have their play. On the contrary, when we consider the work of the Church as a whole, standing out before us as the one institution which remains essentially unchanged since the days of Christ amidst kingdoms which were ever changing, growing strong instead of waning with the succession of centuries, the mistakes and mismanagements of its rulers at times, disastrous as they would have been to any civil society, serve to bring out more prominently the guidance that is divine.

The story of the Great Western Schism will perfectly exemplify our meaning. It is a sad chapter in the history of the Church ; in some respects, perhaps the saddest. There we see the great Christian society, infected by the spirit of political Nationalism which was then passing over Europe, torn up into warring sections ; the spectacle of rival Popes each claiming to be the successor of St. Peter and enforcing his claims by temporal as well as spiritual arms. These were days when honest Christians were saddened beyond expression, days of tribulation and sorrow for the Church, when the Divine promise seemed forgotten, and the hour of the evil spirit had come.

Yet, if we look below the surface we find much that is consoling. We find that, however much the Christian world was divided, the principle of unity was never for a moment forgotten. Unity was the watchword of the contending parties. Men differed about the claims of the rival Popes and with justification ; opinions varied as to the methods to be employed, but the opponents were at one in the end at which they aimed—union under the rightful Pope. The bond of religious unity held fast despite the dividing influences of political and racial jealousy. Had any civil kingdom undergone such a test the contending parties would never freely come together. If this be so in the state where so many unifying influences are at work—common ancestry, tastes, language, and ideals—to what shall we attribute the restoration of harmony in the Church, brought about in spite of political divisions ?

We have never been inclined to underrate the difficulties which impeded the efforts towards reunion—difficulties which were certainly not lessened by the actions of the rival Popes—and a careful survey of Valois' monumental work has only served to deepen our convictions on this aspect of the question. Numberless authors have already undertaken this chapter in the life of the Church, men like Mansi, Martene, Baluzius, Rinaldi, Hefele, Gayet, and Salembier, whose ability and earnestness cannot be questioned, yet, never before have we found anything on the subject approaching so closely our ideal of a strictly scientific historical

treatise. M. Valois holds a brief for neither obedience. No doubt, good Frenchman that he is, he seeks to justify in a great measure the action of France throughout the terrible crisis, and with his views on this point we do not always find ourselves in agreement.

But his method claims our admiration. Brushing aside the comments of interested partisans he pushes his investigations back to the sources themselves, with the calmness and the impartiality of the judge he examines the documents piece by piece, and thus, builds up his narrative with constant references to his authorities. Afterwards he pronounces his opinions, but, as he declares himself, the research and criticism of texts of all classes which could serve as a basis for the history of the Great Western Schism has been his first care, and, for the rest, the reader may accept or reject the conclusions which are advanced without interfering with the work as a whole.

Was Urban VI. the lawful Pope ? Was he freely chosen by the Sacred College, or was his election the result of the terrorism of the Roman mob ? Had the cardinals any justification for their subsequent action in setting up a rival claimant ; or, if we may not excuse the cardinals what are we to say of the Catholic states which rallied to their support ? These are questions which demand careful consideration. M. Valois' book does much to supply the answer.

Gregory XI. had broken the spell of the French enchantment, and restored the Papacy to the city by the Tiber. But Rome was no longer what it once had been ; signs of decay and misery were apparent at every turn. The spirit of unrest and rebellion was abroad, and honest Christians trembled at the thought of the prospects in store for the Holy See when Gregory XI. should have passed away. The last days of the aged Pontiff were saddened by a foreshadowing of the calamities in store for the Church, which he was powerless to avert. On the 19th March, 1378, he issued the Bull regulating the election of a successor, and eight days later he had gone before his Judge.

The Conclave was to open on the 6th April, after the funeral obsequies had been duly observed. The interven-

ing days were marked by riotous scenes. Once a day the cardinals assembled for the requiem service in the church of St. Francoise Romaine (where the tomb of Gregory XI. is still to be seen), only to be surrounded by importunate crowds of the municipal officers, as well as the populace, clamouring wildly that the Papacy should never again be transferred to Avignon. As time passed the excitement grew more intense, especially since the replies of some of the cardinals were not considered reassuring; the streets resounded with the threats of the multitude, 'We want a Roman or at least an Italian, or else death to the Frenchmen and the Foreigners;' officers elected by the people seized the Borgo and strengthened the gates and bridges, precautions were taken lest the bishops and cardinals might escape from the city; and it was with difficulty that guarantees for the security and liberty of the Conclave could be secured from the Roman authorities.

The panic in Rome became universal. The houses belonging to the Curial officials were in great part abandoned, or at least, the valuable property was transferred to Ara Cœli or some other place of security. Some of the foreign bishops were able to elude the vigilance of the sentinels at the gates, while others sought a hiding-place in the houses of their friends. Peter de Luna, Cardinal of Arragon, arranged his will; Bertrand Lagier, Cardinal of Glandeve, demanded that his confessor should accompany him to the Conclave; Robert of Geneva (afterwards Clement VII.) took care to buckle under his rochet the coat of mail which as Legate he had used in his wars against the rebellious subjects of the Holy See; D'Argrefeuille took a last farewell of his retainers; while the Cardinal of Poitiers weepingly recommended himself to the prayers of his friends. Yet it would be untrue to say that the cardinals generally believed their lives to be in danger. Some, and these Frenchmen, professed themselves perfectly satisfied with the guarantees of liberty and security. Besides, there were many powerful families in Rome—Colonna, Orsini, Fondi, de Vico, Caetani—who would have gladly defended the cardinals, at least in the last extremity, but their assistance was never

solicited ; the Breton mercenaries—the terror of the Roman mob—were lying just outside the walls, five hundred strong, and their officers were daily seen in the streets ready to sell their swords to the cardinals, yet when the proposition was made the Sacred College pronounced against it ; the Castle of St. Angelo, manned by French soldiers, offered a secure retreat against the violence of the people, a retreat of which the cardinals refused to avail themselves. These points are of importance in discussing the liberty of the electors.

Such was the state of feeling in the city when the day arrived for the opening of the Conclave. Even the elements themselves seemed to be in league with man to add to the terror and confusion. That morning a violent thunder-storm broke over the city and the Vatican palace was struck by lightning—the current crashing right through the cell that had been prepared for Peter de Luna. This was popularly interpreted as a demonstration from heaven in favour of his candidature, but years of bitter dissension were to pass ere the Cardinal of Arragon could seize the tiara. The Conclave hall was so badly damaged that it was necessary to adjourn the opening for twenty-four hours.

The next day (7th April) the cardinals began to arrive at the Vatican from about four o'clock in the afternoon. An immense multitude of people anxiously awaited their arrival. The great square of St. Peter's, the steps of the Basilica, the windows and roofs of the neighbouring houses were packed not with careless onlookers, but with men intensely interested in the issues at stake. Was it to be Rome, or was it to be Avignon ? The cardinals' carriages halted at the outskirts of the crowd, and as they elbowed their way to the Vatican they were greeted with groans or applause according as they were supposed to favour Avignon or Rome ; whilst all the while, amidst the tumult and confusion, the cry rose clear and distinct from the excited throng, '*Romano lo volemo o almanco Italiano.*'

A barrier had been erected in front of the Vatican to prevent strangers entering the hall of Conclave, but the officers in charge were unable or unwilling to do their work, with the result that crowds burst in after the cardinals—

officers, Romans, armed men. For two hours this scene of wild confusion lasted, till finally the strangers were excluded, and at about nine or ten o'clock at night the doors were closed and everything ready to begin the election.

Meanwhile what were the thoughts that filled the minds of the electors on this solemn occasion? This is a question of capital importance. If, for instance, we could discover the relations between the different parties into which the cardinals were divided, and furthermore, that already in their secret meetings held during the *interregnum*, the majority had already fixed upon a probable candidate, it would help us much in determining the validity of election.

There were sixteen cardinals then in Rome, and these, according to the testimony of both parties—Clementine as well as Urbanist—were spilt up into three sections, the Limousins, the remaining French, and the Italians; Peter de Luna, the Spaniard, having allied himself with the French. The Limousins, who had already thrice succeeded in recent years in placing their nominee in the Chair of St. Peter, numbered probably seven votes, the French counted five, while the Italians with four formed the smallest party in the Conclave.

It was thus evident that no section could hope to carry its candidate single-handed. Then the French, in their hatred of their Limousin countrymen, turned to the Italians for support. Three of their number, amongst whom were Robert of Geneva and Peter de Luna, approached the aged Cardinal of St. Peter's, but the latter, suspecting a ruse, was unwilling to entertain their overtures. Finally, despairing of gaining the Italians, three or four of the French offered to join the Italians for the election of an Italian Pontiff.

What is more interesting still, we can even determine the candidate of their choice. In case no member of the Sacred College could succeed in securing the required votes—an eventuality which was considered very probable—their votes were to be united in favour of Bartholomew Prignano, Archbishop of Bari in Apulia, afterwards Urban VI. In proof of this we may cite the fact that one day the

Cardinal of Milan is shown to have said, 'My Lord of Bari, if it were depending on me alone, your shoulders should soon be charged with a heavy burden.' Robert of Geneva declared that they would have an Italian Pope this time in spite of those traitors of Limousins, and again, 'By the Holy Gospels,' he said, 'the Archbishop of Bari shall be our Pope or another whom I won't mention'—this other, needless to say, being himself. Finally, the same cardinal on the evening of the 7th April showed a slip of paper in his hand on which were written the names of his favourite candidates, and Bartholomew Prignano was inscribed thereon. Peter de Luna received Holy Communion on the morning of the Conclave from the hands of the Bishop of Jaën, and, according to the statements of the latter prelate, declared his intention of voting for the Archbishop of Bari. These are significant facts in themselves.

But more significant still, even the Limousin cardinals seem to have been won over to support his candidature. This is strongly maintained by the supporters of Urban, and as strongly denied by Clement's followers. In these circumstances, we should pay little attention to the rumour, had we not the express testimony of Peter de Luna, himself a bitter opponent of Urban and later on one of the rival Popes. When under interrogation on this point he stated that he did not know—that he did not believe that *all* the Limousin cardinals, nor even the *greater part of them*, had resolved to elect the Archbishop of Bari; that two or three of them at most had seen the wisdom of such a selection. Coming from such a man these words leave little doubt on our mind as to the attitude of at least a section of the Limousins towards Prignano's candidature.

We have it, then, for certain, that before entering the Conclave nine or ten cardinals had come to regard the Archbishop of Bari as a suitable man, and considering how unlikely it was that any cardinal could secure the requisite votes his chances seemed to stand the highest before the opening of the Conclave. No wonder, then, that the rumour of his pending election should have gone abroad in Rome and even in Naples.

Why the name of the Archbishop of Bari should have come so prominently before the cardinals is quite a different question. His enemies say it was due to intrigue and the free expenditure of money. Even if this were so it would be irrelevant, for we are dealing not with the character of the man, but with the validity of his election. Still, we may point out that it is not necessary to recur to bribery or intrigues for an explanation of his prominence. He had been for years attached to the court of Avignon, and there, representing Cardinal Pampeluna, had been brought into close correspondence with the members of the Sacred College, who were not forgetful afterwards of his training in the machinery of Church government. Personally, as even his bitterest enemies admit, before his election he was commonly regarded as a model churchman, pious, mortified, humble, prudent, eloquent, independent, and withal a man of the world, shrewd, clever, business-like in his methods. Besides, as a subject of the Queen of Naples he was more likely to be agreeable to the French cardinals than any other Italian. Such, then, were the opinions of the electors entering the Conclave on the 7th April.

When, at last, strangers had been excluded from the apartments prepared for the election, the cardinals retired to their chambers, but for many of them sleep must have been an impossibility. Not to speak of anxiety for the future of the Church there were many other disturbing influences at work. Down below—for the Conclave hall was on the second floor—the military guards, unmindful of the comforts of those overhead, piled up a blazing fire round which they lay in soldierly fashion, making merry on the wines stolen from the cellars of the Vatican; while outside in the neighbouring taverns, in the square of St. Peter's, even up to the very doors of the palace, the Roman mob kept nightly vigil—drinking, singing, dancing, stopping at intervals only to raise the well-known cry of: 'Romano, Romano, Romano lo volemo o almanco Italiano.'

The next morning (8th April) a little before sunrise the cardinals were summoned to the Conclave chapel. Fatigue had evidently overcome the watchers, for the noise outside

had died away. The cardinals recited their small Hours in common, and then assisted at the Mass of the Holy Ghost, and of the *Feria*. But while the priest was still at the altar the tumult began once more. Suddenly the tocsin sounded in the direction of the Capitol, and the tolling of the bells of St. Peter's could be heard in reply, whilst at the same time there was wafted to the ears of the cardinals the threatening shouts of an excited populace. 'What is that? We are lost,' cried one of the prelates. One of the attendants who had mounted the roof to observe, returned to say that the great square was packed with people, some of them armed men; that the tower of St. Peter's had been seized despite the protests of the canons, and that a red flag was being waved from the summit of the Campanile to people posted on the Capitol. Everything seemed to point to a popular *émeute*.

Throughout this terrible scene the electors remained apparently unmoved. They took their seats while the Cardinal-Bishop of Florence mounted the pulpit to preach the Conclave discourse. As the shouts outside became momentarily more threatening, the preacher, nervous and excited, began to hesitate, and at last was forced to admit that he had forgotten the thread of his discourse. Just then word was brought that the Bishop of Marseilles—one of those charged with the security of the electors—was outside, and demanded a parley with the priors of the Conclave. Aigrefeuille and Orsini appeared at the wicket while the cries of the populace redoubled. 'My Lords, my Lords,' whispered the bishop, 'make haste with the election. You are likely to be cut to pieces unless you elect a Roman or an Italian. We who are outside can best judge your peril.' They returned to the chapel and delivered the message with which they had been charged.

What was to be done? Were they going to betray their trust by yielding to the threats of an excited populace, or were they to face death and consequent anarchy in the Church for the sake of the triumph of some party? This was the question debated by the cardinals. At the end of half an hour it was agreed that they should satisfy the

people—Orsini alone objecting to such a pledge as destroying the liberty of the electors. The wicket was again opened and the same two cardinals announced to the people that they should soon have a Roman or an Italian Pope.

Various plans were proposed and rejected. Orsini was of opinion that they might simulate an election by crowning a friar to play the *rôle* of Pontiff before the people, but this received no support in the Sacred College. Others suggested that even the election was invalid now; it could be regularly celebrated when the danger was past, and the cardinals had recovered their freedom. But just then Peter de Luna engaged the Cardinal of Limoges in conversation on the candidature of the Archbishop of Bari. Limoges in turn took counsel with Aigrefeuille. Poitiers and Milan joined the group, a hurried count was made, and it was found that Prignano was likely to secure a majority of votes.

‘Pray be seated, my Lords,’ said Aigrefeuille, ‘we are going to have a Pope soon unless I am mistaken.’ When all had taken their seats the Bishop of Limoges proposed the name of the Archbishop of Bari. After him Aigrefeuille stood up, ‘I name and I choose,’ said he, ‘the Archbishop of Bari as Pope and Pontiff of Rome.’ Their example was followed by the other cardinals with few exceptions. Orsini refused to vote on the ground that he was not free in his choice. The Cardinals of Bretagne and St. Angelo were at first unwilling but afterwards allowed themselves to be won over to the side of Prignano. Thus, out of sixteen votes the Archbishop of Bari had secured fifteen; in other words, his election was practically unanimous. Nor is there anything to prove that those who supported him did not really wish that he should become Pope. In fact the contrary is evident from the formula used by many of them in declaring their adhesion.

It was close on nine o’clock in the morning when the election had been completed. Again, the wild cries of the multitude outside resounded through the Conclave hall. The Bishop of Marseilles, alarmed for the safety of the Sacred College, demanded another parley at the wicket. As the cardinals appeared the populace became more im-

perative in their demands ; they must have a *Roman* Pontiff—the alternative of an Italian being almost entirely dropped. Orsini promised to satisfy their demands, whilst at the same time he handed out a slip of paper on which were written the names of six prelates who were ordered to come at once to the Vatican. Amongst the number we find the name of the Archbishop of Bari. The cardinals delayed apparently in proclaiming his election till his consent should have been obtained—a fact which seems to indicate that they wished to observe exactly all the canonical formalities. The demands for a Roman Pontiff were repeated with redoubled violence, ‘*Romano, Romano lo volemo se non che tutti li occideremo.*’ It was only then that the cardinals began to fear that their choice of an Italian prelate would not save them from the violence of the excited multitude.

Meanwhile the prelates summoned by the cardinals hurried to the Vatican. On their arrival the tumult outside seemed to have gradually died away. It was then the hour for the mid-day meal, and, excited as the Romans were, dinner had more attractions than the election of a Pope. Inside, too, they seated themselves at table as if nothing alarming had occurred. The prelates dined on the first floor with the Bishop of Marseilles and were apparently in the best of spirits, laughingly discussing all the time why they had been summoned in such haste. Some of them, at least, from the remarks made, seemed to have suspected the real cause.

Inside, too, the cardinals dined. They seated themselves at table in groups of threes and fours, but, on account of the presence of their attendants they could not freely discuss the events of the morning. Only one, the Cardinal of Glandeve, protested to his neighbour that he had acted through fear of death. ‘Have you not seen yourself,’ he demanded, ‘the danger in which we stood.’ At last the greater part of the cardinals rose up from the table and moved towards the chapel. On the way a heated discussion took place between the Cardinal of Florence and Aigrefeuille as to whether such violence had ever been used at Papal elections in Avignon. They were clearly in no hurry to finish the exciting business which they had in hands.

Suddenly one of their body, probably the aged Tibal-deschi, proposed that they should take advantage of the calm outside to re-elect Prignano. The Cardinal of St. Angelo bluntly refused on the ground that the danger had not wholly disappeared. Another proposed the question : ‘ Are we all of the same opinion ? ’ ‘ Yes, yes,’ they replied, some adding : ‘ I say the same as I said this morning.’ It is not, however, true, as the Urbanists contend, that all the electors were then present. Three cardinals had not yet left the table. But out of the thirteen present, eleven voted again for Bartholomew Prignano, and thus, for the second time, he secured the requisite number of votes.

Just then the attitude of the populace outside became once more decidedly threatening. It was thought advisable that Cardinal Orsini should appear at one of the windows and try to calm the excitement. ‘ Silence,’ he exclaimed, addressing himself to the crowd, ‘ you have a Pope.’ Who is he ?’ they cried out together. ‘ Go to St. Peter’s,’ was the reply. Some moved towards the Basilica, while others, however, eagerly demanded : ‘ Is he a Roman ? ’ Orsini’s gesture—for he answered nothing—was considered unfavourable, and then the passion of the multitude broke loose. A wild rush was made towards the Vatican, sticks and stones were hurled against the windows, the barriers were completely swept away, and in another moment the rabble would have gained the Conclave hall.

Some of the cardinals fled while there was yet time, others took refuge in the chapel. It was then that the idea of calming the populace by presenting the aged Tibal-deschi of St. Peter’s as the Pope-Elect occurred to some of the clerics. The old man refused to lend himself to such deception. Then came the most sickening scene of all. In spite of his violent opposition they placed him in the Papal chair, where they held him by brute force ; others hastily clothed him with the Papal insignia, taking care at the same time to smother his angry remonstrances—the bells sounded and the *Te Deum* was chanted. For two hours this disgraceful mockery continued, till at last they bore the aged cardinal to his rooms more dead than alive.

But the object of the manœuvre had been gained. The crowds had time to quiet down, and gradually the name of the Archbishop of Bari began to pass from rank to rank. 'We won't have him,' 'We are betrayed,' they shouted, and ran hither and thither seeking the elect to force him to abdicate. He had already taken refuge in the chambers of Tibaldeschi resolved to die, as he declares himself, rather than yield to the wishes of the populace. His friends organised a defence party to surround the Vatican during the night lest the mob should return.

Meanwhile what had become of the cardinals? In the tumult caused by the proclamation of Tibaldeschi, they had managed to escape from the Vatican. Six of them found a refuge hard by in the Castle of St. Angelo under the protection of the soldiers of France; four gained the open country and reached in safety the castles of the barons, while the others returned to their lodgings in the city. Thus, when the night of the 8th of April closed round the Vatican there remained within its walls only the aged cardinal of St. Peter's and the Pope-Elect.

The next day (9th April) was an anxious one for the Archbishop. Doubtlessly he had been elected, but the formalities prescribed on such occasions were not complied with. His consent had not been obtained or sought, neither had he been proclaimed nor enthroned. Surely now was the time for the cardinals to hold aloof, and not proceed further in a business which they disapproved. If their votes had been forced yesterday why should they confirm them to-day? Yet, what are the facts? The cardinals who had passed the night in Rome hurried to the Vatican betimes the next morning. Those in the Castle of St. Angelo were summoned to attend the enthronisation, and though at first they were unwilling to venture out, they unanimously signed a document authorizing the other cardinals to proceed with the ceremony. Finally, they changed their minds and appeared personally at the Vatican.

When all were assembled they retired to the chapel for consultation. Surely if there were any doubts about the election of yesterday this was the time to raise them. Yet,

not a single dissentient voice was heard. After a few moments the Archbishop of Bari was called in, and informed that he had been elected Pope. The Archbishop while protesting his unworthiness, announced his acceptance, and the usual ceremonies were gone through. The newly-elected Pontiff, clothed in the full Papal vestments, was led to the altar where the cardinals made their obedience, the bells were rung, the *Te Deum* solemnly chanted, while proclamation was made to the people according to the time-honoured formula : 'I announce to you tidings of great joy, we have a Pope, and he has taken the name of Urban VI.'

For weeks Rome was dazzled with the gorgeous celebrations. None of the customary ceremonies were omitted on this occasion, and, what is stranger still, the cardinals absent from Rome returned to take their places. On Easter Sunday after a procession through the streets from St. John Lateran the Pope was solemnly crowned by Cardinal Orsini, in presence of the whole Sacred College and in front of the High Altar of St. Peter's. The cardinals sought and obtained favours both spiritual and temporal as if Urban had been validly elected ; they wrote a collective letter announcing his election to the Catholic rulers of Europe, and to their own colleagues at Avignon, and, what is more important still, the individual electors wrote in the same sense to the Emperor, the Queen of Naples, the Kings of Castile and Arragon, and many others.

No doubt the cardinals a little later urged the plea of fear as an excuse for their conduct during these weeks, but the defence is insufficient. It is difficult to see why fear should have obliged them to petition Urban, if they believed him to be an intruder, for benefices and indulgences, nor will it explain the letters written by the Sacred College to persons outside of Rome, letters most of which never passed through Urban's hands.

The rest of the story is soon told. Hardly had he been seated on the throne when Urban's disposition seemed to have entirely changed. His zeal for the reformation of abuses was, unfortunately, not equalled by his prudence.

The cardinals began to regard him as a tyrant, and it is noteworthy that their scruples about the validity of his election seemed to grow in proportion to their discontent. Stranger rumours were put in circulation; the cardinals' letters to the King of France and the Emperor betrayed the doubts that had arisen. With the approach of the hot season they retired to Avignon and later still to Fondi. On the 9th of August they issued their manifesto against Urban agreed to by all except Tibaldeschi, and on the 20th September, relying on the protection of France, they elected Robert of Geneva, who took the name of Clement VII. Thus the schism was consummated, and the way prepared for the division of Christendom.

From this bare recital of the facts it will be evident that the discussion of Urban's election is beset with serious difficulties. It is a question about which the historian can badly afford to be dogmatic. Whilst we are convinced that the weight of evidence favours its validity, we are forced to admit that the defenders of the opposite opinion have good grounds on which to base their view. That the electors were terrorized we have no doubt; that Prignano's election was the result of terrorism is certainly not proven.

But whatever we may think about the election there is one point about which all—Clementines as well as Urbanists—will probably agree, and that is the responsibility of the Sacred College. Whether we regard the cardinals as cowardly traitors, who yielding to the threats of the Roman mob, betrayed their trust by electing a man unworthy of the tiara, or as wilful prevaricators when they put forward that plea of eternal fear which seemed to have dictated their every thought, we must hold them to have been men unworthy of their sacred office, who, for the accomplishment of their own personal aims, had no hesitation in trying to break up the unity of the Christian world.

But when we come to discuss the responsibility of the other followers of Clement VII.—especially that of Charles V. of France—our judgment must be considerably modified. When we remember that Urban allowed a month to elapse before despatching an embassy to announce his election at

the court of Charles V., that in the meantime the King had confidential information of the violent scenes enacted in Rome, that when at last Urban's ambassadors arrived one of them in league with the cardinals set himself to prove that the election was the result of Roman terrorism, and that finally, the electors, who were best qualified to judge their own state of mind, almost unanimously declared against the validity—remembering all this we can easily understand why Charles V. should have adopted a policy which the interests of France seemed also to dictate.

We cannot, therefore, be surprised at the following touching declaration made by Charles V. in the presence of his advisers, a few hours before he passed into eternity :—

All you who are here present, in whom I have full confidence, know well what the cardinals, to whom belongs the right of electing the Sovereign Pontiff, have done, how all together in their private as well as their public letters have assured me, that the election of Urban was brought about by violence, while that of Clement was celebrated in full security. Wishing to know what I should do I consulted dukes, counts, barons, chevaliers, prelates—all of whom, with one exception, declared to me that in their souls and consciences they believed that unless the letters of the cardinals were lying, I should immediately take sides to avert a schism, and that the claims of Clement were stronger far than those of the Archbishop of Bari. I followed their counsels. I wished, according to the example of my fathers, who were always good Catholics and zealous defenders of the Church, to walk in the ways of faith. I chose in this, as in everything else, what I considered the safest route. I believed then, and I believe still, that Clement is the true pastor of the Universal Church. If, however, it should go abroad that the cardinals acted under the inspiration of the devil, know well that no consideration of friendship, no misplaced sentiment dictated my choice, but only the testimony of the electors together with the advice of my bishops, my clerics, and my counsellors. If it should be said in fine that I was deceived—and I have no reason to believe that I was—remember that my intention is to adopt and to follow the opinion of our Holy Mother, the Church. I desire to obey in this matter the resolutions of a General Council or of any other Council competent to pronounce an opinion, and may God not reproach me with what, in my ignorance, I may have done against the future decision of the Church.

JAMES M'CAFFREY, S.T.L.

A PARODY OF THE CATHOLIC RELIGION

PERHAPS the most universally appreciated form of humour is that of parody and burlesque. There are, however, limits to the number of subjects that may be parodied ; a serious-minded man is not usually amused, but shocked, at a parody of some devout hymn, or a burlesque of a holy rite, however much he may differ from the sentiments expressed in the hymn, however superstitious he may believe the rite to be. It is only the sacred nature of the subject and the blasphemous significance of its conclusions that prevent the Positive Religion of Humanity from being a most successful piece of unconscious humour, Comte has only failed in making blasphemy really ridiculous, because blasphemy, in any form, is too serious a subject for laughter. Yet, at times, we must admit, our appreciation of the incongruity of the whole situation gets the better of our sense of reverence when we read of man's elaborate system for the due worship of himself. If, in giving an account of the Mont Pelée eruption, some half-educated scribbler were to quote *Parturiunt montes*, few of us could restrain a smile. That terrible catastrophe was no more subject for laughter than is blasphemy ; yet we should not blame ourselves for smiling at a journalist's use of the quotation in such a context. Similarly, we may be excused if we do not receive with becoming seriousness Comte's distortion of sacred things in the parody of Christianity which he gives to the world with such assurance and gravity.

The want of proportion in the system, the irrelevancy of its faith to its form of worship, its calm attitude of conscious superiority, its pretentious claims, all go to distract us from the fact that it is a seriously propounded scheme to supplant God in His own world.

The Positivist Religion is not one whose claims have to be met and disproved by solid argument ; the divinity student does not spend much time in controverting it, for

he is not long in discovering that it stands—almost unique in the history of religious thought—as a system that needs no refutation. Let it be exposed clearly, preferably in the very words of its founder, and let the common sense of mankind judge it without the aid of dialectics. It contains its own antidote.

A short time ago Mr. John K. Ingram, LL.D., translated and published a selection of such passages from the letters of Auguste Comte as bear upon the social views of the philosopher and the religion which he founded in his later years. Were the passages published by an anonymous compiler one might be led to suspect that there was an ironical purpose in the publication and that the editor aimed at refuting, in the indirect way we have suggested, the religious views contained therein. Mr. Ingram however, in his preface, expresses a hope that ‘the extracts will contribute to the edification of serious minds,’ and there is no semblance of anything less than the highest appreciation manifested in his attitude towards his author.

The modest object of these pages is to present in brief Comte’s religious views as set forth in these letters, with occasional supplementary excerpts from the more systematised exposition of his doctrine contained in his *Catechism of Positive Religion*.

In order to understand better the genesis of his ideas it may be useful to recall a few biographical details. Comte was born in 1798 and died in 1875. His life was divided into two very distinct periods, that preceding and that following the year 1845. The work of the first period has won for him many admirers and followers, whereas the extraordinary and eccentric development of his later years has—to use Mr. Balfour’s words—‘tried the fidelity of his disciples and the gravity of his critics.’ His education was encyclopædic in extent; nor does it appear that his knowledge of any branch to which he applied himself was merely superficial. His *Philosophie Positive* published in six volumes between the years 1828 and 1841 gave the result of his studies and observations, and on this book chiefly is founded whatever reputation he has acquired as a thinker.

At the commencement of this work he formulated his famous *Law of the Three States*. This law asserted that the thought of man, in each branch of knowledge, passes through three distinct states—the *theological*, the *metaphysical*, and the *positive*. In the first, the theological, man explains natural phenomena by an appeal to something personal outside nature. This stage includes all grades of belief from the lowest fetichism and polytheism to the highest form of Deism as perfected in Christianity and Catholicism. Man's thought is gradually 'emancipated' from this state, and passes into the 'metaphysical' in which law and force are considered as the sole and sufficient explanation of phenomena. The third or 'positive' state is reached when man lays aside all attempts at an explanation of the causes of things and is satisfied with their classification. Comte spent the greater part of his life in this state. It is one in which there is, evidently, no room for religion, and it seemed to be the mental terminus of scientific unbelief.

After the publication of these volumes circumstances brought Comte across Madame Clotilde de Vaux, a young lady whose personality was seriously to affect Comte's philosophy. To her influence is largely attributed the religious developments of the *Politique Positive* which embodied Comte's later views. He had married in 1825, but his married life had been an unhappy one, and he had divorced his wife in 1842 on grounds of incompatibility of temper. Madame de Vaux was herself a *divorcée* whose husband was doing a life sentence of penal servitude at the time of her meeting with Comte. Their intimacy had lasted but a year when, to his great grief, Madame de Vaux died. Comte thus expresses his indebtedness to her:—

Through her I have at length become for humanity in the strictest sense a two-fold organ. . . . My career had been that of Aristotle; I should have wanted energy for that of St. Paul but for her. I had extracted sound philosophy from real science; I was enabled by her to found on the basis of that philosophy the Universal Religion.

He speaks of her as 'the incomparable angel appointed in

the course of human destiny to transmit to me the results of the gradual evolution of our moral nature.' She is his 'incomparable patroness,' and to her he owes an 'incomparable inspiration.' Those of M. Comte's disciples who follow him in his religion share, but in a calmer tone, his admiration for Mme. de Vaux. Mr. Ingram closes his preface with the remark that 'the names of Auguste Comte and Clotilde de Vaux will be ever inseparably associated in the memory of a grateful posterity.' Up to the time of his meeting with Clotilde, Comte had developed his head at the expense of his heart. Cold science had been far more to him than ardent affection, reason ruled his emotions. He appears to have had little appreciation of the tender sex. Indeed, the year before he met Clotilde de Vaux, he wrote to a lady friend :—

'I have had several opportunities of becoming acquainted with women distinguished by their intellectual ability, but you are hitherto, Madame, the only one in whom I have had the happiness of seeing moral delicacy united with mental elevation. Those in whom I have found sufficient real superiority to be above the blue-stocking habits disappointed me by showing a deplorable tendency to the aberrations of the *femme libre*.

Comte considered his *Politique* immensely superior to his *Philosophie*. He even admits that for some years he had sought to discountenance the reading of the latter by his new disciples, as to it he attributed the chief imperfections of his old ones.

'I ought not to have published it till the end of my career, and then as a purely historical volume,' he writes. He found that the prestige of science impeded the progress of minds the most completely liberated from the theological and even the metaphysical yoke. Comte admitted that the reading of his *Philosophie* had an enervating effect even on himself when, after neglecting it for fifteen years, he took it up to read some chapters. 'Besides their moral dryness, which made me read immediately a canto of Ariosto to restore my tone, I profoundly felt their mental inferiority in relation to the true philosophic view at which the heart has completely established me.'

But to turn directly to the new religion, which Comte proposes for the acceptance of those who have been emancipated by his *Philosophie* from the theological and metaphysical states. We must not expect it to be too reasonable for, as Comte admits, 'it is on feeling and imagination that the ascendancy of Positivism depends; reasoning will henceforth be secondary.' With regard to his new God Comte says: 'We condense the whole of our positive conceptions in the one single idea of an immense and eternal Being, Humanity.' ('Why immense and why eternal?' the Positive catechumen might well ask his instructor.) This concept Comte explains as a legitimate development from scientific Positivism.

The subjective theory of God [he writes] enables us to conciliate all without concessions to any, by showing that theological beliefs were spontaneous institutions of Humanity for providing, in her childhood, imaginary guides which the predominant species could not find in the real order: . . . we now pass to the just view—to represent the pretended creator as really a creation, not of man, but of Humanity, . . . Thus the Positivists honour, according to times and places, first, the gods and then their single successor as provisional creations of the Great Being.

Again, he writes to an apostate Positivist who had returned to Catholicism:—

Neither calm nor dignity is any longer possible for the heart and intellect of the Westerns of our day, save in the bosom of Positivism, which, while devoting us to Humanity, directs us to pay fitting honour to your God as well as to the divinities which preceded him, as spontaneous institutions which She developed to guide Her childhood, though they have now become incapable of acceptance by Her maturity.

Comte smiles benignly on the world which has not yet put away the 'things of a child,' much as a mother with an infant in her arms might smile on the little girl sitting at her feet who nurses a rag doll which she has made.

'Towards Humanity, who is for us the true Great Being, we, the conscious elements of which She is composed, shall henceforth direct every aspect of our life, individual or collective.

Our thoughts will be devoted to the knowledge of Humanity, our affections to Her love, our actions to Her service.'

To meet the obvious difficulty that much of Humanity, as she manifests herself, is anything but an object of supreme reverence, Comte explains that 'the new Great Being is formed by the co-operation only of such existences as are of a kindred nature with itself, excluding such as have proved only a burden to the human race.'

We have thus an amended reading for the first questions in our Catechism: 'Who made you? Humanity. Why did Humanity make you? Humanity made me to know It, to love It, and to serve It in this world, and to be'—here, however, we must stop; for Humanity has no world but this, and so we cannot 'be happy with It for ever in the next.' Comte has destroyed immortality, or, rather, he has 'emancipated' us from the degrading belief in the old 'objective immortality.' We ought to part willingly with that, for 'it could never clear itself of the egoistic or selfish character.' 'When I say that my soul is immortal I mean that my soul shall never die': is a statement whose crude literal significance is unworthy of altruism. Comte allows a 'noble subjective immortality to our soul,' a heaven and a hell which is freed from the individualism of the theological hell and heaven. 'The good is oft interred with their bones,' is a line the truth of which Comte would stoutly deny. 'Why,' he would say, 'the good lives after them: it is the *Subjective Altruistic Immortality of their souls*.' 'Positivism,' he hastens to explain, 'preserves this valuable term *soul* to stand for the whole of our intellectual and moral functions without involving any allusion to some supposed entity answering to the name.' These intellectual and moral functions remain in their effects on a grateful or ungrateful posterity; and thus it is that our soul is immortal.

Humanity, we are told, is the real Providence, controlling our destinies: 'We are in circumstances in which Humanity, by the whole of its antecedents, has placed us.' 'The least among us can and ought to aspire constantly to

maintain and even improve this Being.' This becomes the natural object of all our activity, both public and private; and it gives the character of our whole existence either in feeling or in thought. For our existence, as a whole, must be devoted to love and to know in order rightly to serve our Providence by a wise use of all the means which it furnishes to us. In its turn again, this continued service of our lives, whilst strengthening our true unity, renders us at once both happier and better. And at length it has the power to incorporate us at the end of life in that Great Being, in the development of which we have had a part to bear.

The notion of this new God is not one easy to grasp; indeed, Mr. Harrison, one of Comte's most enthusiastic English disciples, admits that 'the most difficult of all the conceptions of Positivism is the abstract sense of Humanity.' Comte tells us that this Great Being 'can be decomposed into its chronological Trinity—the collective beings Priority, the Public and Posterity'; that is to say, past, present, and future mankind. Of this Trinity, *Priority* is primarily proposed as an object of worship. Comte, however, does not discourage acts of adoration of the living, especially if the 'abstract sense of Humanity' is concreted in some member of the female sex who inspires a tender reverence.

He warns us of our duty in this matter, saying:—

We ought to push as far as adoration our respect and gratitude for living beings provided they offer a true superiority, without waiting till death has idealised them. . . . Adoration becomes for the Positive a means of moral improvement to which he ought to resort in as great a degree as possible. . . . In the Positive State, it is sufficient that the adored being, without being considered perfect, should be really superior to us, even though this superiority should be only partial, especially if it concerns the heart, as in the ordinary case of feminine types, who are the principal objects of personal worship.

Writing of Clotilde de Vaux, Comte says:—

My noble and tender friend understood that the systematization of the worship of woman was to form one of the chief social results of the new philosophy. It was just that the great attribute should be first realized in my private adoration of

her. . . . She is, for all time, incorporated into the true Supreme Being, of whom her tender image is allowed to be for me the best representative. In each of my three daily prayers I adore both together.

He determines that in painting or in sculpture the symbol of the new Divinity will always be a woman at the age of thirty with her son in her arms.

So far we have introduced the positive God and the concrete symbols through which Abstract Humanity was to receive its worship. Public prayer has its forms provided, the Roman Missal evidently suggesting such an Advent Collect as the following:—*Thou Supreme Power, who hast hitherto guided Thy children under other names, but in this generation hast come to Thy own in Thy own proper person revealed for all ages to come by thy Servant Auguste Comte, etc.*—a prayer which, we believe, is recited piously by present-day Positivists at their religious services.

The 'communion of saints' has its analogue in the Positivist system, the difference being that Positive saints being incorporated into the Divinity receive adoration proper.

The Comtest martyrology contains over five hundred names. It includes all those who were judged by Comte to have benefitted their posterity in any marked degree. The thirteen months of the *Positive Calendar* are dedicated to Moses, Homer, Aristotle, Archimedes, Cæsar, St. Paul, Charlemagne, Dante, Gutenberg, Shakespeare, Descartes, Frederick II., Bichat. These are the greater saints. Each month is divided into four weeks, a special week-patron being assigned for each. Numa, Budda, Mahomet, Æschylus, Virgil, Plato, St. Augustine, Hildebrand, St. Bernard, Milton, Raphael, Molière, Mozart, Aquinas, Hume, Cromwell, Richelieu, Innocent III., St. Louis—are names of some of these week-saints or '*worthies*,' as Mr. Congreve calls them in his translation of the *Catechism*. The first few letters in Mr. Ingram's selection are dated in the customary manner, but, after arranging his calendar, Comte heads his letters with such dates as 6 Homer, year 65; 8 St. Paul, 1 Archimedes, 12 Cæsar, 25 Moses.

Canonization is at the discretion of the head of the Positive Religion : as a rule it is not proclaimed till seven years after a 'worthy's' death. In a letter to Alexander J. Ellis Comte writes :—

I thank you for sending me the two extracts from the unfortunate Shelley, of whom I have formed the same opinion as you, though his poems were hitherto unknown to me. After reading these important passages, I resolved to give their author a place, as adjunct of Byron, in the next reprint of the *Positive Calendar*.

Twenty-seven lines of poetry quoted to the great Pope of Positivism thus won his apotheosis for Shelley.

Comte hoped that a judicious use of his powers of canonization might assist materially in adding to the number of his proselytes. Thus, in a letter to Henry Edger, he writes :—

The addition of the name of the admirable Indian woman Marina to the *Positive Calendar* as adjunct to Joan of Arc, ought to furnish, at the right time, a germ of some adhesions amongst the unfortunate Mexican race, who will thus be led to feel that they are thought of at Paris.

He similarly hopes to win Catholics by a glorification of the Blessed Virgin. He writes to Georges Audiffert :—

In your intended communication with the local Jesuits, I advise you to represent Positivism as condensed in the utopia of the Virgin-Mother, which must attract to us the special attention of all worthy Catholics of both sexes.

Again—

It is not by the Mass that the Catholic *cultus* can serve as a preparation for the Positive adoration. The transition will be better made through the worship of the Virgin who furnishes to Spanish and Italian souls a spontaneous idealization of Humanity by the apotheosis of woman.

Writing to John Metcalf he says :—

In relation to the last stage of Catholicism, Positivists should specially glorify the Virgin as the mystic precursor of Humanity. Her adoration will be easily transformed so as to lead Catholic souls, especially those of women, to the Positive worship. It is chiefly by directing this transition that the Jesuits, regenerated as Ignatians, will be able to aid us in reorganising the West,

provided only that they recognise the normal superiority of the religion founded on the natural existence of the benevolent inclinations, which Catholicism was forced to deny, in order to leave a perfectly clear field for the egoism of its Divinity.

A religion must have a doctrine as well as an object of worship : a creed as well as a God. The Positive faith embraces all objects of positive knowledge from the multiplication table and the fact of gravitation to the laws of political economy.

By doctrine Comte meant simply the sum of positive knowledge, the consensus of all science, the real laws of the whole field of phenomena, physical and moral, cosmological, or all those relating to the world, and sociological, or all those relating to mankind. Thus is science reconciled with religion, by religion having as one of its parts, as its external and intellectual basis the sum of science. Science is itself in its natural sense the *creed* . . . which religion idealises by *worship*, and carries out into harmonious action by *discipline*.

Comte was the first High Priest of Positivism. He says, in 1855 :—

I must proceed, with the assistance of all true Positivists, to constitute directly a priesthood, which cannot always consist of myself alone, whatever antipathy its creation may inspire in literary men incapable of being admitted into it . . . Religion is insufficient without a suitable clergy.

The faithful were exhorted to contribute a regular subsidy for the support of their pastors. As High Priest Comte was intolerant of interference or criticism ; he complains bitterly of the old habits of distrust and insubordination which prompt some Positivists to isolate themselves from the others and even schismatically from their head.

Even though pretended Positivists should admit all our dogmas, their social action would be essentially fruitless if they did not subordinate themselves to the universal Pontiff, the one source of the regenerating group.

Comte is the supreme and infallible judge of doctrine. The duty of his disciples is, he tells them, to propagate and apply his doctrine 'without aiming at criticising or even improving it.' In 1856 he writes to Georges Audiffrent :—

In order to consolidate and develop discipline, by creating

the first element of a hierarchy, I have lately proclaimed in the Positive Society my thirteen Testamentary Executors, and have invited my followers to consider the persons thus chosen as forming a fraternal aristocracy amongst my disciples, which will render our Church more stable and more active, since no association can really exist without inequality.

The Positive priesthood is not conferred before the age of 42: aspirants, corresponding to sub-deacons, are ordained at 28; vicars (or deacons?) at 35. It is the duty of Positive priests to instruct the faithful in their creed—*i.e.*, the sciences, with a special obligation of instructing them in ethics and politics. The preparation for the due performance of this task involved many years of laborious study. There are perhaps no degrees conferred in a modern university which a really well-trained Positive priest would be unfitted to receive, except, perhaps, those in Divinity; his scientific studies having presumably 'emancipated' him too thoroughly from the 'theological state' for a serious application of his mind to dogma. A Positive aspirant would be unable to sign the Thirty-nine Articles, even in their widest and 'most catholic' sense. Marriage is an essential prerequisite to taking vicar's orders; Comte having decided that no man could duly perform the duty of a priest unless he were constantly under the influence of woman. A bachelor was—in theological language—*irregularis*.

The new religion was well provided with sacraments. They number nine, viz: Presentation, Initiation, Admission, Destination, Marriage, Maturity, Retirement, Transformation, and Incorporation.

'Mixed marriages are,' says Comte, 'one of the essential privileges of Positivism. They will be frequent in the early future, so as to promote the universal advent of the final faith.'

One of Comte's disciples, Henry Edger, wrote to him about a scheme for instituting Positive monasteries of a kind, but he was sharply checked by his chief:—

I cannot adopt your project of a sort of Positivist monastery. It seems to me directly opposed to the development of the domestic affections, which our religion regards as the necessary foundation of social existence. If, amongst the exceptional

men who surround you, some, weary of their isolation, feel a vague impulse to come together, it is far better that the pressure should push them toward family life.

Comte discovered that the *Imitation of Christ* could be adopted to meet the needs of his new disciples. It was his practice to read a chapter of à Kempis every morning, and he tells one of his correspondents that if he made it a rule to read the *Imitation* daily he would gain more, intellectually and morally, than by an endless perusal of journals, reviews, or pamphlets. He did not venture to publish an amended edition of à Kempis, saying: 'At present the transformation of the *Imitation* by substituting *Humanity* for *God* does not seem to me capable of a suitable execution for the public, notwithstanding its private utility for all true Positivists.' He strongly disapproved of the Bible: 'The substitution of this dangerous reading, which has only an historical value, for that of the *Imitation* would be an anarchical retrogradation.'

The founder of Positivism did not look for the immediate and universal diffusion of his religion through the world, for he was aware that the greater bulk of mankind showed no anxious desire to be 'emancipated' from the theological, metaphysical, and scientific states. He was, however, convinced that his invention was a panacea for the ills of mankind, and he had no doubts about its ultimate acceptance by the majority of men. Comte possessed at least one qualification essential to success in the foundation of a new school of thought, he believed fully in himself and in his mission. 'Positivists,' he writes to Mr. Hutton, 'destined as they are to direct the world, . . . cannot fulfil their mission aright without a constant feeling of their mental and moral superiority.' 'Positivism is henceforth without any competitor in the intellectual and moral reorganisation of the West.' Comte concluded his third course of philosophical lectures on the general history of Humanity with these words:—

In the name of the Past and of the Future, the Servants of Humanity—theoricians and practicians—come forward to claim as their due the general direction of the world in order to

construct at last the true Providence, moral, intellectual, and material; excluding once and for all from political supremacy all the different servants of God—Catholic, Protestant, or Deist—as at once belated and a source of trouble.

Again,—

The Faith of Positivists, now complete, enables them to offer decisive and coherent solutions on all questions of the past, the future, and even of the present, which can ever arise, whilst always exhibiting the character which I have summed up in the formula, 'Conciliatory in act, inflexible in principle.' Neither calm nor dignity is any longer possible for the Westerns of our day, save in the bosom of Positivism.

According to Comte's announcement the twentieth century is to see Positivism sufficiently accepted by the rulers of the world. He congratulates himself in 1853 on the fact that 'the British Cabinet contained *one incomplete Positivist*.' 'Conservatives,' he says, 'are everywhere, and especially in the United States, naturally the best adherents of Positivism.'

Comte was disappointed with the British workingman. He speaks of his 'distrust and reserve,' of his 'obstinately passive though by no means indifferent attitude' towards Social and Religious Positivism. He says, however,

Positivism must find among the workingmen of America the best promoters of the regeneration of the British proletariat, too much repressed in the mother country by aristocratic domination and the Anglican hypocrisy.

Of the French working class he says, in 1857 :—

It is truly a shame that M. Magnin is hitherto the only French workingman whom Positivism has thoroughly converted, though his old revolutionary habits still often show themselves in the details of civic life.

The philosopher was anxious to win the support of the Society of Jesus, and sent a representative to Rome in 1857 to interview Father Beckx, the General of the Order. As might be expected the latter refused to accept any league which had not for its direct object the triumph of the name of Jesus. Nothing daunted Comte renewed the attempt by forwarding to Father Beckx copies of the *Positive Catechism* and his *Appeal to Conservatives*. The receipt of the books

was acknowledged—a fact which Comte hopefully comments on as follows :—

I feared the Papal Customs might intercept the transmission by post of my presentation. His (Fr. Beckx') written thanks have been quite courteous to M. Sabatier and me ; we now entertain the hope that the books will be seriously read at the Jesuit centre. . . . Perhaps the reading of these books may strike the present chiefs of Catholicism (*sic*) sufficiently to induce them to utilise the sojourn at Rome of my excellent envoy without waiting for the publication of my *Appeal to the Ignatians*. In designating them as Ignatians, I recall the fact that our calendar has justly honoured their chief, and I deliver them from a name as faulty in itself as it is associated with general discredit. . . . They can, however, only serve as our auxiliaries, accepting our presidency, after having recognised our superiority—especially on the moral side.

Comte regarded Catholicism as the creed most closely allied to his own, and he welcomed conversions from Protestantism to the Catholic faith as a step towards reception into his own religion. He counted on enlisting one in every hundred of the French clergy—an expectation which in the sequel, we need hardly say, was not realised.

Such, then, is Religious Positivism. We trust that the less formal expression of Comte's thoughts on the great question may have proved interesting to those of our readers who have not seen the published editions of his letters to his intimates.

We have to be grateful to the founder of Positivism for one striking omission in the exposition of his new faith. He has not trifled with that name which was given to the truest and greatest representative of Humanity, the real benefactor and regenerator of our race, Whom we can adore without idolatry, the name which is above all names, at the sound of which every knee should bow. Jesus Christ is not mentioned in any of Comte's letters nor in his *Catechism*.

In the latter he alludes indirectly to Christ when he attributes the foundation of Christianity to St. Paul, 'whose sublime self-abnegation facilitated the growth of the new unity by accepting a founder who had no claim.' St. Paul, he would say, is the first great altruist for,

having himself introduced Catholicism into the world, he attributed its foundation to Christ.

We have finished our brief description of Comte's parody of Christianity. Does it need any refutation? We think that our readers will agree with us that nothing can so effectually bring its absurdity into prominence as the simple exposition of its doctrines and ritual. 'Love your fellowmen' is the only moral precept of any value which it promulgates: but nineteen hundred years ago that lesson was inculcated by the words and example of Him who laid down His life for love of His fellowmen, and who having drawn to Himself the love of all, with a higher altruism reflected the rays of charity upon mankind, saying to those who love Him: 'What ye do to the least of these My little ones, Amen I say to ye, you are doing it to Me.' 'By this shall men know that ye are My disciples, that ye love one another.'

FRANCIS WOODLOCK, S.J.

THE CASE OF IRELAND AGAINST THE SCIENCE AND ART DEPARTMENT

'THE South Kensington Department of Science,' writes Dr. Chalmers Mitchell, 'is probably the most costly, the most wasteful, and the most stupid of our educational shams.' So quotes Fr. Dowling in his fine paper in your issue of December last, entitled 'Save the Child.' 'And,' says Father Dowling, 'we are being South Kensingtonised here.'

I propose to give some account of the history and workings of this Department in Ireland, and to make such a case as will encourage our Parliamentary representatives to bring the matter forward in the debate on the Address, or at such other time as may be opportune.

My case will be confined to four points, which are:—
(1) The manner in which the London Science and Art De-

partment has for the past fourteen years administered the Equivalent Grant, so that Ireland could not get its full share of the money ; (2) The failure of the alternative system known as the May Examination System, which the Science and Art Department forced on this country ; (3) The capture by the Science and Art Department of £58,629, if not more, of Irish money ; and (4) The loss which the discontinuance of the Equivalent Grant would mean to Ireland.

The principal Acts effecting Ireland in the matter of technical education are the Technical Instruction Act of 1889, and the Agriculture and Technical Instruction (Ireland) Act, 1899. Fifteen years ago the Technical Instruction Act of 1889 laid down that the conditions on which Parliamentary Grants might be made in Ireland in aid of technical or manual instruction should be those contained in the minutes of the Department of Science and Art for the time being. This enactment placed the interpretation, the entire working out and management of the Act of 1889, in the hands of the Science and Art Department.

Now, what did the Department do with these enormous powers ? How did it seek to discharge the public trust so imposed upon it ? Why, it at once drew up a special minute so oppressive in character to Ireland as to render the working of the Act an impossibility in this country—a minute, mark you, affecting Ireland alone. This minute will be found at page 62 of the *Science and Art Directory* for 1900, and is as follows :—

Grants will be made in Ireland in aid of technical instruction given under the Technical Instruction Act, 1889. The grant in aid will be made to the school aided by the Local Authority, and will be equal in amount to the sum contributed by the Local Authority out of the rates for instruction in subjects *other* than those for which the Board gives aid under the Science and Art Directory.

That is what is known as the Equivalent Grant. The above minute declares that the Department will give technical schools in Ireland no money out of the Equivalent Grant, for teaching any subject which the Department may have taken upon itself to place upon the index to its

Directory. Now when the Department drew up this penal law which affected Ireland alone, it set out in its *Directory* almost every subject which could be taught in an Irish technical school, so as to limit the benefits of the Equivalent Grant to Ireland. For example, the Department would not allow any money out of the Equivalent Grant for teaching the principles of tillage, meadowing, or pasturage, the scientific application of manures, dairy work, poultry management, or the treatment of live stock, because, forsooth, all these subjects formed branches of the Department's subject called Agriculture, and Agriculture was one of the banned subjects set out in the *Directory* of the Department in respect of which no money would be paid out of the Equivalent Grant. Here at one stroke of the pen this London Department deprived the whole farming classes of Ireland of the benefits of the Equivalent Grant. The result of this London worked system was, that from 1889 local authorities in Ireland naturally hesitated to levy a rate for instruction in technical, manual, or agricultural subjects, in the vain hope of getting an equivalent grant from the Science and Art Department.

In the year 1898 I had occasion to investigate the working of the Equivalent Grant in Ireland, and as a result of my inquiries I found that in no case was a technical school in Ireland able to obtain from the Science and Art Department a grant equal in amount to that raised by the local rates for technical instruction. The school managers in Ireland did the best they could to get the grant. I knew one school where artisans were, amongst other things, taught to work simple sums and do a little writing. The managers of this school asked for a portion of the Equivalent Grant for their year's work in these subjects, but the Department said that it could not pay fees for teaching mere writing, and as for sums, that sums were arithmetic, that arithmetic was a branch of mathematics, and that mathematics was one of the science subjects mentioned in the *Directory* of the Department, in respect of which no portion of the Equivalent Grant could be paid. So the managers lost their fees that year. The next year they came with enlightened

minds, and while teaching the writing and the sums as before they called these subjects by the grand name of Commercial Penmanship and Accounts. And they got paid for them out of the Equivalent Grant that year as Commercial Subjects. The London Department was not a bit deceived by these methods. It had placed obstructions in the way of the Irish Managers, who, in turn, disposed of those obstructions by walking round them.

But these were not the sole results of this London system. The Department determined to drive the Irish schools into using the May Examination System, forming Science and Art Classes, and seeking to obtain results fees by passing the May Examinations. But with what results? The Department's own inspector tells us. In the *Forty-fourth Report of the Science and Art Department*, page 64, Mr. T. Preston, Science Inspector to the Department, reports as to the Science and Art Classes in Ireland as follows :—

In a previous report I have directed attention to the generally defective state of science instruction, and to the almost complete absence of 'local effort' in Ireland. I regret that I am unable to report any improvement in this state of affairs during the two years which have since elapsed, but rather the reverse ; for, while there has been neither advance in the method of teaching, nor increase of local interest or effort, there has been a persistent and serious falling off in the number of schools working in connection with the Department, as well as the number of students presented annually for examination, and the amount of grant earned. Mr. Preston then goes into figures as follows :—

IRELAND.							UNITED KINGDOM.
Year.	Total Number of Schools.	SCIENCE.		ART.		Total Results Paid in Ireland.	Total Results Paid in the United Kingdom.
		Pupils Presented	Results Paid.	Pupils Presented	Results Paid.		
			£ s. d.		£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
1893	236	9,157	5,607 5 10	4,443	1,716 0 2	7,325 6 0	182,532 13 10
1894	201	7,388	4,175 7 11	4,156	1,754 13 11	5,930 1 10	197,136 18 5
1895	182	6,547	3,514 15 11	3,885	1,294 11 7	4,809 7 6	202,268 18 2

Mr. Preston continues :—

Taking the examination results for 1893, 1894, and 1895, as exhibited in the accompanying table, it will be seen that there has been a continuous and alarming decrease in the amount of grant earned by Irish schools, and this cannot be attributed merely to the falling away of weak schools ; for the figures show that, although the number of schools in connection has decreased, yet the total grant earned has decreased in a greater proportion, and the average amount of grant earned per school has decreased as well as the average amount per student, and this notwithstanding the fact that the whole grant awarded to the United Kingdom has steadily increased from year to year.

Under the existing circumstances, I do not think it likely that the teaching of Science is likely to improve in the schools, and the same may to a large extent be said of Art. No doubt, the educational systems at present in force might be very easily modified so as to place Science and Art instruction on a sound basis, or, at any rate so as to give instruction in these subjects a fair chance.

The returns of the Department for 1896 show that the total number of science schools in Ireland working in connection with the Department decreased to 140, while the total results paid in the United Kingdom rose to £231,139, Ireland's share of which was only £4,213.

Here is a complete admission by one of its own officials of the failure of South Kensington to deal with the problem of science and art and technical instruction in Ireland. But this report and these results did not affect the London Department. It boldly told Parliament that it was doing splendidly in Ireland. Parliament gave it all the money asked for, and charged the credit of Ireland with the bill. Let us look into the figures. We find that the Science and Art Department has been in the habit, from 1889 to 1897, of taking separate votes on the Civil Service Estimates for Results Fees in Science and Art for Ireland and Great Britain. But while the gross vote for Ireland remained pretty constant the expenditure under this sub-head diminished steadily from £8,481 in 1890 to £4,213 in 1896, with the result that there has been a big balance of Irish money each year left in the hands of the Department. The tot of these balances for eight years makes the grand total of £58,629

of Irish money retained by the Department during that period, or on an average of about £7,500 a year.

The following table, compiled from the official returns of the Department itself, will show, amongst other things, how this £58,629 is obtained.

ESTIMATES FOR SCIENCE AND ART IN GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.				ESTIMATES FOR SCIENCE AND ART IN IRELAND.											
Year.	Total Annual Vote for Science and Art Department.	British Museum.	National Gallery.	Total.	Results Fees in Ireland to 31st December each year.	Royal College of Science, Dublin.	Botanic Gardens, Glasnevin.	Science and Art Museum.	National Library.	School of Art, Dublin.	Geological Survey.	National Gallery, Dublin.*	Royal Irish Academy.	Technical Education Grants to 31st March each year.	Total
1870	232,253	9,705	15,968	257,986	Not given separately. 13,854 (a) 8,481 (b)	6,803	1,931	1,590	1,470	—	4,970	2,240	1,684	—	40,297
1875	278,170	102,442	6,346	386,958		6,883	2,148	1,672	1,677	—	5,586	2,380	2,084	—	
1880	322,409	110,949	17,241	450,599		6,480	2,550	5,890	1,980	621	5,924	2,339	2,000	—	
1885	304,825	152,133	16,643	533,601		6,845	2,851	8,631	1,733	850	5,701	2,241	2,450	—	
1890	462,957	155,975	14,487	633,419		6,927	3,030	9,723	1,834	850	4,951	2,501	2,000	—	
1891	474,896	155,970	Suppl.	670,460	15,237 (a)	6,999	3,022	11,126	1,799	810	3,007	2,501	2,000	—	38,798
1892	530,986	155,825	14,594	701,198	7,534 (b)	7,021	3,172	12,510	1,853	820	2,028	2,501	1,600	—	38,758
1893	600,034	161,090	14,577	775,691	7,253 (b)	6,937	3,209	12,499	1,748	830	2,069	2,500	1,600	500	39,217
1894	645,015	160,000	14,432	819,447	14,414 (a)	6,916	3,227	12,996	1,972	840	2,138	2,545	1,867	1,000	39,431
1895	692,122	156,000	19,368	867,490	5,930 (b)	6,908	3,235	13,418	2,017	1,715	1,807	2,400	2,077	2,500 (a)	40,246
1896	719,156	193,830	19,340	932,326	4,809 (b)	7,145	3,368	14,224	2,041	1,772	1,885	2,454	2,077	1,860 (b)	41,195
1897	754,795	164,609	13,286	932,690	4,213 (b)	7,067	3,398	13,403	1,800	1,757	1,952	2,443	1,714	2,016 (b)	39,956
					Unascertained. Say									2,422 (b)	
					4,000 (b)										

(a) Estimate. (b) Expenditure—this goes into the totals, * Not under Science and Art Department.

In order that the £58,629 may be arrived at an amplification of column number 6 of the above table is necessary.

Year	Total Amount of Estimate for Ireland for Science and Art Results Fees to 31st December each year.	Actual Amount of Estimate <i>spent</i> in Ireland.	Actual Amount of Estimate <i>retained</i> by Science and Art Department.	Percentages. Amounts Retained.
1890	£ 13,854	£ 8,481	£ 5,373	38·80
1891	15,237	7,534	7,703	50·56
1892	12,586	7,253	5,333	42·37
1893	14,414	7,325	7,689	49·18
1894	11,868	5,930	5,938	50·00
1895	13,348	4,809	8,539	64·00
1896	13,770	4,213	9,557	69·46
1897	13,097	Unascertained Say, 4,000	9,097	69·32
TOTALS,	108,174	49,545	58,629	Av. 54·26

The question now arises, what became of this £58,629? From the foregoing tables it will be seen that the entire money voted to the Science and Art Department for Great Britain and Ireland has almost invariably been expended—in some cases exceeded. The conclusion is that the Department estimated for a larger vote than was required in order to have at its disposal funds which, by a subsequent arrangement, might be made available for England, thereby depriving Ireland of more than half its vote for Science and Art. As shown by the tables above a separate estimate for Ireland had been given for the years 1889 to 1897 in these Science and Art Estimates. *But no separate estimate has been given since.*

In the Civil Service Estimates since 1896 there is simply a gross estimate for Science and Art for Great Britain and Ireland. Does not this concealment show a guilty mind on the part of the Department? On the 15th of July, 1898, a question was asked in the House of Commons why it was that the grant for the Science and Art Department in Ireland was not placed separately on the list and included with the other Irish votes, as was done in the case of Scotland. And Sir John Gorst, the Minister for Education, replied:—

That as the Science and Art Department in London was responsible for the Science and Art Department in Ireland it

was impossible to separate the votes ; that the Scotch Office had taken charge of the Department in Scotland, and when the Irish Office did the same for Ireland the change could be made.

So that all the Irish public had to do was to wait patiently until the new Irish Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction was formed, when all evils would be removed. This same night in the debate on the Irish Estimates it was pointed out that the money spent for technical education in Ireland was ludicrously insufficient.

While as much as 8*d.*, 9*d.*, and even 10*d.*, per head was the allowance in England and Scotland, in Ireland the highest allowance was 6*d.* per head which was for County Dublin ; while Cork had 2½*d.* per head, Waterford 1*d.*, Kerry ¼*d.*, my own County of Wicklow ¼*d.*, and so on, as low down as one-fortieth of a penny in the case of Donegal. And it was asked how were the people of Donegal and Wicklow to contribute out of the rates,—for that was what it came to,—to compete with rich districts in England. It was impossible to do so. Then the Chief Secretary (who is now Premier of England) felt the force of the case that had been made, and stated that he was about to bring in a Bill on the subject and to form a new Department in Dublin for the purpose of developing agriculture and for the promotion of technical education in Ireland. We know that the Agriculture and Technical Instruction Act of 1899 was then passed, and the present Department formed in Dublin. To this new Irish Department many powers were given for the promotion of technical education in Ireland, amongst others (1) the administration of the Science and Art Department in Ireland ; (2) the administration in Ireland of the grant in aid of technical instruction as defined by the Act of 1889 and which is commonly known as the Equivalent Grant.


To assist in carrying out these objects a grant £55,000 a year was made in aid of technical instruction. So that Ireland now had three sources of revenue for the work, namely—(1) The Science and Art Grant ; (2) The Equivalent Grant ; and (3) The £55,000 a year. Local authorities were empowered to raise 2*d.* in the £ on the rateable value, that

is '1d. under the Act of 1889, and another 1d. under the Act of 1899. The Irish Act of 1899 directed that all these moneys were to be applied only with the approval of the new Irish Department.

The London Science and Art Department were then issuing minutes in the most liberal manner enabling technical schools in Ireland to avoid the penal clause which prevented Irish schools being paid out of the Equivalent Grant for subjects set out in the *Directory* of the Department. Irish schools were to get paid on all sorts of subjects. The London Department preserved an amusing appearance of consistency in connection with the penal clause which at this time was still to be found in the *Directory*. The *Directory* emphatically stated that no fees could be paid out of the Equivalent Grant for dairy-work, as dairy-work was a branch of the *Directory* subject, agriculture. The minutes, however, stated that fees could be earned for teaching butter-making. Butter-making was not a branch of the Department's subject, agriculture, and therefore had nothing to say to agriculture in any shape or form. The Department would not pay for the teaching of botany, as botany was a Science subject in the *Directory*. But the minutes would allow payment for the teaching of horticulture, as of course it was plain to the meanest intelligence that botany and horticulture were as far asunder as the Poles. As to the little plan about commercial penmanship and accounts the Department seemed pleased to find such a laudable anxiety in Ireland to master these difficult subjects. And when the school managers went a step further and called their new subject workshop arithmetic, the London Department seemed quite pleased. Arithmetic might be called a branch of mathematics but workshop arithmetic, never.

A popular gentleman, with a seat in Parliament, was placed at the head of the new Irish Technical Department and the Irish public felt that technical education was about to be developed in the country, schools formed and fostered, and all the grants the country was entitled to obtained and administered. But these hopes were

doomed to disappointment. The London Science and Art Department probably finding that Irish schools would soon advance sufficiently to secure their proper share of the Equivalent Grant, made up its mind to deprive Ireland of all benefits thereunder. So an ukase was issued that in the year 1904 Ireland should cease to receive any part of the Equivalent Grant. This meant a serious loss to Ireland. It worked out in this way. By the Act of 1889 the Science and Art Department was enabled to give a penny out of the Equivalent Grant for every penny raised locally for the purpose of technical instruction. A penny in the £ was the limit of taxation under this Act. Now, a penny in the £ on the entire valuation of Ireland would bring in £63,000 a year, so that £63,000 a year would be the limit of the amount which the Science and Art Department could pay each year under the Equivalent Grant. Therefore, the discontinuance of the Equivalent Grant would mean a possible loss to Ireland of £63,000 a year. To a school like Kevin Street in Dublin, the discontinuance of the Equivalent Grant would mean a loss of from £1,000 to £1,500 a year, and so on with other schools in proportion.

 The conduct of the Science and Art Department all through is open to grave comment. First it blocked the schools in Ireland by the penal clause, and so prevented Irish schools from earning their share of the Equivalent Grant since the passing of the Technical Instruction Act of 1889. Then when the new Irish Department was formed and Ireland was getting under way to earn its share of the Equivalent Grant, this London Department deprives Ireland of the Equivalent Grant at one blow.

The defence of the Science and Art Department was that the Technical Instruction Act of 1889, unlike the Irish Act of 1899, was an enabling Act merely, the Treasury being enabled to find the money provided that the Science and Art Department recommended the grant, and put it on the Estimates each year. Further, that the Department had done this in the past, but that as Ireland now had £55,000 a year for technical education under the Irish Act of 1899, the Department considered that Ireland had quite enough

money for the purpose, and therefore refused to recommend the grant beyond the year 1904.

But the Treasury allowed the Irish Department, which was the successor in title of the Science and Art Department, to declare that for every penny raised locally for technical instruction under the Act of 1889 a penny out of the Equivalent Grant would be paid. And on the faith of that promise the Irish people taxed themselves generously. And having taxed themselves the Treasury stopped the grant. That this was contrary to the tacit understanding with Parliament on the passing of the Technical Instruction Act of 1889 is borne out by the fact that the Treasury through the Science and Art Department paid money on foot of the Equivalent Grant for a number of years. This breach of faith on the part of the Treasury not only hampered Irish managers in their financial engagements, but was seriously calculated to mar the future of technical education in Ireland.

Things were in a bad way when, in August, 1902, the Cork Technical Congress, under the able presidency of Father Dowling took the matter up, and brought it prominently before the public. In the following month a deputation from all Ireland waited upon the Chief Secretary to put forward the claims of the country to the Equivalent Grant. There were about a hundred of us, and as we trooped into the Privy Council Chamber we had the light hearts of men that had an unanswerable case.

Mr. Wyndham received us with perfect courtesy. He was polite and sympathetic. He was even kind. He waived aside facts as being quite out of place between such good friends as the gentlemen of the deputation and himself, and placed the case on the high standpoint of Ireland's needs. He admitted frankly that Ireland required technical education badly, and that something should be done. He gave us to understand that we would be wise to leave the matter entirely in his hands and that he would do what he could with the Treasury. Indeed, he impressed me as a man who was anxious to do good, just for the pleasure of the thing. And this, I think, was the general opinion. So we left the case in his hands. Well, the result was that we

got £7,000 a year as a limit of the sum to be earned each year under the Equivalent Grant. But under the Technical Instruction Act of 1889, as I have shown, the limit should be a penny for every penny raised by local taxation which might mean anything up to £63,000 a year. Now, £7,000 about represented what was captured each year by the Science and Art Department between 1889 and 1898, as shown by my last table above. So that although the Chief Secretary had doubtless the very best intentions, the net result of the deputation was that we only got back our own.

Time rolled by. Our County Wicklow Committee had raised large sums for technical instruction in the county, and we here in Arklow had, in addition, contributed generously towards a prize fund. Mr. Preston's gloomy observations no longer applied, because we now had a system suitable to the wants of the country and we were determined to avail ourselves of it to the full. It therefore occurred to me that we should try and earn some of the Science and Art money, and so add to our other funds. Accordingly I wrote to the Irish Department on 5th of November last, and received a reply which concludes as follows :—

With regard to the question of grants, I have to inform you that the Administration of the sums voted by Parliament for Science and Art instruction in Ireland is now vested in the Department. Grants are not payable upon the results of Local Science and Art Examinations, but in respect of attendances at instruction given under the Regulations at present in force, viz., those of the *Science and Art Directory* for 1901, as modified by Circular 2 and Form S. 46. The *Directory* is now out of print, but copies of the other documents are enclosed for your information.

This Circular 2, which is dated August, 1901, contains some fifteen paragraphs which refer to the *Directory* and is unintelligible without it. Form S. 46 deals with teachers, principally those under the National Board. It is also dated 1901.

It would appear from the above statement that no rules or regulations can be had so as to enable managers, say in

Arklow, to form classes to earn their share of the annual grant for Science and Art for Great Britain and Ireland. The Irish Department states that the regulations at present in force are those contained in the London *Science and Art Directory*, and that that is *out of print*. This letter suggests the inquiry. How much money has been earned each year by Ireland out of the grant for Science and Art since the Irish Department took over charge on 1st April, 1901? True, some of the classes under the old *régime* may have continued on. Probably, too, some persons with commendable foresight may have secured copies of the *Science and Art Directory* for 1901 before it went out of print, and formed classes accordingly, but I fear that Ireland as a whole has earned less of this Science and Art Grant under the new Irish Department than under the old London one. And this in truth was small enough. The question then comes: Has the Irish Department, since 1st April, 1901, done everything in its power to enable Ireland to earn its full share of this Science and Art Grant? If so, where are the regulations of the Department governing the matter? For, if the Department in 1901 had power to modify the Science and Art Regulations it had power to draft a new set of regulations for Ireland, or else the above letter is open to explanation.

In July, 1898, Sir John Gorst, Minister of Education, said that as soon as we got our Irish Department, Ireland's share of the Science and Art Grant would be handed over to that Department to be administered by it for Ireland, as is done by the Scotch Department for Scotland. Yet here we are five years after that date, and the story is South Kensington and its *Directory* still. Why does Scotland get facilities that are denied to Ireland? Simply because the people of Scotland insist and have always insisted upon their rights in the matter of education. But what are we to expect while we allow ourselves to be dragged at the tail of an English Department? Imagine! Ireland's progress in Science and Art is to be hampered, I may say blocked, because, forsooth, the *Directory* of the *English* Science and Art Department has gone out of print!

How long is this state of things to continue? For continue it will until Ireland gets a separate Grant for Science and Art, and the Irish Department made wholly responsible for its administration. The opportunity is at hand. Will our Parliamentary representatives avail themselves of it? Or, are we for ever to be harassed by South Kensington, 'the most costly, the most wasteful, and the most stupid of our educational shams'?

GEORGE F. FLEMING, *Solicitor.*

THE ORIGIN OF THE SCAPULAR

(*From Original Sources.*)

THE WINCHESTER MIRACLE

IN a previous article¹ we traced the establishment of the Carmelite Order in England from its first arrival on these shores to the violent persecution it encountered at the hands of the secular clergy, that is, through a period of about twenty years; and with the help of unimpeachable documents, chiefly Papal Bulls, we have analysed its successes and its misfortunes. The latter, vestiges of which date back to the first decade of the settlement of the Carmelites in Europe, took an acute form about the year 1256, and were only dispelled after six years or more of severe suffering from without and profound discouragement from within. During this period an event happened which gave rise to the devotion to the scapular, for, when things were at their worst, Our Lady appeared to St. Simon Stock, General of the Order, promising that whosoever should die in the Carmelite habit should not suffer eternal fire, and advising him to address himself to the Pope in order to obtain a remedy for his grievances. The date of this vision is given by the chief document, a narrative of the vision from the pen of the Saint's secretary and confidential companion, Peter Swanyngton, as 1251, but we have shown reasons for placing it some ten years later.

The continuation of Swanyngton's account marks an

¹ See the I. E. RECORD for May, 1901. Circumstances over which we had no control have caused a long delay in the publication of this and the article to follow, but in the meantime many facts have come to our knowledge which throw most welcome light on this intricate matter. In one point our former results have undergone a slight modification, as will be seen later on. It is only fair to mention that a writer in the (now extinct) *Weekly Register* has pointed out that four lines quoted from *Piers the Ploughman* on the 'lace of our Lady smok' refer, not to the Scapular as we assumed, but to the 'Girdle of Our Lady,' and were, therefore, wide of the mark. This mistake, however, in no way affects our argument.

important stage in the history of the scapular. This is what he says :—

On the seventeenth of the Kalends of August,² while the aforesaid Blessed Simon was on his way to Winchester being accompanied by me, in order to obtain letters of introduction to Pope Innocent IV. from the Bishop of Winchester who was favourably disposed towards our Order, Peter de Linton (Lhyn-tonia) dean of St. Helen's at Winchester, met us in great haste³ beseeching the Blessed Father to come quickly to the help of his brother who was in a state of despair and at the point of death. His name was Walter ; he was a man shamefully given to the pursuit of sin, quarrelsome, practising the art of a magician, contemning the Sacraments, and molesting his neighbour. Whilst fighting with another nobleman he was mortally wounded, and seeing himself about to appear before the judgment seat of God (the devil placing before his eyes the heinousness of his sins), he would not so much as hear of God and the Sacraments, but as long as his speech remained he shouted and blasphemed : ' I am damned ; revenge me, Satan, of my assassin.' Arriving at the house we found him foaming, gnashing his teeth, and rolling his eyes like a mad dog, apparently at the point of death and unconscious. Whereupon Blessed Simon making the sign of the Cross, threw his habit over the sick man, and lifting up his eyes to heaven, asked forgiveness for him, saying : ' Allow not, oh God, one who has been redeemed by Christ, to become a prey of the devil.' And suddenly he who was thought to be dying grew stronger again, and calmly signing himself and regaining the power of speech, repelled the attacks of the demons, saying with a tearful voice : ' O how miserable am I ! How I tremble to be eternally lost ! My iniquities are more numerous than the sands of the sea-shore. Have mercy on me, O God, for Thy mercy surpasseth Thy justice. Help me, Father, for I wish to make my confession.' Retiring into a corner Dean

² It appears to us that the words : ' On the seventeenth of the Kalends of August ' belong, not to what follows, but to what precedes, ' The day after the Division of the Apostles,' *i.e.* the 16th of July. If on that day St. Simon was at Cambridge he could not get anywhere near Winchester, and to suppose that this incident took place a year later would be absurd, seeing the importance of his interview with the bishop. We shall see that the Winchester miracle must have taken place towards the end of September. The feast of the Division of the Apostles was not kept by the Carmelites until a much later period, for it does not appear in the official Ordinale of 1315, nor in the English Carmelite Calendars, the Oxford Breviary or the Kilcormick Missal. On the Continent, however, it appears in the Bruges Obituary of 1340, and also in all the printed missals and breviaries from 1480 till 1579. Was the feast observed in the English secular churches ? It certainly appeared in the martyrology in the first place.

³ *Celeri vectura.*

Peter told me how, seeing the impenitent heart of his brother and praying for him in solitude, he heard a voice saying : ' Arise Peter, and seek my servant Simon who is on his way hither.' Looking round to know whence came this voice he could see no one, but again and again the words were repeated. Whereupon, taking them for a heavenly message, he mounted his horse to meet the venerable Father, and now he could not thank God enough for having found him so speedily.

After his confession Walter publicly renounced all dealings with the devil, received the last Sacraments with many signs of repentance, made his last will, and asked his brother the Dean to assure him on oath that he would make ample satisfaction for all the injustice of which he, Walter, had been guilty, and about the eighth hour of the night he peacefully breathed forth his soul. The Dean had still some misgivings as to the salvation of his brother but the latter appearing to him assured him that all was well through the powerful intercession of the Queen of Angels, who had preserved him against the assaults of the Evil One with the habit of the Blessed Father as a shield.

The news of this event spread through the whole town. Peter de Linton informed the venerable Bishop of Winchester wishing to have his opinion on so unusual a matter. The bishop was much surprised, and, after taking counsel with his household, decided upon questioning Blessed Simon as to the virtue of his habit. He appeared before the bishop and gave a full account in writing, signed and sealed. The aforesaid Peter in thanksgiving for the miracle wrought by the most glorious Virgin Mary on behalf of his brother, made a foundation for the friars at Winchester, giving them some land as well as building for them a very commodious and fairly large convent. When these facts became known in England and abroad many towns offered places for our habitation, and numerous *grandeess* desired to be affiliated to our Order, so that they might participate in its blessings and die in the holy habit and thus, through the merits of the glorious Virgin Mary, end their lives by a happy death. In this way, by the help of our Lord Jesus Christ and His Mother Mary, the Order of the Blessed Virgin of Mount Carmel began to spread in the Western parts, there being many provinces, in each province many houses, and in each house a sufficient number of able men bringing ample fruit to the increase of the Catholic Faith.⁴

It will be remembered that Our Blessed Lady appearing to St. Simon Stock at Cambridge, promised that those who

⁴ Daniel a Virgine Maria, *Speculum Carmelitanum*. Antwerp, 1680, Vol. i., p. 519.

die in the habit of the Order should not suffer eternal fire, thus allaying the discouragement which the brethren had experienced on account of the opposition they had encountered from various quarters. And further, she advised him to send a message to the Pope, who, as she promised, would provide a remedy against the grievances. Thereupon, Swanyngton tells us, St. Simon Stock went to Winchester in order to obtain letters of introduction (*litterae formatae*) to the Pope from the bishop whom he knew to be favourably disposed towards the Order. Cambridge belongs to the diocese of Ely, but it was neither the Bishop of Ely nor of one of the neighbouring dioceses, Norwich or London, but the distant prelate of Winchester from whom he expected a powerful introduction. It is important for us to know who this bishop was. The see of Winchester having become vacant in 1250, the king sent word to the chapter of St. Swithin's that he would assist in person at the coming election; accordingly he hastened to Winchester and having assembled the monks, gave them in unmistakable language to understand that they were to elect his half-brother, Ademar de Lezignan, to the vacant see. This young man, the fourth son of Isabelle, relict of King John by her second husband, Hugh, Earl of March, had been studying in Paris until the death of his parents when he came to England to make his fortune; Henry III. received him with open arms and bestowed ecclesiastical benefices upon him until his revenues equalled those of the king himself. Twice already had Henry endeavoured to secure a bishopric for his brother, but in vain, when at length Winchester, the richest see in England and one of the richest in Christendom, fell vacant, and the king made up his mind not to be balked again.

The monks of St. Swithin moved, not so much by the royal threats as by the knowledge that they would not be upheld by the Pope in their resistance, proceeded, however reluctantly, to the election of the young man of twenty-three in Minor orders, and the Pope confirmed their choice. But they soon found out that their worst fears were only

too well justified, for Ademar proved totally unfit for his dignity. He took no interest in ecclesiastical matters beyond quarrelling with his chapter and squandering his princely revenues; his chief occupations were politics and hunting, and his life was distinctly disedifying, until at length matters came to a climax and the barons left him the alternative of prison or exile (1258). He chose the latter and the monks proceeded to a new election which, however, was set aside as soon as it became known that Ademar had at last consented to be consecrated, for hitherto he had only been acolyte. But when returning to England against the will of the king, he was overtaken by death in Paris, 4 December, 1260. The next election to the bishopric of Winchester having been cancelled by the Pope on account of a canonical impediment on the part of the nominee, the Pope appointed John of Exeter, Chancellor of York (11 July, 1262), who was at once consecrated and took possession of his see in the autumn of the same year. He must, indeed, have been *persona grata* with the Pope to be promoted by him *motu proprio* to one of the most enviable bishoprics of the whole world. On the other hand, St. Simon Stock must have known him personally, for John of Exeter was, as we have said, Chancellor of York when St. Simon founded a Carmelite friary in the Northern metropolis (1255). He could, therefore, know by experience whether the new Bishop of Winchester was favourably disposed towards the Order or not. The question then arises to which of the two prelates St. Simon went all the way to Winchester to ask for introductions to the Pope; it ought to be clear to the most casual observer that it could not but have been the latter. This is a further proof that St. Simon's vision could not have taken place in 1251 but considerably later, namely, on the 16th of July, 1262, and that the saint's journey to Winchester fell in the early autumn of the same year, soon after the bishop's return from the Papal court.

As to the Dean of St. Helen's, Peter de Linton, we have no further mention. There never has been a church of

this name at Winchester, but there existed, in the diocese of Winchester, a small alien priory dependent upon Cluny, and situated in St. Helen's, Isle of Wight. Of this priory Peter must have been dean or Provost as he is sometimes called. The priory was suppressed in the middle of the fifteenth century, its revenues being handed over to the newly founded school of St. Mary's, Eton, but unfortunately its archives have disappeared ; at least enquiries concerning them have led to no result. According to Swanyngton, Dean Peter proved his gratitude by making a Carmelite foundation at Winchester. Although the exact date of the foundation cannot be ascertained, it must have taken place between 1273 and 1278. But it is highly improbable that the dean waited such a long time. The first establishment may have taken place somewhere else ; in fact we possess a notice to the effect that at one time a convent was founded at Newport, Isle of Wight, but that the inroads of the sea compelled the brethren to transfer their habitation elsewhere.⁵ Again, a Papal Bull of 6th October, 1268, informs us that there existed at that time a Carmelite convent at Birdport, Co. Dorset, but that the bishop and chapter of Salisbury disputed the right of the brethren to celebrate Divine service. This convent was then 'about seven years old,' which would very nearly harmonise with the date assigned by us to the Winchester incident. Since it is not further mentioned, we conclude that the quarrel could not have been amicably settled, and that the Carmelites had to go elsewhere. It is, to say the least, possible that one or other of these attempted foundations had been made by Peter de Linton, and that, so far from being discouraged by failure, he had transferred the convent in 1273 or thereabouts to Winchester.

In his last paragraph Swanyngton speaks of the marvellous development of the Order in consequence of the Winchester miracle. Here we are again upon strictly historical ground, but the evidence is once more entirely

⁵ MS. Cotton, Titus D. X., p. 128.

in favour of 1262 as the date of the famous vision instead of 1251. For we find only three foundations to have been made in the course of sixteen years counting from 1261, namely, Oxford, York, and Norwich, which certainly does not agree with Swanyngton's boast that 'many cities offered us places for our habitation,' and that 'provinces were multiplied, each of which comprised many houses.' But, taking 1262 as the date of the vision, his words are fully justified by the events; for, between 1267 and 1305 (when he wrote) scarcely a year passed without a foundation on English soil: Bristol, Winchester, Lynne, Lincoln, Berwick, Newcastle, Northampton, Nottingham, Sandwich, Gloucester, Stamford, Yarmouth, Ipswich, Chester, Appleby, Kingston-upon-Hull, Pontefract, Maldon, Plymouth, Boston, Sutton-in-Holderness (?), and New Shoreham. To these might be added some abortive foundations, namely, beside the two already mentioned, Ruthin, Cardiff, Coventry, etc., and of course about a dozen flourishing houses in Ireland and half that number in Scotland. As to the multiplication of provinces, Swanyngton cannot have forgotten that the separation of the Scotch and Irish houses from the English province was the cause of his writing his account at Bordeaux instead of Oxford or Burnham-Norton.⁶

THE AUTHENTICITY OF SWANYNGTON'S REPORT

Much, but not everything, depends upon the question whether Swanyngton's report is authentic or not. If not, we still have almost contemporary evidence in the account given by Sibert de Beka or St. Simon's vision,⁷ and in an

⁶ We have assumed that Swayngton is principally concerned with the 'persecution' of the Order in England, since the remedy was also given there and he refers chiefly to England when speaking of the development following upon the Winchester miracle. But a similar state of affairs prevailed elsewhere, notably in France, as may be seen from the history of Bordeaux (see Ribadieu, *Revue Catholique de Bordeaux*, 1884, and *Gallia Christiana*, edition of 1720, vol. ii., p. 825). It should also be noted that the period of 'persecution' from 1256 to 1264, coincides with the anti-Mendicant movement inaugurated by William de St. Amour.

⁷ MS. Harley 3,838 (Bale's *Heliades*) chap. xviii.

extract from a writing of William de Coventry,⁸ not to mention numerous later authors. But, if it can be proved authentic, Swanyngton's narrative will be found doubly valuable as being that of an eye-witness, whereas the other writers only transmit what they have heard at second or third-hand. It is our firm conviction that both external and internal evidence is absolutely in favour of the authenticity and that no reasonable ground to the contrary can be alleged, unless one wish to deny all supernatural intervention in human affairs.

And first as to the history of the manuscript. Swanyngton was about seventy years old when, in 1305, he was sent to Bordeaux by way of punishment. What became of him afterwards we do not know; in all probability he died there. During this, his second residence in that town, he wrote a Life of St. Simon Stock, from which the two chapters translated by us have been taken. For he could not have written the last paragraph during his first visit which lasted from 1265 until about 1270. The Life does not appear to have been much read, for it has never been quoted nor so much as mentioned, and it is possible that the very quality which went to make Swanyngton an excellent historian, namely, his sobriety and judgment, may have proved less agreeable to his contemporaries than the high-flown language of a Sibert, or a William de Coventry, etc. In 1570 a terrible outbreak of the plague ravaged Bordeaux and carried away the entire Carmelite community. After that, the convent was for a time under the guardianship of the civic authorities until a number of religious from some other convent were ready to take the place of those who had succumbed to the plague. Before their arrival the town council were kind enough to have the convent thoroughly cleansed and disinfected, on which occasion a literary outrage took place which is almost unequalled in the history of libraries; parchments and books were torn from their shelves, and thrown into the fire lest they should spread infection! How much

⁸ See Daniel, *l.c.*, vol. i., p. 521.

or how little escaped this well-meant act of vandalism it is impossible to say, but Swanyngton's Life of St. Simon Stock was saved from the wreckage. When, in 1640 or thereabouts, the then prior of Bordeaux, John Cheron, undertook to answer Launoy's attacks against St. Simon and the scapular, he had before him and was able to quote, Swanyngton's work; and his book, *Privilegii Scapularis et Visionis S. Simonis Stock Vindiciae*, which appeared at Bordeaux in 1642, is the *editio princeps* of our two chapters from which all later editors have copied. We can hardly blame Cheron for not having inserted the entire text of Swanyngton as the occasion did not demand it, but it is a matter for deep regret that he did not publish it at some other time. After 1650 he contributed some important chapters to Lezana's fourth volume of the *Carmelite Annals* which appeared in 1656, but Swanyngton's Life of St. Simon, which would have found its proper place there, was not among them. It is possible that he reserved its publication to himself and this need hardly surprise us seeing that, notwithstanding many excellent qualities, he suffered from a narrowness of mind which caused great discomfort to his province and disedification to the faithful, besides embittering many years of of his own life. In 1663 he was instrumental in translating the relics of St. Simon Stock to a noble shrine, and in 1671, two years before his death, he was on a committee to enquire into the cult and miracles of the saint. On one or other of these occasions he appears to have written a Life of St. Simon which, however, has never been published and no longer exists in manuscript.¹⁰

What became of Swanyngton's book after Cheron's death? We cannot answer this question with any degree of certainty, but there is no reason for presuming that it disappeared from the convent where Cheron left it, either at

⁹ Daniel, *l.c.*, vol. ii., p. 437.

¹⁰ 'Alors aussi, selon toute probabilité, le P. Chéron publia une Vie de S. Simon Stock qui est in 8vo mais que je n'ai pu découvrir et qui est restée inconnue au P. Cosme de Villiers.' Lantenayt in the *Revue Catholique de Bordeaux*, 1884, in a most interesting biographical sketch of this remarkable man.

Bordeaux, Lectoure, or Langon. Searching enquiries made by the present writer in a number of French libraries and Departmental archives have yielded no result, yet it is quite possible that it is still extant. The contents of the archives of our convents at the time of the Revolution were packed in boxes and deposited in the public archives, and to our certain knowledge those of the Gironde possess at the present day as many as twenty boxes of documents taken from the various Carmelite houses which have never been opened, much less searched and calendered. It would be rash to affirm that Swanyngton's manuscript is hidden there and will one day come to light, but it would also be premature to bemoan its loss.

Internal evidence is not less in favour of authenticity. The Life must have borne the name of its author, for Cheron could know nothing about him beyond the scanty notices published by Trithemius who was ignorant of his acquaintance with St. Simon Stock ; as to the trouble that befell Swanyngton towards the end of his life, neither Trithemius nor Cheron knew anything about it. Comparing his account of Our Lady's promises with those given by Sibert, William de Coventy, and later writers, there can be no question as to the superiority of Swanyngton's version. He clearly distinguishes what he has learnt from St. Simon from what he has seen himself ; he has a keen perception of cause and effect, and above all he keeps strictly to what is possible and probable. Take, for instance, his assertion that Our Lady appeared to St. Simon holding the habit of the Order, and compare it with later writers according to whom she brought a scapular ready made from heaven, which the saint received from her hands, put on himself, and used as pattern for similar ones to be distributed to the brethren. Compare also her dignified words in Swanyngton's report with the flowery speech Sibert attributes to her. Throughout the two chapters there is a ring of conviction, or earnestness, and of simplicity, which contrasts favourably with other reports.

In one point, however, we have found Swanyngton at

fault, and we acknowledge that our first impression was that his writing must have been tampered with. He assigns the year 1251 to the vision whereas three incidents allowing of further investigation point to a later date, namely, 1262. That the former date is impossible has been demonstrated in our first article, but it is also clear that it was not due to a clerical error, since it harmonises with a Bull transcribed by another contemporary writer, William of Sandwich, bearing the date 13th January, 1252. This Bull we at first considered spurious, partly because the *Bullarium* of the Order knows nothing of it, and partly because it is identical with another, of Clement IV., of 31st October, 1265. Since writing that article we have, however, discovered that so far from being supposititious the Bull is perfectly genuine, since it occurs in its proper place in the Register of Innocent IV.¹¹ This fact at once supplies the key to the whole riddle. That the Bull remained ineffective or at least did not fulfil its whole purpose, is obvious from the fact that only a few years after its issue the 'persecution' broke out on a larger scale and worse than ever, and that this very Bull had to be repeated by a later Pope. On the other hand, Swanyngton, writing as he did half a century after the events and in advanced age, may well be pardoned for having mistaken the one for the other. He knew that this particular Bull put an end to the persecution, but he mistook its first issue for the second. And this all the more easily that in its first edition it bore the revered name of Innocent IV., who, on account of the approbation granted to the Rule and the numerous benefits bestowed upon the Order, was always considered *the* great protector of the Carmelites. It may be added that other historians of the Order, such as Philip of the Blessed Trinity,¹² have questioned the date of St. Simon's vision, though we do not know on what particular grounds. That there must be a mistake somewhere is

¹¹ No. 5,563 in Elie Berger's edition.

¹² *Theologia Carmelitana*, Rome, 1665, pp. 334 and 387. In both places he says distinctly 1261, and to show there is no misprint, he adds: 'In the first year of Urban IV., i.e., four years before St. Simon's death.'

certain, for, if once we allow 1251 as the real date, we come to the conclusion that no sooner had Our Lady promised a remedy against all troubles from without and a privilege for the brethren to quell their own discontent, than these troubles began to break out and discontent to fill their hearts, with the result that not only was the development of the Order entirely paralysed for sixteen years, but interior disorganisation threatened its very existence. Moreover, the events of Swanyngton's own life render it doubtful that at this early date he could have acted as St. Simon's companion and secretary, and the Winchester miracle becomes unintelligible since the saint can have had no inducement to approach a prelate of the stamp of Ademar. Our conclusion is, therefore, that Swanyngton's report must be accepted as fully authentic, that both external and internal evidence are in its favour, and that the only exception that could be taken to it admits of a simple and efficacious explanation.

BENEDICT ZIMMERMAN, O.C.D.

[*To be continued.*]

Notes and Queries

LITURGY

DECR. S.R.C. 'VARIA DUBIA'; DECR. S.C. IND. 'AMPLIATIO
FACULTATIS EPIS. INDULGENTIAS IMPERTIENDI'

S. R. CONGREGATIONIS DECRETA

ORDINIS MINORUM PROVINCIAE ANGLIAE

R. P. Thaddaeus Hermans, Kalendarista Provinciae Angliae Ordinis Minorum, de consensu sui Rmi. Procuratoris Generalis, a S. R. C. solutionem sequentium dubiorum humillime postulavit nimirum :

1. An commemoratio festi simplicis primarii debeat praecedere commemorationem festi simplicis secundarii, ita ut in festo duplici S. Romualdi Ab., quod die 15 Febr. repositum colitur, prius commemorari oporteat festum natale Ss. Faustini et Iovitae Mm., quam Translationem S. Antonii Patavini ?

2. An festa Dedicationis Basilicarum Assisiensium, de Portiuncula nempe atque de S. Francisco, quae a Benedicto XIII uti Matrices et Capita ecclesiarum Ordinis Seraphici declarantur, uti festa primaria debeant in universo Fratrum Minorum Ordine haberi, quemadmodum sunt in universo Orbe Dedicationes Basilicarum Urbis ?

3. An sub die 5 Iulii Commemoratio octavae Ss. App. Petri et Pauli, etiam in ecclesiis consecratis, anteponenda sit commemorationi diei infra octavam Dedicationis omnium ecclesiarum Ordinis Seraphici, quamvis in Breviario Romano-Seraphico contrarium hucusque ordinetur ?

4. An festum gaudens octava, si dies libera infra octavam occurrit, in repositione praeferatur festo altioris ritus vel dignitatis, quod octavam non habet ?

5. An in festo Translationis S. Francisci atque Inventionis S. Clarae, silente Breviario Romano-Seraphico, hymni proprii, qui sunt ordine historico exarati, debeant in casu impedimenti transponi, vel pro casuum diversitate coniungi ?

6. An die octava S. Thomae Cantuariensis legi possint in

III Nocturno Lectiones Homiliae *Audistis*, ut in Dom. II post Pascha, quae multis locis iam concessae sunt, licet nondum in Octavario insertae ?

7. An ex Decreto n. 2390, *Varsavien.*, 7 Maii 1746 ad V, collecta de Ss. Sacramento prohibeatur in Missis privatis durante expositione, quae non fit pro publica causa, vel addi possit, pro libitu Sacerdotis ?

8. Missa Conventualis incipiendane est dicto *V. Benedicamus Domino* et *R. Deo gratias*, praecedentis horae canonicae in Nocte Nativitatis Domini, vel adhuc addendum est *Fidelium animae etc.* et *Pater noster*, ut quidam volunt ?

9. Sunt quaedam in Anglia ecclesiae Missionum, quae conventum Monialium S. Clarae adnexum habent, quarum chorus, modo consueto, vel per crates, cum ecclesia communicat. Num istae ecclesiae, quoad Missae celebrationem, habendae sint tamquam ecclesiae Monialium, ita ut inibi Missae legi debeant Officio earum conformes ?

Et S. eadem Congregatio, ad relationem subscripti Secretarii, exquisita sententia Commissionis Liturgicae, omnibus sedulo expensis, respondendum censuit :

Ad I. *Affirmative*, iuxta Decreta. Ad II. *Affirmative*. Ad III. *Affirmative*. Ad IV. *Affirmative*. [Ad V. *Affirmative* ad utramque partem. Ad VI. *Affirmative*, ex indulto. Ad VII. Commemoratio Ss. Sacramenti omnino omittitur durante expositione ex causa privata. Ad VIII. *Affirmative* ad primam partem iuxta Rubricam specialem in Nativitate Domini ; *Negative* ad secundam. Ad IX. *Negative*.

Atque ita rescripsit et indulsit.

Die 20 Novembris 1903.

S. Card. CRETONI, S.R.C. Praef.

L. ✠ S.

✠ D. PANICI, Archiep. Laodicen., Secret.

THE FACULTIES OF BISHOPS TO GRANT INDULGENCES¹

S. CONGREGATIO INDULGENTIARUM

URBIS ET ORBIS

Pontificale Iubilaeum fel. rec. Leonis XIII, solemnibus

¹ This decree of the Sacred Congregation of Indulgences amplifies the Episcopal powers in the matter of granting Indulgences. By the act of the

ubique laetitiis ab orbe catholico peractum, congruam sane occasionem prae-buit, qua plures sacrorum Antistites, praesertim ex regione Neapolitana et Sicula, ad auspicatum eventum novo quodam pietatis religiosique fructus pignore consecrandum, enixas, coniunctis simul litteris, preces admoverunt, ut sua, in indulgentiis elargiendis, facultas aliquantum ab Apostolica Sede adaugeretur.

Has vero postulationes, Pontificis optimi obitu, interceptas sed, ex S. Congregationis Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praepositae consulto, ab infrascripto Cardinali, eidem Congregationi Praefecto, in audientia die 28 Augusti, hoc vertente anno, ad Vaticanum habita, rursum et suppliciter exhibitas, cum primum agnovit sanctissimus Dominus noster Pius Papa X, nihil se in votis magis habere est testatus, quam ut gloriosam Antecessoris memoriam digno, hac etiam in re, honoris documento prosequeretur, et propriam insuper, erga universos ecclesiasticos ordines, paternam charitatem oppido ostenderet. Quapropter Sanctitas Sua, percepta omnium relatione, non modo memoratis votis annuere, verum etiam clementer decernere dignata est, ut, in posterum, Emi. Patres Cardinales, in suis Titulis aequae ac Dioecesium, *bis centum*, Archiepiscopi *centum*, atque denique Episcopi *quingenta* dierum Indulgentiam elargiri valeant, dum tamen serventur cuncta huc usque ab eisdem servata, in huiusmodi Indulgentiarum elargitionibus. Hanc autem concessionem futuris quoque temporibus perpetuo valituram exstare voluit. Contrariis quibuscumque non obstantibus.

Datum Romae, ex Secretaria S. Congregationis Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praepositae, die 28 Augusti an. 1903.

A. Card. TRIPEPI, *Praef.*

L. ✠ S.

Pro R. P. D. FRANCISCO, Archiep. Amiden., *Secret.*

IOSEPHUS M. Can. COSELLI, *Substit.*

fourth Lateran Council these powers were restricted to indulgences of *forty* days, except on the occasion of the consecration of a church or an altar, when Bishops might grant an indulgence of *one year*. Now, however, in virtue of this decree, Bishops are empowered to grant an indulgence of *fifty*, Archbishops one of *a hundred*, and Cardinals one of *two hundred* days in places within their respective jurisdictions, and subject to the same conditions as formerly. Indulgences granted by any authority inferior to that of the Supreme Pontiff are not applicable to the souls in Purgatory.

USE OF ALTAR-STONES WITHOUT RELICS

REV. DEAR SIR,—I have an altar-stone which has been in use from time immemorial. It has no relics. I have seen it stated somewhere that an altar-stone, not containing relics, may be used in an Irish diocese, provided (1) it has been so used *continuously* from the distant past, and (2) that the use of such stones (without relics) has never been prohibited in the diocese. May I use the stone mentioned above?

Yours truly,

PRÊTRE.

The use of portable altars or altar-stones without relics was, we believe, sanctioned in the past by legitimate authority in certain places in Ireland. We have not seen the document by which this usage, so strangely at variance with Rubrical requirements, was tolerated, and therefore we cannot say under what conditions, or for what reasons the anomaly was permitted. We may presume, however, that the privilege of using such stones was not granted without cause, and that it was meant to be discontinued with the cessation of the reasons that demanded it. Now, taking into account the gravity of the obligation of the Rubrics, and the facility, at the present day, of obtaining everything that is becoming as well as essential for the decent celebration of the Holy Sacrifice, is there sufficient reason for still continuing to use altar-stones that are not consecrated according to the laws of the Liturgy?

The Synod of Maynooth forbade the consecration of altar-stones that were not of sufficient size to conveniently contain the chalice, host, and ciborium. Is not the absence of relics a more essential defect than insufficiency of size? The Sacred Congregation of Rites has declared that an altar, which has lost its relics, should be reconsecrated,¹ and lays down most precise instructions as to how the relics are to be enclosed and securely deposited in their sepulchre. Then,

¹ Acta et Decreta Synodi Man. (1875), p. 80.

² Cf. Decr. S.R.C., n.n. 2876, 2880, 3575.

too, the presence of the relics of the holy martyrs beneath the altar on which the Divine Sacrifice is offered is full of profound and mystical significance. They remind us of the close union that now exists between Christ immolated on the altar and the saints who loved Him even to shedding their blood, and of the sufferings and tribulations through which they have passed to their rest. Again, when the celebrant, at the beginning of Mass, is ascending the altar steps, he says the prayer 'Oramus te Domine per merita sanctorum tuorum, *quorum reliquiae hic sunt*,' etc. How can these words be verified unless the relics are present? Or these other words from the hymn in honour of the Holy Innocents :—

Araum sub ipsam simplices
Palma et coronis luditis.

We are of opinion then, unless the time when the Rubrics are to be observed in this country in all their essential details is to be indefinitely postponed, that there can be no justification at the present day for using an altar-stone without relics.

COMMEMORATION OF 'PATRONUS LOCI' IN OFFICE. CUSTOM REGARDING ST. JOHN'S GOSPEL

REV. DEAR SIR,—Kindly answer the following questions :—

1. In the *Suffragia Sanctorum* the Patron of the parish is to be commemorated, if such exists, and if not the Patron of the diocese. Now, I happen to be in a parish whose Patron though acknowledged by the pious tradition of the people, is not mentioned in the *Breviary*. In the circumstances am I to commemorate the Patron of the Parish or the Patron of the diocese?

2. In a certain locality the people have the custom of asking a priest for an 'Oration,' that is, the beginning of St. John's Gospel written by the priest on a slip of paper. This is folded tightly, and worn amulet-like, by the patient. What sanction is there for this custom?

NEO-SACERDOS.

1. It is only where such a custom exists that the Patron of the *place*, as distinct from the Titular or Patron of the

Church is to be commemorated in the *Suffragia* of the Office.³ In the rubric of the Roman *Breviary* on this point the directions given are :—‘ De Patrono vel Titulari ecclesiae fiat commem.’ etc., and there is nothing about the Patron of the place. We assume then there is custom for making the commemoration of the Patron of the place in the case contemplated by our correspondent, and we shall discuss the question on this assumption. The *Patronus loci*, therefore, to be entitled to any honours in the Divine Office, must be properly constituted, and for this it is necessary that he be elected by the people of the district in concert with the clergy and Bishop of the Diocese, and approved of by the Holy See. The conditions of election are set out in a general decree of the Congregation of Rites issued on the 23rd March, 1630. They are briefly :—

(1) No one is to be chosen Patron whose name is not on the list of Canonized Saints.

(2) The selection must be made by the people of the particular district in conjunction with the Clergy and Bishop and with the sanction of the Holy See.

(3) The election of new Patrons must be referred to the Congregation of Rites whose approval is to be obtained.

If, then, the Patron of the place in question has not been duly and legitimately elected nothing is to be mentioned about him in the Divine Office. Our correspondent, therefore, should satisfy himself about two things, viz., the custom of commemorating the Patron and the fact of his canonical institution, before making up his mind about the course he should follow.

2. We are quite familiar with the practice referred to, but, up to the present, we are not in a position to give definite information as to its origin and sanction. We shall continue to look the matter up, and, in the meantime, shall be glad if any of our readers can throw light on the subject. In some parts of the country the people ask for a ‘ Gospel,’ and where the habit of making this request is

³ Cf. De Hert, *Sacra Lit. prax.*, vol. ii., p. 377 : Wapelhorst, *Comp. Lit.*, p. 371 : S.R.C. Decr. 4043.

common, the priests provide themselves with printed forms of the whole Gospel of St. John, which they fold in a peculiar way and bless with holy water before giving away. It is then carried about the person, and is regarded with a certain religious respect. Of course care should be taken that people do not regard the 'Gospel' with any superstitious reverence. Our opinion is that it is commonly held in the same religious estimation as the 'Agnus Dei,' and, consequently, we are inclined to regard it as a kind of 'Sacramental.'

P. MORRISROE.

DOCUMENTS

'MOTU PROPRIO' OF POPE PIUS X. ON SACRED MUSIC

AMONG the cares of the pastoral office, not only of this Supreme Chair, which We, though unworthy, occupy through the inscrutable disposition of Providence, but of every local church, a leading one is without question that of maintaining and promoting the decorum of the House of God in which the august mysteries of religion are celebrated, and where the Christian people assemble to receive the grace of the Sacraments, to assist at the Holy Sacrifice of the altar, to adore the most august Sacrament of the Lord's Body, and to unite in the common prayer of the Church in the public and solemn liturgical offices. Nothing should have place, therefore, in the temple calculated to disturb or even merely to diminish the piety and devotion of the faithful, nothing that may give reasonable cause for disgust or scandal, nothing, above all, which directly offends the decorum and the sanctity of the sacred functions and is thus unworthy of the House of Prayer and of the Majesty of God.

We do not touch separately on the abuses in this matter which may arise. To-day Our attention is directed to one of the most common of them, one of the most difficult to eradicate, and the existence of which is sometimes to be deplored in places where everything else is deserving of the highest praise—the beauty and sumptuousness of the temple, the splendour and the accurate performance of the ceremonies, the attendance of the clergy, the gravity and piety of the officiating ministers. Such is the abuse affecting sacred chant and music. And indeed, whether it is owing to the very nature of this art, fluctuating and variable as it is in itself, or to the succeeding changes in tastes and habits with the course of time, or to the fatal influence exercised on sacred art by profane and theatrical art, or to the pleasure that music directly produces, and that it is not always easily contained within the right limits, or finally to the many prejudices on the matter, so lightly introduced and so tenaciously maintained even among responsible and pious persons, the fact remains that there is a general tendency to deviate from the

right rule, prescribed by the end for which art is admitted to the service of public worship and which is set forth very clearly in the ecclesiastical canons, in the Ordinances of the general and provincial Councils, in the prescriptions which have at various times emanated from the Sacred Roman Congregations, and from Our Predecessors the Sovereign Pontiffs.

It is grateful for Us to be able to acknowledge with real satisfaction the large amount of good that has been effected in this respect during the last decade in this Our fostering city of Rome, and in many churches in Our country, but in a more especial way among some nations in which illustrious men, full of zeal for the worship of God, have, with the approval of the Holy See and under the direction of the Bishops, united in flourishing Societies and restored sacred music to the fullest honour in all their churches and chapels. Still the good work that has been done is very far indeed from being common to all, and when We consult Our own personal experience and take into account the great number of complaints that have reached us during the short time that has elapsed since it pleased the Lord to elevate Our humility to the supreme summit of the Roman Pontificate, We consider it Our first duty, without further delay, to raise Our voice at once in reproof and condemnation of all that is seen to be out of harmony with the right rule above indicated in the functions of public worship and in the performance of the ecclesiastical offices.

Filled as We are with a most ardent desire to see the true Christian spirit flourish in every respect and be preserved by all the faithful. We deem it necessary to provide before aught else for the sanctity and dignity of the temple, in which the faithful assemble for no other object than that of acquiring this spirit from its foremost and indispensable fount, which is the active participation in the most holy mysteries and in the public and solemn prayer of the Church. And it is vain to hope that the blessing of heaven will descend abundantly upon us, when our homage to the Most High, instead of ascending in the odour of sweetness, puts into the hand of the Lord the scourges wherewith of old the Divine Redeemer drove the unworthy profaners from the Temple.

Hence, in order that no one for the future may be able to plead in excuse that he did not clearly understand his duty and that all vagueness may be eliminated from the interpreta-

tion of matters which have already been commanded, We have deemed it expedient to point out briefly the principles regulating sacred music in the functions of public worship, and to gather together in a general survey the principal prescriptions of the Church against the more common abuses in this subject. We do therefore publish, *nuto proprio* and with certain knowledge, Our present *Instruction* to which, as to a *juridical code of sacred music (quasi a codice giuridice della musica sacra)*, We will with the fulness of Our Apostolic Authority that the force of law be given, and We do by Our present handwriting impose its scrupulous observance on all.

INSTRUCTION ON SACRED MUSIC

I.

GENERAL PRINCIPLES

1. Sacred music, being a complementary part of the solemn liturgy, participates in the general scope of the liturgy, which is the glory of God and the sanctification and edification of the faithful. It contributes to the decorum and splendour of the ecclesiastical ceremonies, and since its principal office is to clothe with suitable melody the liturgical chant proposed for the understanding of the faithful, its proper aim is to add greater efficacy to the text, in order that through it the faithful may be the more easily moved to devotion and better disposed for the reception of the fruits of grace belonging to the celebration of the most holy mysteries.

2. Sacred music should consequently possess, in the highest degree, the qualities proper to the liturgy, and precisely *sanctity* and *goodness of form*, from which its other character of *universality* spontaneously springs.

It must be *holy*, and must, therefore, exclude all profanity not only in itself, but in the manner in which it is presented by those who execute it.

It must be true art, for otherwise it will be impossible for it to exercise on the minds of those who listen to it, that efficacy which the Church aims at obtaining in admitting into her liturgy the art of musical sounds.

But it must, at the same time, be universal in the sense that while every nation is permitted to admit into its ecclesiastical compositions those special forms which may be said to constitute

its native music, still these forms must be subordinated in such a manner to the general characteristics of sacred music that nobody of any nation may receive an impression other than good on hearing them.

II.

THE DIFFERENT KINDS OF SACRED MUSIC

3. These qualities are to be found, in the highest degree, in the Gregorian Chant, which is, consequently, the Chant proper to the Roman Church, the only Chant she has inherited from the ancient fathers, which she has jealously guarded for centuries in her liturgical codices, which she directly proposes to the faithful as her own, which she prescribes exclusively for some parts of the liturgy, and which the most recent studies have so happily restored to their integrity and purity.

On these grounds the Gregorian Chant has always been regarded as the supreme model for sacred music, so that it is fully legitimate to lay down the following rule : *the more closely a composition for church approaches in its movement, inspiration, and savour the Gregorian form, the more sacred and liturgical it becomes ; and the more out of harmony it is with that supreme model, the less worthy it is of the temple.*

The ancient traditional Gregorian Chant must, therefore, be largely restored to the function of public worship, and everybody must take for certain that an ecclesiastical function loses nothing of its solemnity when it is accompanied by no other music but this.

Special efforts are to be made to restore the use of the Gregorian Chant by the people, so that the faithful may again take a more active part in the ecclesiastical offices, as was the case in ancient times.

4. The above-mentioned qualities are also possessed in an excellent degree by the classic polyphony, especially of the Roman School, which reached its greatest perfection in the fifteenth century, owing to the works of Pierluigi da Palestrina, and continued subsequently to produce compositions of excellent quality from the liturgical and musical standpoint. The classic polyphony agrees admirably with the Gregorian Chant, the supreme model of all sacred music, and hence it has been found worthy of a place side by side with the Gregorian Chant

in the more solemn functions of the Church, such as those of the Pontifical Chapel. This, too, must, therefore, be restored largely in ecclesiastical functions, especially in the more important basilicas, in cathedrals, and in the churches and chapels of seminaries and other ecclesiastical institutions in which the necessary means are usually not lacking.

5. The Church has always recognised and favoured the progress of the arts, admitting to the service of the cult everything good and beautiful discovered by genius in the course of ages—always, however, with due regard to the liturgical laws. Consequently modern music is also admitted in the Church, since it, too, furnishes compositions of such excellence, sobriety and gravity, that they are in no way unworthy of the liturgical functions.

Still, since modern music has risen mainly to serve profane uses, greater care must be taken with regard to it, in order that the musical compositions of modern style which are admitted in the Church may contain nothing profane, be free from reminiscences of motifs adopted in the theatres, and be not fashioned even in their external forms after the manner of profane pieces.

6. Among the different kinds of modern music that which appears less suitable for accompanying the functions of public worship is the theatrical style, which was in the greatest vogue, especially in Italy, during the last century. This of its very nature is diametrically opposed to the Gregorian Chant and the classic polyphony, and therefore to the most important law of all good music. Besides the intrinsic structure, the rhythm and what is known as the *conventionalism* of this style adapt themselves but badly to the requirements of true liturgical music.

III.

THE LITURGICAL TEXT

7. The language proper to the Roman Church is Latin. Hence it is forbidden to sing anything whatever in the vernacular in solemn liturgical functions—much more to sing in the vernacular the variable or common parts of the Mass and Office.

8. As the texts that may be rendered in music, and the order in which they are to be rendered, are determined for every liturgical function, it is not lawful to confuse this order or to change the prescribed texts for others selected at will, or to

omit them either entirely or even in part, unless when the rubrics allow that some versicles of the text be supplied with the organ, while these versicles are simply recited in choir. However it is permissible, according to the custom of the Roman Church, to sing a motett to the Blessed Sacrament after the *Benedictus* in a Solemn Mass. It is also permitted, after the Offertory prescribed for the Mass has been sung, to execute during the time that remains a brief motett to words approved by the Church.

9. The liturgical text must be sung as it is in the books, without alteration or inversion of the words, without undue repetition, without breaking syllables, and always in a manner intelligible to the faithful who listen.

IV.

EXTERNAL FORM OF THE SACRED COMPOSITIONS

10. The different parts of the Mass and the Office must retain, even musically, that particular concept and form which ecclesiastical tradition has assigned to them, and which is admirably expressed in the Gregorian Chant. Different, therefore, must be the method of composing an *introit*, a *gradual*, an *antiphon*, a *psalm*, a *hymn*, a *Gloria in excelsis*.

11. In particular the following rules are to be observed :—

(a) The *Kyrie*, *Gloria*, *Credo*, etc., of the Mass must preserve the unity of composition proper to the text. It is not lawful, therefore, to compose them in separate pieces, in such a way as that each of such pieces may form a complete composition in itself, and be capable of being detached from the rest and substituted by another.

(b) In the Office of Vespers it should be the rule to follow the *Cærimoniale Episcoporum*, which prescribes the Gregorian Chant for the psalmody and permits figured music for the versicles of the *Gloria Patri* and the hymn.

It will nevertheless be lawful on the greater solemnities to alternate the Gregorian Chant of the choir with the so-called *falsi-bordoni* or with verses similarly composed in a proper manner.

It may be also allowed sometimes to render the single psalms in their entirety in music, provided the form proper to psalmody be preserved in such compositions ; that is to say, provided the

singers seem to be psalmodising among themselves, either with new motifs or with those taken from the Gregorian Chant or based upon it.

The psalms known as *di concerto* are therefore for ever excluded and prohibited.

(c) In the hymns of the Church the traditional form of the hymn is preserved. It is not lawful, therefore, to compose, for instance, a *Tantum ergo* in such wise that the first strophe presents a romanza, a cavatina, an adagio, and the *Genitori* an allegro.

(d) The antiphons of the Vespers must be as a rule rendered with the Gregorian melody proper to each. Should they, however, in some special case be sung in figured music they must never have either the form of a concert melody or the fulness of a motett or a cantata.

V.

THE SINGERS

12. With the exception of the melodies proper to the celebrant at the altar and to the ministers, which must be always sung only in Gregorian Chant, and without the accompaniment of the organ, all the rest of the liturgical chant belongs to the choir of levites, and, therefore, singers in church, even when they are laymen, are really taking the place of the ecclesiastical choir. Hence the music rendered by them must, at least for the greater part, retain the character of choral music.

By this it is not to be understood that solos are entirely excluded. But solo singing should never predominate in such a way as to have the greater part of the liturgical chant executed in that manner; rather should it have the character of a hint or a melodic projection (*spunto*), and be strictly bound up with the rest of the choral composition.

13. On the same principle it follows that singers in church have a real liturgical office, and that therefore women, as being incapable of exercising such office, cannot be admitted to form part of the choir or of the musical chapel. Whenever, then, it is desired to employ the actue voices of sopranos and contraltos, these parts must be taken by boys, according to the most ancient usage of the Church.

14. Finally, only those are to be admitted to form part of

the musica chapel of a church who are men of known piety and probity of life, and these should by their modest and devout bearing during the liturgical functions show that they are worthy of the holy office they exercise. It will also be fitting that singers while singing in church wear the ecclesiastical habit and surplice, and that they be hidden behind gratings when the choir is excessively open to the public gaze.

VI.

ORGAN AND INSTRUMENTS

15. Although the music proper to the Church is purely vocal music, music with the accompaniment of the organ is also permitted. In some special cases, within due limits and within the proper regards, other instruments may be allowed, but never without the special licence of the Ordinary, according to prescriptions of the *Cærimoniale Episcoporum*.

16. As the chant should always have the principal place, the organ or instruments should merely sustain and never oppress it.

17. It is not permitted to have the chant preceded by long preludes or to interrupt it with intermezzo pieces.

18. The sound of the organ as an accompaniment to the chant in preludes, interludes, and the like must be not only governed by the special nature of the instrument, but must participate in all the qualities proper to sacred music as above enumerated.

19. The employment of the piano is forbidden in church, as is also that of noisy or frivolous instruments such as drum, cymbals, bells, and the like.

20. It is strictly forbidden to have bands play in church, and only in a special case and with the consent of the Ordinary will it be permissible to admit a number of wind instruments, limited, judicious, and proportioned to the size of the place—provided the composition and accompaniment to be executed be written in a grave and suitable style, and similar in all respects to that proper to the organ.

21. In processions outside the church the Ordinary may give permission for a band, provided no profane pieces are executed. It would be desirable in such cases that the band confine itself to accompanying some spiritual canticle sung in Latin or in the vernacular by the singers and the pious associations which take part in the procession.

VII.

THE LENGTH OF THE LITURGICAL CHANT

22. It is not lawful to keep the priest at the altar waiting on account of the chant or the music for a length of time not allowed by the liturgy. According to the ecclesiastical prescriptions the *Sanctus* of the Mass should be over before the elevation, and therefore the priest must here have regard to the singers. The *Gloria* and *Credo* ought, according to the Gregorian tradition, to be relatively short.

23. In general it must be considered to be a very grave abuse when the liturgy in ecclesiastical functions is made to appear secondary to and in a manner at the service of the music, for the music is merely a part of the liturgy and its humble handmaid.

VIII.

PRINCIPAL MEANS

24. For the exact execution of what has been herein laid down, the Bishops, if they have not already done so, are to institute in their dioceses a special Commission composed of persons really competent in sacred music, and to this Commission let them entrust in the manner they find most suitable the task of watching over the music executed in their churches. Nor are they to see merely that the music is good in itself, but also that it is adapted to the powers of the singers and be always well executed.

25. In seminaries of clerics and in ecclesiastical institutions let the above-mentioned traditional Gregorian Chant be cultivated by all with diligence and love, according to the Tridentine prescriptions, and let the superiors be liberal of encouragement and praise towards their young subjects. In like manner let a *Schola Cantorum* be established, whenever possible, among the clerics for the execution of sacred polyphony and of good liturgical music.

26. In the ordinary lessons of Liturgy, Morals, Canon Law, given to the students of theology, let care be taken to touch on those points which regard more directly the principles and laws of sacred music, and let an attempt be made to complete the doctrine with some particular instruction in the æsthetic side of the sacred art, so that the clerics may not leave the seminary

ignorant of all those notions, necessary as they are for complete ecclesiastical culture.

27. Let care be taken to restore, at least in the principal churches, the ancient *Scholæ Cantorum*, as has been done with excellent fruit in a great many places. It is not difficult for a zealous clergy to institute such *Scholæ* even in the minor and country churches—nay, in them they will find a very easy means for gathering around them both the children and the adults, to their own profit and the edification of the people.

28. Let efforts be made to support and promote in the best way possible the higher schools of sacred music where these already exist, and to help in founding them where they do not. It is of the utmost importance that the Church herself provide for the instructions of its masters, organists, and singers, according to the true principles of sacred art.

IX.

CONCLUSION

29. Finally, it is recommended to choir-masters, singers, members of the clergy, superiors of seminaries, ecclesiastical institutions, and religious communities, parish priests, and rectors of churches, canons of collegiate churches and cathedrals, and, above all, to the diocesan ordinaries to favour with all zeal these prudent reforms, long desired and demanded with united voice by all ; so that the authority of the Church, which herself has repeatedly proposed them, and now inculcates them, may not fall into contempt.

Given from Our Apostolic Palace at the Vatican, on the day of the Virgin and Martyr, St. Cecilia, November 22, 1903, in the first year of Our Pontificate.

PIUS X., POPE.

PAPAL LETTER TO THE CARDINAL VICAR OF ROME

The carrying out of the above regulations for the restoration of sacred music is laid upon Cardinal Respighi, Vicar-General of Rome, in the following letter from His Holiness :—

LORD CARDINAL,—The desire to see flourish again in all places the decorum and the dignity and holiness of the liturgical functions has determined Us to make known by a special writing

under Our own hand Our will with regard to the sacred music which is largely employed in the service of public worship. We cherish the hope that all will second Us in this desired restoration, and not merely with that blind submission, always laudable though it be, which is accorded out of a pure spirit of obedience to commands that are onerous and contrary to one's own manner of thinking and feeling, but with that alacrity of will which springs from the intimate persuasion of having to do so on grounds duly weighed, clear, evident, and beyond question.

Even a little reflection on the end for which art is admitted to the service of public worship, and on the supreme fitness of offering to the Lord only things in themselves good, and where possible, excellent, will at once serve to show that the prescriptions of the Church regarding sacred music are but the immediate application of those two fundamental principles. When the clergy and choirmasters are penetrated with them, good sacred music flourishes spontaneously, as has been constantly observed, and continues to be observed in a great many places; when on the contrary those principles are neglected, neither prayers, admonitions, severe and repeated orders nor threats of canonical penalties suffice to effect any change; for passion, and when not passion a shameful and inexcusable ignorance, always finds a means of eluding the will of the Church, and continuing for years in the same reprehensible way.

This alacrity of will We look for in a very special way among the clergy and faithful of this Our beloved City of Rome, centre of Christendom and the seat of the Supreme Authority of the Church. Indeed it would seem but natural that none should more deeply feel the influx of Our word than those who hear it directly from Our mouth, and that the example of loving and filial submission to Our fatherly invitations should be given with greater solicitude by none more than by that first and most noble portion of the flock of Christ, the Church of Rome, which has been specially entrusted to Our pastoral care as Bishop. Besides, this example is to be given in the sight of the whole world. Bishops and the faithful are continually coming here from all parts to honour the Vicar of Christ and to renew their spirit by visiting our venerable basilicas and the tombs of the martyrs, and by assisting with redoubled fervour at the solemnities which are here celebrated with all pomp and splendour throughout the year. *'Optamus ne moribus nostris offensi*

recedant,' said Our Predecessor Benedict XIV. in his own time in his Encyclical Letter *Annus qui*, speaking of this very subject of sacred music: 'We desire that they may not return to their own countries scandalised by our customs.' And farther on, touching on the abuse of instruments which then prevailed, the same Pontiff said: 'What opinion will be formed of us by those who, coming from countries in which instruments are not used in church, hear them in our churches, just as they might in theatres and other profane places? They will come, too, from places and countries where there is singing and music in the churches of the same kind as in ours. But if they are persons of sound judgment, they must be grieved not to find in our music that remedy for the evil in their own churches which they came hither to seek.' In other times the contradiction between the music usually executed in the churches and the ecclesiastical laws and prescriptions was, perhaps, far less noticeable, and the scandal caused by this contradiction was doubtless more circumscribed, precisely because the evil was more widely diffused and general. But now that so much study has been employed by distinguished men in illustrating the liturgy and the art used in the service of public worship, that such consoling, and not unfrequently, such splendid results have been obtained in so many churches throughout the world in the restoration of sacred music, notwithstanding the very serious difficulties that had to be faced, and that have been happily overcome; now, in fine, that the necessity of a complete change in the order of things has come to be universally appreciated, every abuse in this matter becomes intolerable, and must be removed.

You, therefore, Lord Cardinal, in your high office as Our Vicar in Rome for spiritual matters, will, We are sure, exert yourself with the gentleness that is characteristic of you, but with equal firmness, to the end that the music executed in the churches and chapels of the secular and regular clergy of this City may be in entire harmony with Our instructions. There is much to be corrected or removed in the chants of the Mass, of the Litany of Loreto, of the Eucharistic hymns, but that which needs a thorough renewal is the singing of the Vespers of the feasts celebrated in the different churches and basilicas. The liturgical prescriptions of the *Cæremoniale Episcoporum* and the beautiful musical traditions of the classical Roman School are no longer to be found. For the devout psalmody of the

clergy, in which the people also used to join, there have been substituted interminable musical compositions on the words of the psalms, all of them modelled on old theatrical works, and most of them of such meagre artistic value that they would not be tolerated for a moment even in second-rate concerts. Certain it is that Christian piety and devotion are not promoted by them ; the curiosity of some of the less intelligent is fed, but the majority disgusted and scandalised, wonder how it is that such an abuse can still survive. We therefore wish the cause to be completely extirpated, and that the solemnity of Vespers should be celebrated according to the liturgical rules indicated by Us. The Patriarchal basilicas will lead the way by the example of solicitous care and enlightened zeal of the Lords Cardinals who preside over them, and with these will vie especially the minor basilicas, and the collegiate and parochial churches, as well as the churches and chapels of the religious orders. And do you, Lord Cardinal, neither grant indulgence nor concede delays. The difficulty is not diminished but rather augmented by postponement, and since the thing is to be done let it be done immediately and resolutely. Let all have confidence in Us and in Our word, with which heavenly grace and blessing are united. At first the novelty will produce some wonder among individuals ; here and there a leader or director of a choir may find himself somewhat unprepared ; but little by little things will right themselves, and in the perfect harmony between the music with the liturgical rules and the nature of the psalmody all will discern a beauty and a goodness which have perhaps never before been observed. The Vesper service will indeed be notably shortened. But if the rectors of the churches desire on a special occasion to prolong the function somewhat, in order to detain the people who are wont so laudably to go in the evening to the particular church where the feast is being celebrated, there is nothing to hinder them—nay, it will rather be so much gained for the piety and edification of the faithful—if they have a suitable sermon after the Vespers, closed with the Solemn Benediction of the Most Holy Sacrament.

Finally, We desire that sacred music be cultivated with special care and in the proper way in all the seminaries and ecclesiastical colleges of Rome, in which such a large and choice body of young clerics from all parts of the world are being educated in the sacred sciences and in the ecclesiastical spirit.

We know, and We are greatly comforted by the knowledge, that in some institutions sacred music is in such a flourishing condition that it may serve as a model for others. But there are some seminaries and colleges which leave much to be desired owing to the carelessness of the superiors, or the want of capacity and the imperfect taste of the persons to whom the teaching of the chant and the direction of the sacred music is entrusted. You, Lord Cardinal, will be good enough to provide a remedy for this also with solicitude, by insisting especially that the Gregorian Chant, according to the prescriptions of the Council of Trent and of innumerable other councils, provincial and diocesan in all parts of the world, be studied with particular diligence, and be as a rule preferred in the public and private functions of the institute. It is true that in other times the Gregorian Chant was known to most only through books which were incorrect, vitiated and curtailed. But the accurate and prolonged study that has been given to it by illustrious men who have done a great service to sacred art has changed the face of things. The Gregorian Chant restored in such a satisfactory way to its early purity, as it was handed down by the fathers and is found in the codices of the various churches, is sweet, soft, easy to learn and of a beauty so fresh and full of surprises that wherever it has been introduced it has never failed to excite real enthusiasm in the youthful singers. Now, when delight enters into the fulfilment of duty, everything is done with greater alacrity and with more lasting fruit. It is Our will, therefore, that in all seminaries and colleges in this fostering city there be introduced once more the most ancient Roman Chant which used to resound in our churches and basilicas and which formed the delight of past generations in the fairest days of Christian piety. And as in former times that chant was spread abroad over the whole Western Church from Rome, so we desire that Our young clerics, educated under Our own eyes, may carry it with them and diffuse it again in their own dioceses when they return thither as priests to work for the glory of God. We are overjoyed to be able to give these regulations at a time when we are about to celebrate the 13th centenary of the death of the glorious and incomparable Pontiff St. Gregory the Great, to whom an ecclesiastical tradition dating back many centuries has attributed the composition of these sacred melodies and from whom they have derived their name. Let Our dearly-beloved youths exercise

themselves in them, for it will be sweet to Us to hear them when, as We have been told will be the case, they will assemble at the coming centenary celebrations round the tomb of the Holy Pontiff in the Vatican Basilica during the sacred liturgy which, please God, will be celebrated by Us on that auspicious occasion.

Meanwhile as a pledge of Our particular benevolence, receive, Lord Cardinal, the Apostolic Benediction which from the bottom of Our heart We impart to you, to the Clergy, and to all Our most beloved people.

From the Vatican on the Feast of the Immaculate Conception of 1903.

PIUS X., POPE.

'MOTU PROPRIO' OF POPE PIUS X. ON CATHOLIC ACTION

PIUS X., POPE

IN our first Encyclical to the Bishops of the World, in which we echo all that Our glorious Predecessors had laid down concerning the Catholic action of the laity, We declared that this action was deserving of the highest praise, and was indeed necessary in the present condition of the Church and of society. And We cannot but warmly praise the zeal shown by so many illustrious personages who have for a long time dedicated themselves to this glorious task, and the ardour of so many brilliant young people who have eagerly hastened to lend their aid in the same. The nineteenth Catholic Congress lately held at Bologna, and by Us promoted and encouraged, has sufficiently proved to all the vigour of the Catholic forces and what useful and salutary results may be obtained among a population of believers, when this action is well governed and disciplined, and when unity of thought, sentiment and action prevail among those who take part in it.

But We are very sorry to find that certain differences which arose in the midst of them have produced discussions unfortunately too vivacious, which, if not dispelled in time, might serve to divide those forces of which We have spoken, and render them less efficacious. Before the Congress We recommended above all things unity and harmony, in order that it might be possible to lay down by common accord the general lines for the practical working of the Catholic movement, and We cannot, therefore,

be silent now. And since divergencies of view in matters of practice have commonly their origin in the domain of theory, and indeed necessarily find their fulcrum in the latter, it is necessary to define clearly the principles on which the entire Catholic movement must be based.

Our illustrious Predecessor, Leo XIII. of holy memory, traced out luminously the rules that must be followed in the Christian movement among the people in the great Encyclicals *Quod Apostolici Muneris* of December 28, 1878, *Rerum Novarum* of May 15, 1891, and *Graves de communi* of January 18, 1901, and further in a particular instruction emanating from the Sacred Congregation for Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs of January 27, 1902.

And We, realising, like Our Predecessor before Us, the great need that the Christian movement among the people be rightly governed and conducted, desire to have those most prudent rules exactly and completely fulfilled, and to provide that nobody may dare to depart from them in the smallest particulars. Hence, to keep them more vividly present before people's minds, We have deemed it well to summarise them in the following articles, which will constitute the fundamental plan of the Catholic popular movement.

FUNDAMENTAL REGULATIONS

I. Human society, as established by God, is composed of unequal elements, just as the different parts of the human body are unequal—to make them all equal is impossible, and would mean the destruction of human society (Encyclical, *Quod Apostolici Muneris*).

II. The equality existing among the various social members consists only in this : that all men have their origin in God the Creator, have been redeemed by Jesus Christ, and are to be judged and rewarded or punished by God exactly according to their merits or demerits (Encyclical, *Quod Apostolici Muneris*).

III. Hence it follows that there are, according to the ordinance of God, in human society princes and subjects, masters and proletariat, rich and poor, learned and ignorant, nobles and plebeians, all of whom, united in the bonds of love, are to help one another to attain their last end in heaven, and their material and moral welfare here on earth (Encl., *Quod Apostolici Muneris*).

IV. Of the goods of the earth man has not merely the use, like the brute creation, but he has also the right of permanent proprietorship—and not merely of those things which are consumed by use, but also of those which are not consumed by use (Encyclical, *Rerum Novarum*).

V. The right of private property, the fruit of labour or industry, or of cession or donation by others, is an incontrovertible natural right; and everybody can dispose reasonably of such property as he thinks fit (Encyclical, *Rerum Novarum*).

VI. To heal the breach between the rich and the poor, it is necessary to distinguish between justice and charity. There can be no claim for redress except when justice is violated (Encyclical, *Rerum Novarum*).

OBLIGATIONS OF JUSTICE

VII. The following are obligations of justice binding on the proletariat and the working man : To perform fully and faithfully the work which has been freely and, according to equity, agreed upon ; not to injure the property or outrage the person of masters ; even in defence of their own rights to abstain from acts of violence, and never to make mutiny of their defence (Encyclical, *Rerum Novarum*).

VIII. The following are obligations of justice binding on capitalists : To pay just wages to their workmen ; not to injure their just savings by violence or fraud, or by overt or covert usuries ; not to expose them to corrupting seductions and danger of scandal ; not to alienate them from the spirit of family life and from love of economy ; not to impose on them labour beyond their strength, or unsuitable for their age or sex (Encyclical, *Rerum Novarum*).

IX. It is an obligation for the rich and for those that own property to succour the poor and the indigent, according to the precepts of the Gospel. This obligation is so grave that on the Day of Judgment special account will be demanded of its fulfilment, as Christ Himself has said (Matthew xxv.) (Encyclical, *Rerum Novarum*).

X. The poor should not be ashamed of their poverty, nor disdain the charity of the rich, for they should have especially in view Jesus the Redeemer, who, though He might have been born in riches, made Himself poor in order that He might be one

poverty and enrich it with merits beyond price for heaven (Encyclical, *Rerum Novarum*).

XI. For the settlement of the social question much can be done by the capitalists and workers themselves, by means of institutions designed to provide timely aid for the needy, and to bring together and unite mutually the two classes. Among these institutions are mutual aid societies, various kinds of private insurance societies, orphanages for the young, and, above all associations among the different trades and professions (Encyclical, *Rerum Novarum*).

CHRISTIAN DEMOCRACY.

XII. This end is especially aimed at by the movement of Christian Popular Action of Christian Democracy in its many and varied branches. But Christian Democracy must be taken in the sense already authoritatively defined. Totally different from the movement known as *Social Democracy*, it has for basis the principles of Catholic faith and morals—especially the principle of not injuring in any way the inviolable right of private property (Encyclical, *Graves de Communi*).

XIII. Moreover, Christian Democracy must have nothing to do with politics, and never be made to serve political ends or parties; this is not its field; but it must be a beneficent movement for the people, and founded on the law of nature and the precepts of the Gospel (Encyclical, *Graves de Communi*, Instructions of the S. Con. for E. E. Affairs).

Christian Democrats in Italy must abstain from participating in any political action—this is under present circumstances forbidden to every Catholic *for reasons of the highest order* (Instruction).

XIV. In performing its functions Christian Democracy is bound most strictly to depend upon ecclesiastical authority, and to offer full submission and obedience to the bishops and to those who represent them. There is no meritorious zeal or sincere piety in enterprises, however beautiful and good in themselves, when they are not approved by the Pastor (Encyclical, *Graves de Communi*).

XV. In order that the Christian Democratic movement in Italy may be united in its efforts, it must be under the direction of the Association of Catholic Congresses and Committees, which, during many years of fruitful labour, has deserved so well of Holy Church, and to which Pius IX. and Leo XIII., of holy

memory, entrusted the charge of directing the whole Catholic movement, always, of course, under the auspices and guidance of the bishops (*Encyclical, Graves de Communi*).

CATHOLIC WRITERS

XVI. Catholic writers must, in all that touches religious interests and the action of the Church in society, subject themselves entirely in intellect and will, like the rest of the faithful, to their bishops and to the Roman Pontiff. They must, above all, take care not to anticipate the judgments of the Holy See in this important matter (*Instruction*).

XVII. Christian Democratic writers must, like all other Catholic writers, submit to the previous examination of the ordinary all writings which concern religion, Christian morals, and natural ethics, by virtue of the Constitution *Officiorum et munerum* (Art. 41). By the same Constitution ecclesiastics must obtain the previous consent of the ordinary for the publication of writings of a merely technical character (*Instruction*).

XVIII. They must, moreover, make every effort and every sacrifice to ensure that charity and concord may reign among them. When causes of disagreement arise, they should, instead of printing anything on the matter in the papers, refer it to the ecclesiastical authority, which will then act with justice. And when taken to task by the ecclesiastical authority, let them obey promptly without tergiversation or giving vent to public complaints—the right of appeal to a higher authority being understood when the case requires it, and to be made in the right way (*Instruction*).

XIX. Finally, let Catholic writers take care, when defending the cause of the proletariat and the poor, not to use language calculated to inspire aversion among the people for the upper classes of society. Let them refrain from speaking of redress and justice when the matter comes within the domain of charity only, as has been explained above. Let them remember that Jesus Christ endeavoured to unite all men in the bond of mutual love, which is the perfection of justice, and which carries with it the obligation of working for the welfare of one another (*Instruction*).

The foregoing fundamental rules We of Our own initiative and with certain knowledge do renew by Our apostolic authority in all their parts, and We do ordain that they be transmitted to all Catholic Committees, Societies, and Unions of every kind.

All these societies are to keep them exposed in their rooms and to have them read frequently at their meetings. We ordain, moreover, that Catholic papers publish them in their entirety and make declaration of their observance of them—and, in fact, observe them religiously, failing to do this they are to be gravely admonished, and if they do not then amend let them be interdicted by ecclesiastical authority.

But as words and energetic action are of no avail unless preceded, accompanied and followed constantly by example, the necessary characteristic which should shine forth in all the members of every Catholic association is that of openly manifesting their faith by the holiness of their lives, by the spotlessness of their morals, and by the scrupulous observance of the laws of God and of the Church. And this because it is the duty of every Christian, and also in order that *who stands against us may blush, having nothing evil to say of us* (Tit. ii. 8).

From this solicitude of Ours for the common good of Catholic action, especially in Italy, We hope, through the blessing of God, to reap abundant and happy fruits.

Given at Rome, at St. Peter's, on December 18, 1903, in the first year of Our Pontificate.

PIUS X., POPE.

POPE PIUS X. AND THE CECILIA SOCIETY

BREVE APOSTOLICUM SOCIETATEM CAECILIANAM CONCERNENS

PIVS PP. X.

Dilecte Fili Noster, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Societatem Caecilianam iamdudum apud vos ex instituto id agentem, ut cantus gregoriani scientiam peritiamque in usum sacrorum late promoveat, merito tu quidem ac iure Nobis commendasti. Dignum enim omni commendatione studium est hominum, in re elaborantium, quae quum ad sanctissimas caeremonias, ea qua par est religione, peragendas conferat, magnopere ad fovendam pietatem publicam valet. Ex istorum autem a S. Caecilia sodalium sollertiâ industriaque fructus evenire, ubicumque germanicus sermo obtinet, laetos atque uberes, quamquam non ignotum Nobis erat, iucundum fuit ex tuis quoque litteris cognoscere. Nominatim didicimus libenter, ipsorum operam in finibus dioecesis tuae proficere et valere plurimum. Itaque non potest esse dubium, quin Caeciliana ista Societas aequè probetur Nobis, ac decessoribus Nostris Pio IX. et Leoni

XIII fel. rec. probaretur : nec Nos minus habemus certum, fore ut illa novis praescriptionibus, quas in hoc genere dandas censuerimus, eâdem voluntate et fide obsequatur, qua obsequi Sedis Apostolicae mandatis consuevit. Eidem interea non exiguas nec vulgares laudes, quas meretur, Nostro etiam nomine tribuas, volumus : simulque divinorum munerum auspicem ac benevolentiae Nostrae testem habe tibi, dilecte Fili Noster, Apostolicam benedictionem, quam laudate quoque Societati universae et clero populoque tuis curis credito peramanter in Domino impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum die 1 Decembris MDCCCIII, Pontificatus Nostri Anno primo.

PIUS PP. X.

VALIDITY OF RESCRIPTS OF THE HOLY SEE

E SACRA POENITENTIARIA

RESCRIPTA MINORA S. SEDIS, LICET AB EXCOMMUNICATO IMPETRATA, VALIDA SUNT IN FORO CONSCIENŦIAE¹

Tizio sacerdote nel tempo in cui era innodato da scomunica riservata occulta, da cui ottenne poscia l'assoluzione, chiedeva ed otteneva dalle S. Rom. Congregazioni alcune grazie personali, che gli furono concesse con speciali Rescritti ; cioè dalla S. Congregazione dell'Indice la facoltà di leggere i libri proibiti—dal S. Ufficio la facoltà, ossia la dispensa dal digiuno—dalla S. Congregazione delle Indulgenze la facoltà di benedire corone ed altri oggetti con applicazione di Indulgenze—dalla S. Congregazione de' Riti di benedire S. Suppellettili ed altro.

Ma avendo ora rilevato che gli scomunicati sono incapaci di impetrare grazie Pontificie, trovasi in molte angustie nel dubbio se possa validamente usare delle facoltà e grazie di cui sopra, per cui col mio mezzo chiede :

(a) se abbiano a ritenersi validi i Rescritti di cui sopra ottenuti da Tizio, quando trovavasi vincolato da scomunica,

¹ Titius sacerdos, tempore quo erat innodatus excommunicatione reservata occulta, . . . petiit et obtinuit a S. R. Congregationibus nonnullas gratias privatas, ipsi speciali Rescripto concessas ; id est : a S. C. Indicis facultatem legendi libros prohibitos—a S. Officio dispensationem a ieiunio—a S. C. Indulgentiarum facultatem benedicendi coronas etc cum applicatione Indulgentiarum—a S. C. Rituum benedicendi sacras suppellectiles etc. Audiens autem excommunicatos incapaces esse ad impetrandas gratias Pontificias, in multis angustiis versatur, dubitans utrum possit nec ne uti facultatibus supradictis, unde quaerit : (a) utrum pro validis habenda sint Rescripta supradicta a Titio obtenta quum erat excommunicatis vinculo irretitus ? (b) in casu negativo quomodo se genere debeat Titius ne manifestetur causa invaliditatis praedictorum Rescriptorum ?

(b) e nel caso negativo come abbia a contenersi Tizio per non manifestare la causa della invalidità degli ottenuti Rescritti.

Sacra Poenitentiaria, mature consideratis expositis, rescribit : Orator super praemissis acquiescat. Pro foro conscientiae tantum.

Datum Romae, ex Sacra Poenitentiaria die 9 Septembris 1898.

A. CARCANI, S.P. Reg.

R. CELLI, S.P. Subst.

INDULGENCE FOR THE LITTLE OFFICE OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN

E SACRA CONGREGATIONE INDULGENTIARUM URBIS ET ORBIS—DECRETUM

QUO INDULGENTIAE RECITATIONI LATINAE PARVI OFFICII B. M. V. ADNEXAE, AD EIUSDEM VULGAREM RECITATIONEM PRIVATAM EXTENDUNTUR

Quamvis S. C. Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praeposita in una *Sebenicen.* sub die 13 Septembris 1888, expresse edixerit, non expedire ut extenderentur ad recitationem parvi Officii B. Mariae Virginis, in quodcumque vulgare idioma translati, Indulgentiae a RR. PP. adnexae recitationi eiusdem Officii, uti illud prostat in fine Breviarii Romani; nihilominus instantius ab hac eadem S. Congregatione expostulatum est, ut praefatam Indulgentiarum extensionem concedere dignaretur, hisce potissimum de causis, quod hac nostra aetate latini sermonis quamplurimi sint omnino ignari, ususque in pluribus catholici Orbis regionibus iam inoleverit, hoc officium recitandi lingua vernacula expressum, et admodum difficile foret fideles ab hoc usu retrahere.

Quare haec S. C. sequens postulatum denuo examinandum duxit :

‘ An, non obstante Decreto in una *Sebenicen.*, die 13 Septembri 1888, expediat Indulgentias a RR. PP. concessas Christifidelibus recitantibus parvum Officium B. Mariae Virginis, uti extat in fine Breviarii Romani, extendere ad illos, qui idem Officium recitaverint in aliam linguam translatum, praevia recognitione et approbatione Ordinarii loci, ubi vulgaris est lingua ? ’

Et Emi. Patres ad Vaticanum coadunati die 18 Augusti 1903 responderunt :

Affirmative pro privata tantum recitatione.

SSmus. vero Dnus. Noster Pius PP. X in Audientia habita die 28 Augusti 1903, ab infrascripto Card. Praefecto sententiam

Emorum. Patrum approbavit, et Indulgentiarum petitam extensionem benigne concessit.

Datum Romae ex Secretaria eiusdem S. Congregationis die 28 Augusti 1903.

A. Card. TRIPEPI, *Praefectus*.

L. ✠ S.

Pro R. P. D. FRANCISCO SOGARO, Arch. Amiden., *Secr.*
IOSEPHUS M. CANONICUS COSELLI, *Substit.*

DECREES OF THE SACRED CONGREGATION OF THE INDEX.

I

DECRETUM. VARIA DAMNANTUR OPERA

Feria VI, die 4 Decembris 1903.

Sacra Congregatio Eminentissimorum ac Reverendissimorum Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae Cardinalium a Sanctissimo Domino Nostro Pio Papae X, Sanctaque Sede Apostolica Indici librorum pravae doctrinae, eorumdemque proscriptioni, expurgationi ac permissioni in universa christiana republica praepositorum et delegatorum, habita in Palatio Apostolico Vaticano, die 4 Decembris 1903, damnavit et damnat, proscripsit proscribitque, atque in Indicem librorum prohibitorum referri mandavit et mandat quae sequuntur opera :

CHARLES DENIS, *Un carême apologétique sur les dogmes fondamentaux*. Paris, 1902.

CHARLES DENIS, *L'Eglise et l'Etat ; les leçons de l'heure présente*. Paris, 1902.

L'ABBE GEORGEL. *La matière ; sa déification ; sa réhabilitation au point de vue intellectuel et aimant ; ses destinées ultimes*. Oran, 1902-1903.

JOSEPH OLIVE. *Lettre aux membres de la pieuse et dévote association du Cœur de Jésus et de N.-D. des sept Douleurs*. Cette, 1886-1903.

P. SIFFLET, Decreto S. Congregationis, edito die 5 Martii 1903, quo liber ab eo conscriptus notatus et in Indicem librorum prohibitorum insertus est, laudabiliter se subiecit.

Itaque nemo cuiuscumque gradus et conditionis praedicta opera damnata atque proscripta, quocumque loco et quocumque idiomate, aut in posterum edere, aut edita legere vel retinere audeat, sub poenis in Indice librorum vetitorum indictis.

Quibus Sanctissimo Domino Nostro Pio Papae X per me

infrascriptum Secretarium relatis, Sanctitas Sua Decretum probavit, et promulgari praecepit. In quorum fidem, etc.

Datum Romae, die 4 Decembris, 1903.

ANDREAS Card. STEINHUBER, *Praef.*

Loco ✠ Sigilli.

Fr. THOMAS ESSER, Ord. Praed., *a Secretis.*

Die 7 Decembris 1903, ego infrascriptus Mag. Cursorum testor supradictum Decretum affixum et publicatum fuisse in Urbe.

HENRICUS BENAGLIA, *Mag. Curs.*

II

DECRETUM.

Feria VI, die 4 Decembris 1903.

Sacra Congregatio Eminentissimorum ac Reverendissimorum Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae Cardinalium a Sanctissimo Domino Nostro Pio Papa X, Sanctaque Sede Apostolica Indici librorum pravae doctrinae, eorumdemque proscriptioni, expurgationi ac permissioni in universa christiana republica praepositorum et delegatorum, habita in Palatio Apostolico Vaticano, die 4 Decembris 1903, damnavit et damnat, proscripsit proscribitque, vel alias damnata atque proscripta in Indicem librorum prohibitorum referri mandavit et mandat quae sequuntur opera:

ALBERT HOUTIN. *La question biblique chez les catholiques de France au XIX^e siècle.*

ALBERT HOUTIN. *Mes difficultés avec mon évêque.*

ALFRED LOISY. *La Religion d'Israël.* Decr. S. Off. fer. IV, 16 Dec. 1903.

ALFRED LOISY. *L'Evangile et l'Eglise* do. do.

ALFRED LOISY. *Etudes évangéliques.* do. do.

ALFRED LOISY, *Autour d'un petit livre.* do. do.

ALFRED LOISY. *Le quatrième Evangile.* do. do.

Itaque nemo, etc.

Quibus Sanctissimo Domino Nostro Pio Papae X per me infrascriptum Secretarium relatis, Sanctitas Sua Decretum probavit, et promulgari praecepit. In quorum fidem, etc.

Datum Romae, die 23 Decembris, 1903.

ANDREAS Card. STEINHUBER, *Praef.*

Loco ✠ Sigilli.

Fr. THOMAS ESSER, Ord. Praed., *a Secretis.*

Die 24 Dec. 1903, ego infrascriptus Mag. Cursorum testor supradictum Decretum affixum et publicatum fuisse in Urbe.

HENRICUS BENAGLIA, *Mag. Curs.*

NOTICES OF BOOKS

DIE PENTATEUCHFRAGE; IHRE GESCHICHTE UND IHRE SYSTEME. By Joseph Kley. Münster: Alphonsus-Buchhandlung, 1903. 239 pp. 8vo. Price 4s. 6d.

ABOUT five years ago the Theological Faculty (Catholic) in the University of Tübingen offered a prize for the best historical and critical essay on the many erroneous theories that have been broached in modern times regarding the origin and antiquity of Genesis. The prize was won by Kley, and the work just published represents his essay in an improved and enlarged form. As a matter of course, in order to defend against higher criticism the Mosaic authorship of Genesis he found it necessary to extend the sphere of his remarks to the middle books and to Deuteronomy. His readers will rejoice at the necessity, for the result is that they have an admirable treatise on a most important subject.

It consists of two parts. The first division contains a clear, concise description and refutation of the four great hypotheses in support of which respectively all the manifold theories of Pentateuchal criticism have been invented. The comparative table of systems given on page 139 is particularly good. Some Phases, however, in their chequered evolution might, with advantage have been explained in detail; for instance, Ewald's change of opinion respecting the Supplement-Hypothesis and the cause of Hupfeld's opposition to it. But on the whole, Kley gives a graphic account of what is known as negative or destructive criticism, and especially of Wellhausen's plan of attack, which as being the method in vogue at the present day, is entitled to special attention.

The second part deals with the language of the Pentateuch, its alleged anachronisms, etc.; monotheism, unity of sanctuary, sacrifices, priests, and levites, etc., etc.; in a word, it discusses in connection with the Pentateuch the chief critical questions of the day. The answers which the author makes to some objections may not be so full and satisfactory as those we find in Smith's *Pentateuch*, or in Van Hoonacker's *Le Sacerdoce Levitique*,

but what he says, often from a new standpoint, is very suggestive. Nearly all the books he refers to are written by Germans, and this may, perhaps, account for the comparatively shorter treatment of problems which are considered important in France, England, and the United States. But he does know the literature of his subject, and to anyone desirous of learning what is being said by rationalists in Germany his book will be both interesting and useful. It supplies what has for the past few years been felt as a want by some Catholic students.

R. W.

CHRISTIAN APOLOGETICS. By Rev. W. Devivier, S.J.

1. Translated by Rev. L. Peeters and Rev. J. Sasia, S.J.
Burns & Oates.
2. Translated by E. McMahon. Benziger.

At the present day the value of work such as this is so obvious as hardly to admit of comment. People read of so many ephemeral productions more or less secular in their nature and drift, that there is especial need of good Catholic literature which may serve as an antidote. And people are often heard to ask for a solidly learned book that will enlighten them on some point of doctrine or of history which they instinctively feel has been misrepresented in the magazine or newspaper they have just laid down. Men whose faith might be weakened by an objection which they themselves could not answer will generally find it already refuted in Father Devivier's pages. For special attention is paid by him to current topics and to the specious arguments by means of which those outside the Church attack her infallible teaching. In all the departments of science and literature the author shows that modern discoveries and the unanimous voice of the learned concur in giving testimony to the Catholic Church.

And there is another class of persons for whom he writes, viz., the intelligent and fairly well educated laymen who desire to know more about the truths of their holy religion than is contained in catechisms and school-books. Though they have no opportunity of reading a course of theology, nevertheless, they would fain understand something about the questions that belong to the domain of the queen of sciences. To meet their

legitimate wishes Father Devivier discusses, *e.g.*, the historical value of Scripture, the proofs of the divine origin of Christianity, the notes of the Church, Infallibility, Primacy, and the relations between Church and State.

The French original of his work has now reached its sixteenth edition in the course of a few years, and it has been translated into several languages. Many Cardinals, and the Archbishops and Bishops in various countries, have given it their cordial recommendation. A better book for a parochial library, or for the reading-room of a Catholic association could hardly be procured.

As the two translations named above reached us together, it seemed better to review them simultaneously. Both are faithful to the original, and both are written in clear flowing English. We notice that some references and notes are found only in the one, some only in the other. But it is mere justice to add that the larger number is peculiar to the translation in two volumes by the Jesuit fathers. This condition contains also a valuable introduction by Father Peeters, enlarged and adapted by Father Sasia. It treats of God and of the human soul. Moreover, in this edition the reader will find lists of the best books on the subject of which each section treats. These render the original work still more useful to students of theology or to priests on the mission. It will be understood from this brief comparison, that the translations respectively are suited to different classes of readers. One is for those who have leisure and a library, the other—a handy one volume edition—is for the busy man or woman.

P. G.

LEX ORANDI ; OR, PRAYER AND CREED. By Rve. George Tyrrell, S.J. London: Longmans, Green, & Co.
Price 5s. net.

THIS is not a book for the man in the street; only the trained thinker is capable of rating its importance. It is what may be called the heart apology for the Catholic religion. Assuming the existence in man's soul of a 'religious sense' and a *de facto* exigency of the 'supernatural,' the author develops the thesis that Catholicity is true because it is the ascertained realization of man's highest and fullest life. It would seem that

great minds have been influenced by this view of religion. In his preface to *J. H. Newman*, par Georges Grappe, Paul Bourget says :—

Ce que Newman a vu nettement, ce que M. Olle-Laprune a reconnu de son côté et dit non moins nettement, c'est que la question de la vérité religieuse n'est pas purement intellectuelle. Cette vérité n'est pas une vérité abstraite. C'est une vérité vivante. Elle ne s'adresse pas dans l'homme à la seule intelligence, elle s'adresse au cœur et à la volonté. Elle doit être sentie autant que comprise, et voulue autant que sentie . . . C'était bien cette idée qu'entrevoit Pascal quand il parlait de 'raisons de cœur que la raison ne comprend pas,' et surtout orsqu'il écrivait dans son mystère de Jesus, sur les péchés. A mesure que tu les expieras, tu les connaitres.' Phrase d'une portée extraordinaire ! Elle signifie que pour penser la vérité religieuse il faut d'abord la vivre.

The first sentence in the preface to his book contains Fr. Tyrrell's defence against any objections that the dogmatic theologian might make to this line of apologetics. 'Truth,' he says, 'can and ought to be approached from many sides ; it is not different because their aspects and approaches are different.' The author tries to show how the Creed may be approached or rather apprehended through the spirit of prayer taken in a wide sense. Hence the title of his book. *Spiritus spirat ubi vult*, and we can believe that this view of religion might appeal to many whom the scientific treatment of the subject would leave unmoved. Fr. Tyrrell writes for the learned and affects putting simple truths in a novel way. He uses such words as 'will-attitude,' 'will-union,' 'Christocentrism.' A quotation from St. Augustine is sometimes welcome as a simplification of the author's idea. The following extract will illustrate the complex character of his way of viewing things :—

Through that world to which our body belongs and of which our senses, memory, and understanding take account, we are made aware of other wills which impress themselves therein, as we ourselves do, by the sensibly evident results of their action. It is in our *felt* relation to those other wills that our spiritual life in reality consists. That relation is, with regard to each several will, one of agreement and attraction or of revolt and dislike, or rather of a complex bending of likes and dislikes, according to the innumerable elements into which each moral personality, each total will-attitude may be virtually resolved. Like the

motes in a sunbeam the whole world of wills is in ceaseless commotion; each changing its attitude with regard to all the rest, as moment by moment the shifting situation demands a new response. Whenever we find another will accordant with our own in any particular we experience a sense of re-enforcement and expansion of our spiritual life and being. (Page 12.)

To sum up what we think, Fr. Tyrrell's book is a highly successful attempt to dress old thoughts in a new garb which will, perhaps, make them acceptable to those 'intellectuals' and *dilletanti* to whom the common way of talking would not appeal. The ordinary Catholic reader will scarcely understand the bearing of such language as the following:—

It (the doctrine of the Blessed Trinity) is a conception of the Divinity which shapes, characterises, and expresses that particular quality of supernatural love towards God and man that burned as a fire in the Heart of Christ and was thence kindled over the face of the earth among His disciples. It gives a new and far more explicit constitution to that will-world in which our inner life of grace is lived, determining more exactly the nature of its source, end, and centre, and by consequence of our relations to it and to one another through it. Like every other doctrine of the Christian faith, this of the Trinity is the creation of love and life; it was felt and lived before it was expressed in terms of the understanding . . . not till it gathered to its utmost force and intensity in the human soul of Christ was its origin clearly revealed to man's mind as a Trinity of divine persons, Father, Son, and Spirit (page 110).

We heartily commend the book to theologians, philosophers, and to all who wish to follow the unfolding of a profound thought in an original and attractive style.

T. P. G.

S. ALPHONSI MARIAE DE LIGUORIO, ECCLESIAE DOCTORIS,
OPERA DOGMATICA EX ITALICO SERMONE IN LATINUM.
Transtulit Aloysius Walter, C.S.S.R. Romae: Typis
Philippi Cuggiani, Via della Pace.

FR. WALTER has published in two portly volumes a clear and reliable translation of the dogmatic works of St. Alphonsus. No doubt it is principally as a moral theologian St. Liguori will live in the annals of ecclesiastical science. Yet in his dogmatic writings he has proved himself a thoughtful, broadminded master. We must be ever grateful to him for what he has done

in this line. We must be grateful also to Fr. Walter for having given to the world what was hitherto reserved for Italians.

It would be impossible for us, in a short notice, to discuss the many points of dogmatic theology which are inevitably raised by the publication of a work like that of Fr. Walter. We can at most, give our readers a general idea of the ground which has been covered by the great doctor of the Church in his dogmatic works. We can do this in no better way than by giving the titles of the divisions of the two volumes:—I. 'Contra Atheos et Deistas;' II. 'Contra Sectas Dissidentes;' III. 'De Fidei veritate contra incredulos et haereticos;' IV. 'Vindiciae contra Febronium;' V. 'Doctrinal Catholicae juxta Concilii Tridentini decreta expositio;' VI. Haeresium historia et confutatio;' VII. 'De divina revelatione considerationes;' VIII. 'De Novissimis;' IX. 'De magno orationis medio;' Appendix I. 'De spe Christiana;' Appendix II. 'De Jesu Christi praedestinatione.'

Cardinal Merry del Val, in a letter written to Fr. Walter at the command of His Holiness, Pius X., gives special thanks for the great benefit which has been done to the world by making better known St. Liguori's works from which the fruits of solid doctrine and piety are rightly hoped. We congratulate Fr. Walter on such a tribute. We wish his work a wide and friendly recognition.

J. M. H.

YOUTHFUL VERSES. By J. J. Kelly, D.D., Athlone. Dublin Gill & Son.

IN his very modest preface to this little volume the author tells us that the poems it enshrines are effusions of his youthful days which he would have been satisfied to leave buried in the files of old newspapers and collections for recitation were it not for the solicitation of friends and classfellows and the tenderness of advancing years for the first fruits of his poetic ardour.

It is not very often we can congratulate poets on yielding to the entreaties of old friends in giving their verses to the world; but there are exceptions to every rule, and this is distinctly and deservedly an exception. The poems are as pure in diction and as free from prose as they are elevated in thought and subject. Many of them are devoted to the 'Queen of May,' to the angels and saints, to patriots, famous Irishmen of letters, friends and acquaintances. The characteristics of youth are visible in

them here and there. Some few verses limp, or at least do not make harmony in our ear. But on the whole they are pleasant to read and well worthy of being preserved. The verses to his 'Alma Mater' are perhaps the best in the volume, and many of her past *alumni* will echo his prayer.

Maynooth ! God guard thy loved walls well,
 Thy chapels and thy halls of prayer,
 Thy corridors and cloisters fair,
 Where youths' bright memories ever dwell

.
 No wonder aged priests who bear
 The burden of accomplished days
 With saddened eyes should backward gaze
 On these dear walls and all declare—

Maynooth ! our happiest years are thine !
 Thine are the springs of sacred truth,
 The unforgotten friends of youth ;
 Fair through the years thy turrets shine.

.
 While memory of the past endures,
 Fair Mother of a royal race,
 Of noble form and queenly grace,
 Our true and changeless love is yours.

We hope that Mgr. Kelly's confidence may be justified by the sale of this pretty little volume.

J. F. H.

HISTOIRE DES LIVRES DU NOUVEAU TESTAMENT. E.
 Jacquier. (Tome premier). Paris : Lecoffre.

THIS is an admirable little work on the Epistles of St. Paul. The writer has evidently made the subject his own. Those who know the excellent articles which he has contributed to the present three volumes of Vigouroux' *Dictionnaire de la Bible* will be prepared for this. 'Colossiens,' 'Corinthiens,' etc., are by him, and in the present work we have the matured result of his studies in a very attractive form. He traces the events that led to St. Paul's writing, the date and the place of the composition, etc., and gives a very minute analysis. We do not indeed

remember to have seen within restricted limits a better account of the peculiarities of the Apostle's diction and style. The authenticity of each Epistle is also clearly proved. On one side the current objections are stated adequately, on the other the answers of our best commentators are given. In conclusion it may be said that the reverend author, who by the way is both Professor of Scripture and Master of Conference in Lyons, does not traverse quite the same ground as the Abbé Fouard or Conybeare and Howson. They are concerned chiefly with St. Paul himself, his mission and Apostolic journeys; Abbé Jacquier does not stop to tell us much about Asia Minor or Greece and St. Paul's doings there; he confines his attention for the most part to the Epistles themselves.

F. N.

HISTOIRE DE L'ANCIEN TESTAMENT, L'Abbé J. B. Pelt.
4me. Edition. Paris: Lecoffre.

EVERYONE knows that in recent years a vast amount of information more or less illustrative of the Old Testament has been given to the world. Discoveries in Egypt and in Assyria are shedding so brilliant light on the meaning of many parts of the inspired record, that at last we can clearly see the connexion between events in sacred and events in profane history. What may be called the worldly background of the narrative that extends from Genesis to Paralipomenon has emerged from the gloom of ages. The natural result has been a marked improvement in books that treat of the history of the Old Testament. In Germany Schöpfer's work is, we believe, regarded as one of the best on the subject. It has been translated and supplemented by the Abbé Pelt. Needless to say that it is a pleasure to read his version. No book of the kind is more likely to be useful to a busy ecclesiastic that desires to have in compendious form a reliable account of Israel's place in the world's history, and at the same time to know accurately something about the critical questions that are mooted in respect of the Old Testament the present day.

E. L.



ST. CHRYSOSTOM ON THE PASTORAL OFFICE¹

I.

CHRYSOSTOM and Basil (not the great Basil) grew up together at Antioch, were of the same social standing, had similar tastes, and were fast friends. They commenced life as young men of the world and ended by becoming, first monks and afterwards bishops. Basil was the first to quit the world and betake himself, not without his books, to solitude. John remained at Antioch, held back it would seem by the attractions of the law-courts and of the theatres; and so the constant intercourse of the two friends was interrupted. 'But,' says Chrysostom, 'as soon as I too raised my head somewhat above the billows of this life, he received me with outstretched arms.' Basil invited his old friend to come away from his home and his mother that they might both dwell together in solitude, friendship, and holiness. John was ready to break with the world.

But [he tells us] the constant caresses of my mother prevented me from doing him that favour . . . She took me by the hand and brought me into her room, and making me sit down by the bed where she gave me birth, she burst into a flood of tears, and added words more affecting than tears. . . . 'My dear son,'

¹ *On the Priesthood*. A treatise in six books. By St. John Chrysostom. Translated by the Rev. Patrick Boyle, C.M. Dublin: M. H. Gill and Son; London; Art and Book Co.; New York: Benziger Bros. 1903.

said she, 'as God so willed it I was not allowed to possess long your virtuous father. For his death, which took place soon after you were born, left you an orphan and me prematurely a widow with the trials of widowhood, which they alone can understand who have experienced them; for no words can describe the flood of affliction which a young woman, who has but recently left her father's home and is yet inexperienced in business, endures when she is suddenly overwhelmed with extreme grief and compelled to undertake cares beyond her age and sex. For she is obliged to correct the domestics for their negligence, and watch to hinder their infidelity, and guard against the intrigues of relatives, and resist courageously the exactions and harshness of the tax-gatherers . . . Yet none of these things induced me to contract a second marriage, nor to bring a second husband into your father's house; but I remained in the tempest and the din, and I did not fly from the fiery furnace of widowhood. . . . Await my death. . . . When you have laid me in the earth by the bones of your father, then . . . sail on whatever sea you please' (page 4).

Basil, to whom John related this and other similar interviews, was unmoved, but no son could resist such an appeal. 'While we were thus engaged,' Chrysostom continues, 'he continually pressing his request and I not assenting, all of a sudden a rumour arose that filled us both with alarm. The rumour was that we were to be promoted to the Episcopal dignity.' It was now John's turn to be immovable. Basil proposed to his friend that 'in this as on former occasions, they should display unity of action and purpose;' saying, says Chrysostom, 'that he was ready to follow whatever course I should adopt either in declining or submitting.' It would seem that John's answer left Basil under the impression that this was a bargain, but when the ordaining prelate arrived sometime after, John was not to be found, and Basil was consecrated Bishop of Raphanaea, having been induced to accept the yoke by the false statement that his friend John had already submitted to the will of God. Basil was greatly annoyed on ascertaining the truth and came to his friend in a state of great excitement. 'Seeing him,' says Chrysostom, 'bathed in tears and under the influence of great emotion, and knowing the cause, I began to laugh for very joy, and taking his hand I began to kiss it, and I praised God that my stratagem had ended

well and in the way I had always desired.' Basil replied that the deception practised on him by a life-long friend was not now his bitterest trial. What was he to say to those who accused Chrysostom of refusing the Episcopate through a spirit of vain-glory.

'Some,' he said to him, 'accuse you of arrogance and others of vanity, and those who are most unsparing in their charges accuse us both and, moreover, they add the charge of insolence towards those who elected us to this dignity . . . For they passed over so many deserving men and straightway promoted to a dignity such as they could never have dreamt of obtaining, mere boys who until the other day were immersed in the business of the world, because, forsooth, they had put on a serious look and dressed plainly, and assumed an air of affected gravity . . . This and more they are constantly saying to me. As for me, I know not what reply to make and I beg of you to tell me.'

Chrysostom's *apologia* in answer to his friend's appeal is his famous treatise on the Pastoral Office which the learned Rector of the Irish College, Paris, has translated into smooth and readable English. The work is divided into six books, any of which might be read in less than two hours. The Editor of the I. E. RECORD was kind enough to ask me to review Father Boyle's translation, and reading it over I thought it a pity to dismiss so interesting and practical a work with the usual few complimentary remarks. I hope the Editor will kindly allow me space to describe the scope and character of the book and to give a few extracts which, I think, will show how absolutely modern in its application is the idea of the Pastoral Office as conceived by St. John Chrysostom in the latter end of the fourth century.

II.

The substance of the first book is contained in the foregoing remarks, the quotations being all from Father Boyle's translation. Designed as an introduction to his treatise on the Priesthood, it contains interesting details of the saint's early life. The iron austerity of the man who would entice young Chrysostom, an only son, away from his widowed mother is typical of the asceticism of the first ages, and would be called inhuman barbarity by many well-meaning

people of our time. The remaining five books are a defence of his conduct in evading a dignity and responsibility which he was willing to have placed on the shoulders of his friend Basil. Without committing himself to a detailed programme or following a logical order he touches on the excellence, difficulties, and responsibility of the Pastoral Office, on the duty of the electors to the Episcopacy, on the duty and method of preaching, and, more than all, on the qualifications requisite for the efficient exercise of the pastor's mission. The work is in the form of a dialogue between Basil and himself, but Chrysostom does nearly all the talking. What makes the book particularly interesting and readable is, that it is not a formal treatise on the Pastoral Office, but rather a personal explanation in which Chrysostom talks very candidly about his own shortcomings and the peculiar circumstances of his day. The original work is a classic, for though a living picture of the age in which Chrysostom lived, it deals with those weaknesses of human nature which are always with us, and its style is characterised by those qualities which have won for Chrysostom the reputation of being among the greatest of Christian orators.

Eloquent, forcible, and elegant as is this work, it is, I venture to say, more remarkable for the practical knowledge of life and of Sacred Scripture displayed in its every page. Chrysostom was anything but a theorist. He had lived what he wrote. This book was, it seems, written some years after the event which occasioned it, at a time when Chrysostom was engaged as deacon in the Church of Antioch, and so, though not yet Patriarch of Constantinople he was able to draw on a wide experience of monastic and missionary life to illustrate his views. A small man himself and weak, too, it seems, in bodily health, he drew his ideals and inspirations from the writings and character of St. Paul. Here, then, is a work which realises all the conditions of a Christian classic, a work which no pastor can read without profit, which charms while it instructs, which is as applicable to our time as to the conditions of the fourth century, and from the perusal

of which no serious soul can fail to carry away a haunting sense of the majesty and dreadful responsibility of the priestly office.

III.

But it is time to let the golden-mouthed John speak. Here is what he says about Episcopal elections as they were conducted in his day about Antioch :—

Go and witness the solemn festivals when, according to usage, ecclesiastical elections are generally held, and you will see the priest assailed by as many accusations as he has subjects. For all who have right to vote for the office are split up into many sections, and you would hardly ever find the assembly of priests agreed amongst themselves or with the presiding bishop, but taking each his own view, one votes for one candidate, and another for a different one. The reason is, that all do not pay attention to the very point they should look to, that is, to virtue, but they assign various motives for conferring the office. One says : Let us elect the candidate for he is of noble family ; or this one, because he is wealthy and does not require the revenues of the Church for his support ; or that other, because he comes to us from the ranks of our adversaries. One votes for an acquaintance, another for a relative, a third tries to get one of his flatterers preferred to all others. But no one wishes to consider who is fit for the office nor to examine his qualifications.

I am sure the last sentence is an exaggeration, for John himself was chosen in 397 to succeed Nestorius as Bishop of Constantinople, though indeed ‘ Theophilus, Patriarch of Alexandria, a man of a proud and turbulent spirit, was come thither to recommend a creature of his own to that dignity.’² Chrysostom’s views on the qualifications for the Pastoral or Episcopal Office are very definite and practical. He insists of course on personal sanctity as a primary requisite.

‘ The soul of a priest,’ he says, ‘ should be purer than the rays of the sun, that he may not be abandoned by the Holy Ghost.’ But he requires in the pastor a great deal more :—

Even [he says] if a man had great piety, yet I should not

² Butler’s *Lives of the Saints* : St. John Chrysostom.

wish to elect him for that reason unless along with piety he possessed great prudence. For I have known many who practised constant self-denial and emaciated themselves by fasting, and were pleasing to God as long as they were able to live retired and attend to themselves only; but when they were advanced to a public office and were obliged to correct the faults of the people, some of them from the outset were unequal to the task (page 61).

Writing in the same strain at page 130, he says :—

Nor is this strange. For when the contest and the training have not the same object, the combatant is no better than one untrained. He who enters those lists must, first of all, despise glory, be above anger, and possess great prudence. Now they who embrace a monastic life have no opportunity to exercise themselves in these things. They have not the people to excite them to anger, that so they may learn to control it, nor to praise and admire them, that they may learn to despise popular applause, nor do they attach great importance to prudence so necessary in ecclesiastical affairs. On entering then on contests of which they had no experience, they become perplexed and dazed and helpless, and, besides making no progress in virtue oftentimes they lose what they already possessed.

In addition then to personal holiness, St. Chrysostom would require in candidates for the Pastoral Office that tact, prudence, and patience which are learned only in the school of trial and experience. He has a piquant passage (page 68) on the necessity of patience :—

But I do not consider such magnanimity (detachment from money) enough, though it is more important than other qualities. . . . But along with it another qualification is requisite. Now that quality is patience, a virtue which is the source of all good things to men, and which wafts the soul as it were to the pleasant harbour of tranquillity. For by reason of their poverty and their age and their sex, widows are immoderately free in speech (for that is the best way of putting it); they clamour without reason, and complain without cause, and lament where they ought to be thankful, and find fault where they ought to be grateful. And he who is set over them must bear all with courage, and not be moved to anger by their unseasonable brawls and their unreasonable complaints.

In this passage we see the Deacon of Antioch distributing relief to the distressed, and one is struck in reading it at

the unprogressive character of human nature. The qualifications of a pastor are eloquently summed up in the following paragraph (page 66):—

Consider then, what manner of man he ought to be whose duty it is to bear up against so great a tempest and surmount so many obstacles. He ought to be grave yet not haughty, awe-inspiring yet kind, full of authority yet affable, no acceptor of persons yet condescending, humble yet not servile, strong yet meek, that he may be able with ease to cope with all these difficulties, and with full liberty promote the qualified candidate though all oppose, and not promote the unqualified even though all combine in his favour; and to look to one thing only, the edification of the Church, and do nothing through hatred or partiality.

IV.

Running through the whole book is an expression of Chrysostom's sense of the difficulties and responsibility of the pastor's office. The labour of the monastic state he speaks of as the 'passing over a river,' but the Episcopacy is, to his mind, 'the labour of crossing the boundless sea.' 'The billows,' he says, 'which assail the soul of a priest are greater than those which the tempests raise in the ocean.' Speaking about his own character he singles out what he calls 'the most dangerous rock of vain-glory':—

If one [he says] were to impose this dignity upon me he would, as it were, deliver me up with my hands bound behind my back, to be torn in pieces day by day by the monsters that dwell on that rock. What are those monsters? Anger, sadness, envy, contention, detraction, accusation, falsehood, hypocrisy, snares, aversion to those who have done us no wrong, satisfaction at the disgrace of fellow-labourers in the ministry, grief at their success, love of praise, ambition of honours (a passion which most of all leads the soul to destruction), preaching to please, servile adulation, ignoble flattery, contempt of the poor, servility towards the rich, unreasonable marks of respect, blame-worthy tokens of gratitude, as dangerous to those who give as to those who receive them, servile fear befitting only the meanest slaves, the absence of liberty, the appearance of humility without the reality, no courage to rebuke and admonish, or rather unmeasured severity towards the poor, while hardly daring to open one's lips to those in power (page 49).

We are certain that Chrysostom was unjust to himself

in the above passage, for as Bishop of Constantinople he had the courage to rebuke the Empress Eudoxia, but how marvellously accurate was his knowledge of poor human nature. In another passage (page 58) he speaks of the office itself as a fiery ordeal :—

Men [he says] ought to be elected whose souls are such as grace rendered the bodies of the ancient saints in the furnace of Babylon. For the fuel of this fire is not wood, pitch, tow, but far worse than these ; for it is not palpable fire that is in question, but the devouring flame of envy surrounds the priest spreading on all sides . . . When it finds the smallest trace of stubble it immediately seizes on it, and consumes the vitiated part, and begrimes with smoke and blackens the rest of the building were it more beautiful than the rays of the sun. As long as the life of a priest is well ordered, he is exposed to no such an attack. But if he be negligent in the smallest thing, as may easily happen, since he is but a man, voyaging on the tempestuous sea of life, his past good works are powerless to protect him from the tongues of accusers.

And in truth how little do his past good works weigh with men when they sit in judgment on the fault of a human brother. Here is a passage (page 74) on the troubles of the Bishop as judge and patron, which shows how observant was the Deacon of Antioch :—

Again, the office of judge occasions innumerable troubles, much labour, and even greater difficulties than secular judges have to meet with. For it is difficult to find out the law, and when found out, not to violate it. Not only is there labour and difficulty, but there is also no small risk. For there are instances of some of the weaker brethren who have made shipwreck of the faith, because having got into trouble they could not find a protector. . . . And as I have mentioned patronage, allow me to disclose to you another subject of complaint. Unless the Bishop visits daily, even more than seculars do, he gives untold offence. Not only the sick but the healthy also, desire to be visited, and many desire it not from a motive of piety, but rather as a mark of honour and respect. And if, perchance, for a special reason and for the interest of the Church, he visits the rich or powerful more frequently, at once he gets the name of a courtier or a flatterer. But why speak of patronage and visits, even salutations occasion such annoying complaints as often to make one feel depressed and discouraged. For people observe even one's looks ; many scrutinise the least actions, the tone of the voice, the motion of the eyes and one's manner of

laughter. 'He smiled blandly,' they say, 'to such a one, and saluted him with a cheerful countenance and in a loud voice, but he treated me with less ceremony and in a formal way.'

Chrysostom's views about the punishment that awaits the negligent pastor are not in the least softened by his appreciation of the manifold difficulties and trials incident to the office. Basil, in one of the few places where he speaks, says *apropos* of John's expression of these views, 'I know no longer where I am, with such fear and terror have your words inspired me.'

Speaking of pastoral duties Chrysostom lays special stress on sympathy with the poor, and on preaching. After quoting from Eccles. iv. 8, 'Bow down thine ear cheerfully to the poor and answer him cheerful words with mildness,' he goes on to say :—

Though one does not withhold the means of support, yet if he loads them with reproaches, if he insults them and is angry with them, he is so far from relieving them by his alms, that he increases their sufferings by his reproaches. . . . When, therefore, through fear of hunger, they are forced to beg, and in begging, to be saucy, and then have to suffer insult on account of their boldness, their minds are clouded, and enveloped in deep gloom and dejection. Now, he who is charged with their care should be a man of such longanimity that he will not increase their affliction by his indignation, but rather alleviate it by words of consolation (page 69).

While insisting that a pastor ought to be a good manager, he does not believe in laying by a reserve fund which may be diverted from its object. 'What is contributed,' he says, 'should be immediately distributed to the poor ; and the liberality of the faithful should be looked upon as the treasury of the Church ' (page 70).

V.

What he says about preaching is worthy of special attention, for he was himself, according to Bossuet, the 'greatest of Christian orators.' His views on this as on other matters are not in the nature of a formal essay, but rather the practical directions of a man who knew

from experience and observation what he was talking about :—

After good example [he says] there is but one instrument and means of healing ; that is preaching. This is the instrument, this the regimen, this the salubrious climate, this serves as medicine, as fire and knife. If it be necessary to burn or to cut this must be used, and if it fail all the rest is useless (page 92).

The preacher should, in his view, be equal to the task of refuting all the current errors of his time :—

For [he says] we have to prepare not for one kind of combat, but for a warfare waged by various enemies who do not all use the same weapons nor the same method of attack. It behoves him who has to engage in conflict with all, to know the arts of all, and to be at once archer and slinger, brigadier and captain, soldier and general, foot-soldier and horseman. . . . For what advantage is it to fight nobly against the Gentiles if the Jews plunder the Church, or that both are conquered if the Manicheans ravage it, or that all three are overcome if the Fatalists slaughter the sheep within the Fold.

While insisting on the cultivation of the oratorical gift, he is still more emphatic on the necessity of purity of intention and his views on these subjects, and on the general trials and difficulties of a great public preacher, are evidently taken from life. Eloquence was in those days the standard of excellence.

Are you not aware [he says] of the great passion for eloquence which has taken possession of the minds of Christians, and that they who practise it are held in honour not only by those without, but also by the members of the household of the faith. Who then can bear the disgrace that when he speaks all are still and seem bored, and look forward to the conclusion of the discourse as the end of their suffering.

One wonders that such a close observer did not note the coughing, if this means of relief was then known. Hence, he argues the necessity of cultivating eloquence. But even the great orator was not, in his view, without serious trials. Many of the audience came, it seems, as to a theatre to be electrified, or at least to be tickled, and, of course, criticised the relative merits of different preachers. This occasioned a temptation to aim at pleasing rather than instructing and

reproving. Furthermore, a great preacher might not be in form on a particular occasion and would be obliged to swallow the bitter pill of dispraise.

Hence [says Chrysostom], when an orator surpasses all others in talent, he must study and labour more than others. Not to succeed always in everything, which is the common lot of men, is not permitted to him; for if his discourse does not come up to his reputation, he is scoffed at and censured by the public . . . Moreover, men are wont to overlook the good qualities of their neighbour, however numerous and great; but if any defect appears, be it ever so slight or long past, they soon perceive it, lay hold on it and never forget it. And that defect, though small and trivial, often dims the glory of many distinguished men (page 112).

Another trial of the orator in those days was the envy excited by his reputation in the minds of the lesser luminaries. 'Those,' according to our author, 'do not exercise their vengeance in person only. They try to do so by means of others, and sometimes they take up a man destitute of oratorical talent, praise and admire him beyond his deserts . . . not to praise the man who does not deserve it but to destroy the reputation of the other, (page 113). Two remedies are all that Chrysostom suggests against the many difficulties and trials incident to the discharge of this great pastoral duty, 'contempt of praise and a talent for oratory.'

'For if one of the two,' he says, 'be wanting, that which remains is useless without the other . . . ' (page 108). Beyond insisting on a knowledge of Sacred Scripture, on careful preparation of one's discourse, and 'on constant labour in cultivating a talent for oratory,' he lays down no precise rules for the composition of a sermon. His own numerous sermons are homiletic in form and are, perhaps, more remarkable for directness of aim than elegance of phrase. I shall allow one of his admirers to speak about the character of Chrysostom's preaching :—

Great as was his gift of oratory, it was not by the fertility of his imagination or the splendour of his diction that he gained the surname of the 'Mouth of Gold.' We shall be very wrong if we suppose that fine expression, or rounded periods, or figures

of speech were the credentials by which he claimed to be the first doctor of the East. His oratorical power was but the instrument by which he readily, gracefully, and adequately expressed,—expressed without effort and with facility—the keen feelings, the living ideas, the earnest practical lessons which he had to communicate to his hearers. He spoke because his heart, his head were brimful of things to speak about. His elocution corresponded to that strength and flexibility of limb, that quickness of eye, hand, and foot, by which a man excels in manly games or in mechanical skill. It would be a great mistake, in speaking of it, to ask whether it was Attic or Asiatic, terse or flowing, when its distinctive praise was that it was natural. His unrivalled charm, as that of every really eloquent man, lies in his singleness of purpose, his fixed grasp of his aim, his noble earnestness.³

On the second remedy, viz., a ‘contempt of praise,’ he is exceedingly insistent, showing evidently that he felt himself its necessity :—

Let not the preacher [he says, at page 114] give heed to the praise of the people, nor lose heart if it fail him. But while he make it the purpose of his discourse to please God—for this and not the applause of men should be the guide and only aim of his best efforts—should he be praised, let him not despise the praise, and should he receive no applause from his audience, let him not seek it or feel hurt. . . . If the preacher permits himself to be carried away by a desire of praise, his labour and his talent will profit him nothing. For the mind that cannot bear the foolish criticism of the people becomes discouraged and loses zeal for preaching.

In another place he says :—

A priest should have for his people the sentiments of a father for his children. And as we are not concerned when children insult and strike us and lament, nor are we elated when they laugh and rejoice with us ; so a priest ought not to be elated by the praise of the people, nor cast down by their unreasonable dispraise.

At the same time no one knew better than he how difficult of attainment is this philosophic indifference. For he adds, ‘This, my dear friend, is a matter of difficulty, or rather I think it is perhaps impossible. For not to feel pleased at being praised is, I am inclined to think, what has

³ Newman's *Historical Sketches*: St. Chrysostom.

happened to no man.' The harm is when a man cannot get on without this stimulant, and is dejected and desolate when it is not forthcoming for, as Chrysostom adds, 'dejection and constant anxiety are capable of destroying strength of soul and leading to utter weakness.' Here then we find ourselves thinking of Newman's direction, that a preacher is not to aim even at eloquence but always at his end—viz., the spiritual good of his hearers.

Such, in brief, are Chrysostom's views on the Pastoral Office. Composed towards the close of the fourth century are they not singularly modern in their application? Written in defence of his conduct in escaping the dignity and responsibility to which he thought himself unequal, they prove how eminently fitted he was to rule in the Church of God. Later on, when called to fill the episcopal throne of Constantinople, he realised in his own person the ideal of a bishop he had conceived when a monk, and experienced all the trials and difficulties which he had anticipated; but, far from failing, he died a saint, leaving behind him a glorious example of the character and virtues of a good pastor. Weak and small in body, he was a man of extraordinary energy. Butler says that he preached every day in Lent. It is Potter, I think, who says that he abstained from giving dinners, that he might be more free to attend to his work, but still, it should be added, kept an open hospitable house for strangers. He was unwearied in his care for the poor. Though loved by the people, he was detested by the lax section of the clergy whose manners he tried to reform, and his fearless denunciation of the Court vices cost him that long weary journey to the shores of the Euxine, which is graphically and sympathetically described by Newman in his *Historical Sketches*. While referring the reader to Newman's charming essay for an appreciation of Chrysostom's character, I feel justified in recommending Father Boyle's translation to those who would wish to look into the great soul of the man Chrysostom, for the author of this old classic treatise on the mission of the Priesthood is nothing if not candid in what he says about himself as well as in what he says about the *milieu* in which he lived.

T. P. GILMARTIN.

THE ORIGIN OF THE SCAPULAR—II

(From Original Sources.)

HABIT OR SCAPULAR ?

IT must have struck our readers that Swanyngton does not so much as mention the scapular. According to him Our Lady appeared to St. Simon holding the *habit* of the Order (*tenendo habitum Ordinis*). The saint threw his *habit* over the sick man at Winchester (*injecto habitu super languentem*) who was also preserved against the attacks of the Evil One by the *habit* of the Blessed Father (*per habitum beati viri*) ; the Bishop of Winchester decided upon questioning Blessed Simon as to the virtues of his *habit* (*de virtute habitus*), and numerous *grandeas* desired to die in the holy *habit* (*desiderantes mori in habitu sancto Ordinis*). On the other hand, Sibert de Beka, whose account dates from about 1312,¹ says that :—

Our Lady was seen bringing the religious habit from heaven which she handed him, saying, ‘There is no ground to fear. Behold the *scapular* of thy Order . . .’ Simon, having received this pledge, put it on his shoulders and afterwards distributed it to the brethren that they might wear it also.²

William of Coventry reports likewise that the Blessed Virgin appeared to St. Simon ‘holding the *scapular* of the

¹ Bale asserts that the chapter in question is taken from Sibert, and there is no reason to question his words. The legend of the saint by Roland Bouchier (MS. Bodley 73, fol. 93a), contains the identical words, but authors of Breviary lessons are not supposed to be original, and in the matter before us he may have borrowed from Sibert as well as from other sources. Although Bale had no analytical gifts, he was wonderfully careful in transcribing notes, and whenever he does make a mistake it is generally possible to discover the origin of the error. We therefore unhesitatingly accept Bale's statement.

² ‘. . . religionis habitum a coelis afferre visa est ; quem Symoni elargiens Non est quod timeas, inquit, en tibi hoc tui ordinis Scapulare Acceptum pignus in humeros ponit id fratribus deinceps utendum distribuit.

Order in her blessed hands,' etc.^a Otherwise his account is more sober than Sibert's and the words attributed to the Blessed Virgin are identical with those given by Swanyngton, so that we may suppose that Coventry, although writing considerably later than Sibert, followed a purer source, perhaps the report of a contemporary of St. Simon, whereas Sibert's version seems to have passed through many hands before being put on record. All the later writers attach the promise to the scapular which, according to them, Our Lady brought from heaven and handed to St. Simon. This form of the tradition became so deeply rooted and yet remains so, that in some countries there still exists a belief that the original scapular given by the Mother of God to the saint and actually worn by him is preserved to the present day in some Catholic family in England.

For us who have to deal with a purely historical question Swanyngton's version appears to be the true one. St. Simon had asked Our Lady for a *privilege* for the brethren who were disconsolate on account of the persecution and so discouraged that some had already left the Order and others were anxious to do so; he also wished to obtain some sign of her benevolence which would commend the Order to those who were opposing it. Our Lady pointed out the religious habit as the privilege: those who die in it shall not suffer everlasting fire. Unless we completely misunderstand her words, she assured those who wore the habit of the Order specially dedicated to her of her maternal protection. Surely there was no need to give them a new kind of garment to which this promise should be more especially attached: the wearing of the habit of the Order being quite sufficient. There is a general axiom in dealing with supernatural events that miracles must not be multiplied beyond what is strictly necessary, since God works no miracles where ordinary means are sufficient; for the miracle is

^a William de Coventry flourished about the year 1348. He was known by the surname Claudus Conversus, having been lamed by an arrowshot, in consequence of which he turned to God according to the psalmvers *conversus sum in aerumna mea dum configitur spina*. Unfortunately we possess only a short quotation from his *Scutum Carmelitarum*. 'Cui Beatissima Virgo . . . apparuit Scapulare ordinis in benedictis manibus suis tenens et dicens. . . .'

always an exception to the rule, whether this rule be the physical law of nature or the moral law.

A little reflection will convince us that St. Simon must have understood the matter in this way. When he 'threw his habit over the sick man' can we imagine that he first took off his mantle, next his hood, and finally his scapular and passed this over the shoulders of the unconscious nobleman? Surely the very idea is inconceivable.⁴ Swanyngton's words *injecto habitu*, together with ordinary common sense, lead us to suppose that he simply took off his mantle and threw it over Walter de Linton. But the question arises, how then did the Carmelites, even from the beginning of the fourteenth century, come to consider the *scapular*, of all parts of their habit, to be the *vehiculum* of Our Lady's promise?

Under ordinary circumstances the promise of Our Lady, if it was to be attached to one portion of the religious garment more than to another, would certainly have been connected with the mantle as the distinguishing feature of the Carmelite Order. They were the *Whitefriars* on account of their white mantle notwithstanding the dark habit, just as the Dominicans were the *Blackfriars* owing to the black mantle in spite of the white habit. But when St. Simon received Our Lady's promise, he wore no white mantle but a striped one which was exchanged for the white one some twenty years after his death. There exists an old tradition that originally the Carmelites did wear white mantles which, however, they were obliged to abandon at the pressure of the Saracens who considered the white colour as the distinguishing mark of their own grandees. It does not concern us at present at what particular time this exchange took place, certain it is that at their coming to Europe they wore a mantle composed of four white and three black vertical stripes, whence a contemporary author says :

De Carmelo veniunt fratres virgulati
Hi, ut vulgo dicitur, fratres sunt beati.⁵

⁴ The translator of Fr. R. Clarke's articles in the *Month* (1886), 'Le Scapulaire de Notre Dame du Mont Carmel', Nemours, 1899, renders the expression 'injecto habitu' by 'ayant passé le saint habit sur les épaules du malade' (p. xlv). This certainly goes beyond the original.

⁵ Pertz, *Scriptt.* xxv., p. 358.

Various explanations have been given for this curious mantle. By some authors it was supposed to represent the four Gospels and the three religious virtues, by others, even by a general chapter, the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost, while others again thought that the black stripes signified the marks of fire left on his mantle when the prophet Elias threw it from the fiery chariot to Eliseus; and this opinion, though violently attacked in the fourteenth century, is still to be met with in certain parts of the Carmelite liturgy at the end of the following century.⁶

However that may be the Carmelites were not very proud of their singular appearance, and obtained from Pope Honorius IV. a verbal permission to exchange the striped mantle for a purely white one. But the Pope, having died before they were able to give effect to their design, affidavits from the cardinal who had negociated the matter were obtained in view of the not improbable opposition on the part of other white religious. On the feast of St. Mary Magdalen, 1287, the general chapter assembled at Montpellier decreed the substitution of the white mantle for the striped *carpeta*. The change was proclaimed for the English province at a provincial chapter held on the feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross at Lincoln. Opposition was not wanting. The chronicler of Osney speaks thus of the affair:—

In the same year the friars of Mount Carmel, nobody knows on whose authority or for what reason, except perhaps driven by their own vanity, left off their double-coloured square mantles rather shamelessly in order to resume their ancient habit which they used to wear from the first establishment of the Order, and, instead of the pallium, they began to wear thenceforth white mantles (*cappas clausas candidas*).⁷

Nearly all the chronicles of that time mention the matter for the change could escape no observer; but the real opposi-

⁶ 'Helisee Carmelita, vestis tua dispartita

Fratres tuos ornet ita, virtuose ut cum vita

Heredes sint etherei.

Pallium latum per Heliam Heliseo per aurigam

igneum quid transfertur.'

From the Office of St. Eliseus (*Breviarium Carmelitanum*, Brussels, 1480).

⁷ *Rolls' Series, Annales Monastici*, iv., 312.

tion came from the Premonstratensians who thought they alone had the right of wearing white. The Carmelites have always considered the resumption of the white mantles as one of the greatest privileges bestowed upon them by their heavenly patroness. Sibert evidently mixed up the question of the scapular with that of the mantle when in the report already quoted he says :—

‘ There is no ground to fear,’ etc. This she said partly lest the weaker among the brethren should be shocked, and partly lest calumniators should have an occasion for detraction, for they had repeatedly asserted that those who were to introduce a different kind of garment from that worn by the brethren in general were sure to be damned.⁸

If, then, the tardy introduction of the white mantle prevented its being considered the *vehiculum* of Our Lady’s promise, how came the scapular to be singled out as the means whereby the special privilege is conveyed? All those who have written on this subject, with the exception of Swanyngton, were of opinion that previous to the vision of St. Simon Stock it was not in use in the Order. But there is no real evidence that it was introduced there and then. No one knows better than the present writer how delicately the *argumentum a silentio* should be handled on account of the extremely unsatisfactory state of our old records. The majority of our historians from the thirteenth century until quite lately have wasted their time and energy upon interminable discussions on the antiquity of the Order and have neglected, over this burning question, the more profitable work of collecting and sifting sources for contemporary history. Nevertheless it is inconceivable that the introduction of a new kind of garment could have been passed over quite so silently. The scapular, be it remembered, was in use long before the thirteenth century; the Benedictines wore it ever since the days of their founder who considered it merely as an apron for the protection of the habit during manual labour in the field and workshop. The Carthusians, too, had it from the first establishment of

⁸ *Loc. cit.* ‘ Nam saepius judicabant damnandos hos qui aliud indumenti genus usurpaverant quam a communi vulgo susceptum fuerat.’

their Order, and the Dominicans adopted it in 1218 at the instigation of Our Lady herself. It had then long ceased to serve as apron having acquired a more mystical meaning. Some of the most weighty historians of the Carmelite Order think that even before the time of St. Simon Stock it formed part of their religious habit, and, although the reasons on which their opinion is founded might not be universally accepted, we believe that they are right. It therefore remains for us to search for the grounds upon which it became specially connected with Our Lady's promise. And these we find in the rite used in the profession of novices.

The oldest manuscript containing this ceremony is, as far as we know, a copy of the Constitutions and the acts of the general chapters, begun in 1324 and completed in 1362, now belonging to the British Museum.¹⁰ The rite in question appears twice with insignificant variants, namely, on a fly-leaf at the beginning of the volume and in the body of the Constitutions, Rubric XIV. As to the clothing of a novice, the following ceremony was observed. The day of the clothing having arrived, the postulant made a general confession to the master of novices and prepared for Communion. He was then shorn, or, in the case of choir brethren, tonsured, and, having put on the footgear of the Order, vested himself in the tunic, *i.e.*, the long brown habit, over which he wore some kind of secular dress. Thus attired, he was led to the chapter-house, where in the presence of the whole community he had to answer certain questions put by the prelate. This done, the latter said: 'May God bring to perfection what He hath begun in thee.' The community answered 'Amen.' Prelate: 'May God divest thee of the old man with all his actions.' Brethren: 'Amen.' At these words the secular dress was removed and the novice received, without any words of blessing being pronounced, the full religious habit. Holy water was not used for this ceremony. A procession now formed and the newly-clothed

⁹ Lacordaire, *Vie de St. Dominique*, p. 316.

¹⁰ MS. Add. 16,372.

novice was led to the choir where the hymn *Veni Creator*, was sung together with a number of invocations followed by certain prayers. After this he was sprinkled with holy water and he then kissed the altar, embraced the prior and all the brethren and finally, during the High Mass, received Holy Communion.

When the year of probation had expired and the community were satisfied with the behaviour of the novice, he was admitted to profession. The day having come, he was vested in the tunic without scapular or mantle, and was led to the chapter-house. Once more certain questions were put to him to ascertain that no canonical impediment stood in the way of his profession, and, having given satisfactory answers, he knelt down in front of the prior and putting his hands in his, pronounced the form of profession. The prior then said: 'May God bring to perfection what He hath begun in Thee.' Choir: 'Amen.' Prior: 'Show unto us O Lord Thy mercy,' etc. Then follows a long prayer after which the prior sprinkles the newly professed with holy water, saying: 'In the Name of the Father,' etc. The prior then gives him the habit with the words: 'Receive this habit unto the remission of thy sins and the increase of holy religion. In the Name of the Father,' etc. He likewise gives him the mantle, saying: 'Receive this mantle the sign of our religion unto the remission of thy sins. In the Name of the Father,' etc.¹¹ Then follows another long prayer after which the holy water is used once more and the ceremony in the chapter house ends, and is continued in the choir as at the clothing.

We have here the key to the whole question. Since the novice when coming to chapter already wears the tunic, the habit properly so-called, it stands to reason that the garment offered him by the prior with the words: 'Receive

¹¹ 'Accipe hanc cappam nostrae religionis signum in remissionem peccatorum tuorum. In nomine Patris,' etc. Elsewhere: 'Accipe hoc signum in remissionem,' etc. From this wording it clearly appears that this form was introduced between 1287 and 1324, i.e., between the change of mantles and the date of our MS. The conclusion lies near that previous to 1287, there was only the one form 'Accipe hunc habitum in remissionem peccatorum tuorum et sanctae religionis augmentum. In nomine Patris,' etc., and that this served for all the parts of the habit.

this habit,' etc., is in reality the scapular which thus came to be considered as the emblem of the religious habit.

That this view of the matter is correct can, we think, be further proved if we examine the official utterances of the Order on the scapular.

In 1462 the then General, Blessed John Soreth, published new constitutions¹² embodying the various reforms he had carried out during his tenure of office. Among other things he introduced an entirely new rite for the clothing of postulants and the profession of novices, which in the main is still in use both among the Calced Carmelites (of the old observance) and the Discalced friars and nuns of St. Teresa's reform. This new form, however, was not introduced by the reform of Mantua and, since most of the liturgical books of the Order printed between 1490 and 1584 (when the Carmelite liturgy was adapted to the new Roman revision) were edited by members of that Congregation, the old rite will be found in the Breviaries of 1490, 1495, 1504, etc.

In Soreth's rite the postulant receives from the hand of the prior the various parts of the religious habit, each with a special form of blessing. For the tunic: 'May the Lord put on thee the new man who is created according to God in justice and holiness of truth.' For the cincture: 'When thou wast younger thou didst gird thyself and didst walk where thou wouldst, but when thou shalt be old another shall gird thee and lead thee whither thou wouldst not.' Imposing the scapular with the hood not sewn on to distinguish novices from professed brethren, he says: 'Bear the yoke of Christ which is sweet and His burden which is light.' Imposing the mantle he says: 'They that follow the Lamb without stain shall walk with Him in white garments. Therefore, let thy garments be ever white as a sign of inward purity.' At the profession the same form of blessing was used, except that the one given above for the tunic was used for the scapular (with the hood sewn on): 'May

¹² MS. Add. 11,426. There are some sixteenth-century additions, but the Rule and Constitutions were written in 1462, and were printed in 1499 at Venice, and are now extremely rare.

the Lord put on thee the new man,' etc., and the one about the yoke of Christ was left out.

Surely no stronger proof could be required that as late as the middle of the fifteenth century the Order did not officially consider the scapular as the special *vehiculum* of Our Lady's promise, than this portion of the Carmelite ritual. Nothing could have been easier for Soreth than to choose a form expressive of the mystical meaning of the scapular, instead of which he attaches in one place one and in the other a second form to it, neither having any reference to the promise in question.

Turning to another part of the Constitutions we find, in Rubric VI. of the edition of 1324, and in Part I. Rubric VI. of those of 1462, an equally strong confirmation of the same point. The rubric in both places is headed: 'On the Sleeping of the Brethren,' and begins as follows: 'We ordain that our brethren when going to sleep should under all circumstances wear the tunic and scapular under penalty of a grievous fault, excepting the sick who may, or may not, wear the scapular according to their own choice.'¹³ If the Order had considered the scapular as the most essential part of the habit it would have been even more important for the sick than for the sound to wear it. Thus our present Constitutions as revised and approved in 1631 prescribe (Part I., Chap. X., No. 19): 'Finally let no one, whether sound or sick, ever take off his habit, *i.e.*, his scapular, but the sick may use a lighter one.'

Towards the end of the fifteenth century a dispute arose as to the proper colour of the habit, brown, dark, or black, according to the various congregations and reforms. The general chapter of 1472 prescribed in connection with this question that the lay-brothers, to be more easily distinguished from their Dominican *confrères*, should wear a black habit with a white scapular, the Dominicans wearing a white habit with a black scapular. It need hardly be said that so unpractical a decision was never carried out.

¹³ 'Statuimus quod fratres in tunica et scapulari dormiant supracincti sub pena gravis culpe. Exceptis infirmis quorum relinquimus arbitrio ut scapulare induant vel deponant.'

Finally, the way in which the chapter of 1524 speaks of the scapular suggests, not the instrument of Our Lady's protection but rather the 'sweet yoke of the Lord.' The passage occurs in a series of regulations for the reform of the Order: 'Let there be in each convent some assistants of the prior or master of the reform whose duty it is to see that the brethren accustom themselves to keep their hands under the Paziienza or scapular.'¹⁴ By what train of ideas the scapular came by this peculiar name we cannot even guess, but it certainly has no connection with the great promise with which it is now identified.

To sum up: While strongly upholding the reality of St. Simon's vision and Our Lady's promise, we come to the conclusion that it has reference to the habit in general and not to the scapular in particular. From a very early date popular accounts have represented Our Lady as bringing a scapular from heaven, but Swanyngham is distinctly of a different opinion. The present substitution of the scapular for the full habit arises from the fact that it was the portion of the religious habit given to novices at their profession with the words: *Accipe hunc habitum*, etc., but other official utterances prove clearly that the Order did not connect Our Lady's promise with it in preference to the other parts of the Carmelite habit.

THE CONFRATERNITY

The principal question concerning the scapular, however, is not how it affects the members of the Carmelite Order, but what effect it has on those who do not belong to that Order. The primary motive which leads people to the cloister is the desire of doing everything in one's power to assure salvation—the religious state being not only a state or perfection, but also one of security. If the religious life is strict and sometimes hard, it still presents so many opportunities that a final falling away is a rare exception. Moreover, most Orders glory in some revelation or supernatural

¹⁴ faciant quod fratres assuescant tenere manus sub patientia
sive scapulari.' .

assurance that those who persevere in the religious life will go to heaven. Thus, it is said that an angel revealed to St. Benedict that his spiritual children, if faithful to the religious life, would be saved, and similar revelations are recorded with respect to other Orders. Therefore, the question whether the Carmelites themselves would profit by the scapular and the promises attached to it, has really never entered into the discussions which from time to time have arisen concerning this devotion. The crucial point is, what assurance does it give to outsiders? The Winchester miracle spoken of in a previous section must have taught St. Simon Stock that the promise of Our Lady was absolute, not only in favour of those who wear the habit because they belong to the Carmelite Order, but even of those who wear it independently of religious profession. The medium that brings it within the reach of the latter is the Confraternity of the Scapular, the most numerous association in the world after the Catholic Church itself. Some biographers of St. Simon say¹⁵ that after his vision he erected the Confraternity wherever he went, a statement which is somewhat misleading and to the examination of which we must now turn. 'During this journey,' says Monbrun, 'he established in various places, particularly at Bordeaux, the Confraternity of the Holy Scapular.' No reference is given for this statement but it has, somewhat unfortunately, received only lately an authority it hardly deserves. The journey alluded to is in all probability a series of official visits paid to several convents then existing, and also to some towns where St. Simon inaugurated new settlements. It is not possible to fix the exact itinerary, but it appears at least probable that in the spring of 1259 he went to Sicily for the general chapter

¹⁵ See among others, Alfred Monbrun, *Vie de St. Simon Stock* (Clermont-Ferrand and Paris, 1869), p. 145. This small work, which has had the honour of being translated into various languages, is for the greatest part a literal transcript (without acknowledgment) from a far more serious work: *Recueil d'instructions sur la dévotion au Saint Scapulaire*, par le R. P. Brocard de Ste. Thérèse, Gand, 1845, 1846, 1866, 1875 (and several reprints). Although our own investigations do not in every respect coincide with the results of this learned and pious writer, the work is well worth studying on account of its accuracy.

to be held on Pentecost (1st June) at Messina. On the way he may have visited Toulouse and Marseilles, perhaps also Bordeaux where he may have laid the foundation of a convent.¹⁶ This, however, would have been, according to our view, previous to the vision. On a later occasion he probably went to Belgium, there being an old tradition that the convent of Bruges, perhaps also those at Brussels, Ypres, and other cities, were founded by him. The last journey was undertaken in 1265, a general chapter having been summoned to Toulouse for Pentecost (23rd May). On his way thither St. Simon was seized with illness at Bordeaux, where he died on Sunday after the Ascension, May 16th.

On the occasion of one of his visits to Toulouse he received and clothed a recluse, Blessed Jane of Toulouse, said to have belonged to one of the most noble families of the country, who had built for herself a small anchorage adjoining the Carmelite chapel. During her life and also after her death she enjoyed such veneration from her fellow-citizens that, in 1471, Archbishop Bernard de Rouergue caused her body to be placed in a magnificent shrine, and the general chapter held at Naples in 1510 decided to take steps towards her canonization. But when a memoir containing the story of her life was about to be drawn up, it was found that a large volume on the subject had been abstracted, and this *dampnable furtum* frustrated all further proceedings until recent times when the matter was taken up by the Carmelite nuns of Toulouse, a certain Abbé Baurens de Molinier being nominated postulator of the cause of beatification. In his petition and still more in a printed work, he remarked¹⁷

¹⁶ This chapter, the acts of which are unfortunately lost, is mentioned by Master John Trissa, who in 1362 published a list of general chapters (MS. Harley, 1819, fol. 59a). According to another notice preserved by Paleonydor, it was held in 1267 by Nicholas Gallus, the successor of our saint. The former version appears the more reliable of the two, because Trissa had access to the chapter-book; moreover, there was no reason why this particular chapter should have been held only two years after that of Toulouse, custom being in favour of triennial chapters. Nicholas Gallus may, of course, have been present without presiding over it.

¹⁷ *Histoire de la Vie et du Culte de Ste. Jeanne de Toulouse, Vierge, Religieuse Professe Carmélite de l'ancienne observance*, par l'Abbé Baurens de Molinier. Tournai, 1895. To call her 'professed Carmelite nun,' and that on the authority of Alegre de Casanate, is even more extravagant than to consider her a Tertiary.

that owing to the loss of authentic documents, he had been obliged to have recourse to conjecture. He cannot be said to have been particularly felicitous in this matter, as the picture he gives of Blessed Jane bears no resemblance whatever to certain genuine records still extant but of which he had no knowledge. The confirmation of the cultus *ab immemorabili* took place on the 29th of January, 1895, and in the following year the Sacred Congregation of Rites approved the Breviary lessons for the feast of Blessed Jane.

In these there occurs the following passage :—

She admitted into the pious Confraternity of the Scapular, which only a short time before had been miraculously instituted, several thousand persons whom she arrayed against the assaults of the heretics and Jews like a well ordained army. She also spread and fostered the rule of life of Tertiaries of the Carmelite Order with such excellent results that she came to be considered the foundress of that institution.

It is regrettable that such statements should be invested with the authority of the Sacred Congregation for there is really no foundation for them. The Third Order of the Carmelites was only instituted in 1452, and the Second Order, for women, somewhat later still. As to Blessed Jane having enrolled several thousands in the Confraternity of the Scapular, it should first be ascertained whether this confraternity existed in her time at all—and the answer will be either in the affirmative or in the negative according to the meaning one likes best to attach to the term confraternity. If it means what it does now, a religious body of persons practising certain devotions and in organic dependence upon the Order (however loose that organisation may be), our answer will be an emphatic No. There is no evidence whatever that such an organisation existed previous to the sixteenth century ; and if, as is sometimes done, the membership of Jane of Toulouse is put forward as a plea for the antiquity of the Confraternity, it is simply a case of begging the question. Although the various lives of St. Simon Stock do not go further back than the fifteenth century, they know nothing of a confraternity supposed to have been established by him.

If, however, we take the word confraternity in the sense that the saint and his successors after him admitted certain persons as *confratres* and *consorores* of the Order, the contention is fully borne out by documentary evidence. What, then, were these *confratres*? They were persons who, in return for services rendered to certain convents, shared the spiritual benefits of the Order, were specially prayed for in life and after death, participated in the indulgences granted to the Carmelites, and, in a word, were considered as connected with them by the bonds of spiritual relationship. St. Simon Stock and his successors could ill afford to do without such *confratres*, the chief among them being the founders of the various convents. These were not only the actual founders, who by their liberality enabled the friars to acquire the necessary ground and build the fabric of church and convent, but also their successors.

Of some convents, like Huln near Alnwick,¹⁸ we still have the complete list of 'founders' extending over several centuries; of others, like Norwich,¹⁹ we have the proceedings settling disputes as to who is and who is not, entitled to be considered as founder. Sometimes, as in the case of Bristol, royalty steps in as founder at a time when the actual foundation has long been completed. In such cases the convent was entitled to exhibit the royal arms over the gateway and on its seal, as at Hitchin. There are other benefactors, however, whose gifts did not entitle them to be counted as founders, but who were admitted to the Confraternity by a solemn ceremony, and to whom a deed on parchment, signed and sealed by the prior and the chapter, was handed in token of their membership. The rite as laid down by the Ceremonial presents considerable interest. It is true that the first ceremonial adopted, it appears, at the chapter held at Messina in 1259²⁰ is no longer

¹⁸ MS. Bodley, 73, fol. 55b.

¹⁹ Kirkpatrick, *History of the Religious Orders and Communities*, edition of 1845, p. 161 sqq.

²⁰ 'In hoc capitulo fuerunt plures constitutiones editae specialiter ad augmentandum officium divinum.' The Carmelites, according to the terms of their Rule, followed the rite of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, of which two manuscripts of the twelfth century are still preserved, one at Barletta,

in existence. A new ceremonial introduced in 1315, and, notwithstanding numerous changes and additions, remaining in vigour until 1584, is preserved in a volume of Lambeth library written before 1324.²¹ Its Rubric XLVIII., 'On the Manner of receiving Persons to the (spiritual) Benefits,' was inserted without alteration in the missals of 1551 and 1574, although the rest of the ceremonial underwent radical changes in 1539.

If anyone desirous of participating in the spiritual benefits of the Order be of such merit that in the opinion of the prior a chapter should be convened for performing the ceremony, the prior should so arrange that some suitable brother or brothers should attend to him outside the chapter-house, and that the community should be summoned in the meantime. As soon as the chapter has assembled one of the brethren, whoever the prior charges to do so, should call in the person to be received. Upon his entrance all should rise up and remain standing, while the prior advances a little way towards the door to meet him. Should the person be a king, a bishop, a cardinal, a legate, or anyone of similar rank, the prior should offer him, provided he be agreeable to it, his own seat and remain the while close at hand. If, however, he should object to this place or be a person of less exalted dignity, then the prior should occupy it himself with the visitor by his side. As to when to rise and when not to rise, the brethren should conform to the prior's decision, whose business it is to judge of the exigencies of the case. If the person be capable and willing to make his own request, he should do so, otherwise it is for the prior to petition the chapter on his behalf; to explain what obligations the brethren have towards the petitioner, to show as conscientiously as possible his dispositions towards the Order, the benefits he has conferred upon it, and the confidence he has in the prayers of the brethren, adding that these reasons merit his reception. Then turning to the applicant, he should inform him that both the chapter and himself willingly grant his request. After which all should rise from their seats and kneel down in prayer for a short time. Finally, the prior should begin the antiphon *Suscepimus Deus*, followed by the psalm *Magnus Dominus*, which should be said

edited by Giovene (Naples, 1828); the other, in a magnificent state of preservation, at the Vatican (Barberini, 32). See also Ch. Kohler in the *Revue de l'Orient Latin*, 1900-1901.

²¹ MS. Lambeth, 193, on which see a series of articles by the present writer in the *Chroniques au Carmel*, 1903-1904.

alternately by the Brethren, with *Gloria Patri*, etc. The antiphon having been repeated, there follow *Kyrie Eleison*, etc.

Pater noster. Et ne nos.

V. Salvum fac servum.

V. Mitte ei Domine.

V. Nihil proficiat.

V. Domine exaudi. Dominus vobiscum.

Oremus.

Suscipiat te Christus in numero fidelium suorum et nos licet indigni te suscipimus in orationibus nostris et cedat tibi Deus per Unigenitum suum mediatorem Dei et hominum tempus bene vivendi, locum bene agendi, instantiam bene perseverandi, et ad aeternae vitae hereditatem feliciter perveniendi, et sicut nos hodie fraterna charitas spiritualiter iungit in terris ita divina pietas quae dilectionis est auctrix et amatrix nos cum fidelibus suis conjungere dignetur in coelis, praestante Domino nostro Jesu Christo qui cum Patre, etc.

The choir having answered 'Amen,' the prior says to the person in question: 'By the power vested in me I receive you to the participation in all the Masses, prayers, fasting, abstinence, watching, labours, and other good works, which by the grace of God are done by the brethren of this convent. In the name of the Father,' etc. The choir respond: 'Amen.' The person having been sprinkled with holy water, kisses the book in which the prayer *Suscipiat* is written, and afterwards embraces the prior. In the case of a lady, the former ceremony only takes place. Should, however, the person thus received be an emperor, king, cardinal, bishop, or of a similarly exalted rank, special Masses and prayers may be promised him by the prior who shall further oblige the brethren to the faithful performance of the same. He may also, if he thinks fit, thank the person (according to his rank) for his kindness towards the brethren, and recommend himself and the Order to him, and if he be a spiritual person (an ecclesiastic), ask his prayers on behalf of the brethren and himself.

If, having regard to the person's rank there be in the judgment of the prior no need of calling the whole chapter, three or four of the more prominent brethren should be assembled for the ceremony which may take place either in the chapter-house or in the church before one of the altars. When the petition has been presented the prior, turning to the applicant, should say that on account of his devotion towards the Order, and the confidence he places in the prayers of the brethren, they willingly accept his application. Then the person kneeling down, the prior and the brethren say the psalm *Magnus Dominus*, and the rest as above. And, if several persons are received together,

the ceremony is the same only that the singular number should be changed into the plural both in the verses and in the prayer. No lady should be received in this manner unless she be of such distinction and so well connected that the favour could not be denied her without detriment to the Order. The ceremony should in such a case take place in presence of her suite with due solemnity, and the prior should be careful to substitute in the formula the feminine gender for the masculine. If he who conducts the ceremony be the General of the Order or a Provincial, the same rite must be observed with this exception, that the General promises a share in the good works of the whole Order and the Provincial in those of the province only.

The Constitutions of 1324, as well as those of 1462, mention among the prerogatives of the General and Provincials the power of disposing of the spiritual goods of the Order or the province in the aforesaid manner.

We have already pointed out that the admission to the fraternity of the Order was frequently confirmed by deeds, specimens of which are preserved in various archives and collections. Thus, in one belonging to the British Museum,²² Brother William, Prior of Oxford, admits John Lincoln and Agnes his wife to the spiritual brotherhood in consideration of their devotion to the Order. In 1516 William Brevie and John Byrd, professors of divinity and Visitors-General of the English province, caused a blank form of the letter of Fraternity to be printed, a copy of which is preserved at Oxford.²³ It is adorned with two curious woodcuts, one representing the Annunciation, the other two Carmelite friars engaged in prayer with a fish and a bird between them, probably the emblems of St. Elias (the raven) and St. Simon Stock (a dead fish, in allusion to a miracle related in the legend for his feast). The text is almost identical with that of written deeds of a much earlier date, setting forth that in respect of the singular kindness shown by the bearers towards the Order they have been admitted to the participation of the spiritual treasures of the Order, and that as soon as notice of their demise shall have been read in a chapter-house of the province they will enjoy the same

²² Add. Charter 5,837, dated 1416.

²³ Rawlinson, D. 366.

suffrages as are wont to be offered for the brethren themselves. Then follows a list of 'indulgences and popular remissions' granted to the Carmelite Order by various Popes from Adrian II. to the 'modern Pontiff' Leo X., some of which may be gained in consideration of pecuniary aid tendered towards the sustenance of the brothers and the repair and maintenance of the convents. Finally, a concession is mentioned empowering the confessors of the Order, in dealing with *confratres* and *consorores*, to use the faculties enjoyed by Minor penitentiaries at the Roman Court.

It will be noticed that neither the ceremony of creating *confratres* described in the Ordinale of 1315, nor the letters of Fraternity contain a word about the scapular or the habit. They simply admit certain persons, chiefly benefactors, to a participation in the spiritual treasures of the Order. But a comparison of the rite set forth above with that contained in the Roman Ritual for enrolment in the Scapular, shows the relationship of the one to the other. For the part relating to the Scapular is simply inserted in the form of admission to the Confraternity. The verses *Adjutorium*, etc., with the following prayer are taken from the rite of profession introduced by Blessed John Soreth, and still in use in the Order, while the prayer *Suppliciter te*, the words *Accipe*, etc., with which the scapular is given to the candidate and the last blessing (*Benedicat te*), are of comparatively modern origin. We are not able to fix the date of their introduction, but it is certain that they cannot be traced beyond 1584 when the Carmelite liturgy was revised, so that they must have come into use either during the last part of the sixteenth century or the early part of the seventeenth century. As we shall learn from the following section, the wearing of the scapular by some of the faithful is attested to by a document dating from the first half of the fifteenth century, and most probably by others of the second half of the fourteenth, so that the conclusion forces itself upon us that in these early times the ceremony of admitting *confratres* to the spiritual benefits

of the Order was held sufficient, no special rite being used for the actual investment.²⁴

THE CONFRATRES

To few writers are we indebted for more valuable information upon the history of the Order than to John Bale, who during the long years he belonged to it, missed no opportunity of collecting notes on the literary activity of his *confrères*, for which purpose he carefully examined numerous monastic libraries at home and abroad. Even after his apostacy his taste in this respect remained unchanged, with the result that his various note-books, frequently quoted in these pages, form an inexhaustible mine of information by the aid of which many a mistaken view of historians of the calibre of Lezana may be corrected. Very few of the works known to Bale are now in existence. Thousands of them have been swept away by the Reformation and revolutions which dealt as mercilessly with books as with their authors and owners. Under these circumstances we can only regret the want of system and true insight into the value of various kinds of literature which are but too noticeable in Bale's transcripts. He must have spent days and even weeks in copying what after all one can only consider as trifles, such as endless verses of the Renaissance period, whereas he often contented himself with the barest notices on historical sources of the highest import. It is also exasperating that he frequently gives long quotations without so much as hinting at their sources, whilst at other times he furnishes indications which would indeed do credit to a modern scholar.

In several parts of his books he gives lists of certain noblemen who wore the habit of the Order. From his own words we know that he found such a list with many details in the writings of Friar Nicholas Cantilupe, but there is

²⁴ A new formulary having been introduced, in 1888, by the Sacred Congregation of Rites, at the request of missionaries, chiefly Redemptorists, our former rite has been set aside, after having been in force six hundred years. It would be affectation on our part to say that we were quite indifferent about this change.

every reason to believe that similar lists were derived from other sources, and in fact it is obvious that Cantilupe himself had older writings before him. It may be a matter of pure speculation whether one of these lists was the work of William de Coventry (1348), but at all events there are enough indications to entitle us to seek the prototype of Cantilupe's list in the first half of the fourteenth century.

Besides the names contained in this list there are others of *confratres* and *consorores* without any statement about the habit or scapular. Most of them belong to recluses attached to the Order who very probably wore the full religious dress, but who for this very reason must not be taken as fair examples of people invested with the scapular. Among them is Gilbert Hamarensis, suffragan of Norwich and titular bishop of some Scandinavian see, who in 1273 and 1276 granted certain indulgences to the Carmelite church at Norwich, where he was also buried 30th October 1287.²⁵ Although Bale does not mention Edward I. in this connection, he certainly must have enjoyed the Fraternity of the Order for he was one of its principal benefactors, having contributed largely to the foundation of quite a number of convents, among others those of Yarmouth, Nottingham, and Chester. His motive for doing so was his deliverance from a grave peril in the Holy Land.²⁶

Nicholaus Cantilupe, to whom the following list is ascribed, was by birth a Welshman, a relative of St. Thomas of Hereford. He took the habit at Bristol and in due time proceeded to Cambridge for his studies, distinguishing himself in philosophy, theology, and history. Hand in hand with his learning went his personal qualities—kindness, affability, and saintliness—on account of which he was successively elected prior at Cambridge, Bristol, Gloucester, and Northampton, where he died 27th September, 1441. His virtues have been celebrated by several poets of the Order. While at Cambridge he wrote a history of the University which exists in manuscript and has been printed by Hearne.

²⁵ Bodley, 73, fol. 51b.; Selden, 41, *supra*. See also the Harley MSS.

²⁶ Rishanger, *Rolls' Series*, 69.

A lengthy writing in praise of the Carmelite Order has been preserved by Bale,²⁷ but it hardly contributes much to our knowledge.

St. Louis IX., King of France. After shipwreck off Cape Carmel he ascended the holy mountain where he found some fellow-countrymen of his, six of whom he took with him to France and gave them a house in Paris. *Clam detulit hoc signum.*

Thibaut, Count of Champagne, son-in-law of St. Louis, whom he accompanied on his last crusade. On his return he was taken ill whilst sailing from Africa to Sicily. He died and was buried in the Carmelite convent at Trapani, on 5th December, 1270.

Frederick, King of Sicily. Having been miraculously cured of a malignant fever through the intercession of St. Albert, he made a vow to wear the habit of the Order for three years, but on his accession obtained a dispensation. He bestowed many benefits upon the Order, and was finally buried in the habit A.D. 1308 (1337 ?).

'Saint' Edward II. of England. In thanksgiving for his miraculous escape at the battle of Bannockburn (24th June, 1314), he gave the Carmelites the royal manor at Oxford. Friar Robert Baston, prior of Scarborough, had accompanied him on the ill-fated expedition in order to put the king's expected victory in verse, but being taken prisoner by the Scots he was forced to sing the triumphs of Robert Bruce. One of Edward's confessors was Friar Richard Bliton, who even resigned his dignity as Provincial in order to devote his time entirely to the king. Few convents of the Order did not profit by the king's generosity. He is said to have worn the scapular secretly.

Henry, brother of 'Saint' Thomas of Lancaster, is likewise numbered among those who wore it during life and at death. Friar William Reynham of Lynn was one of his confessors and accompanied him abroad. The Duke of Lancaster was held in high repute on account of the saintliness of his life, and was credited with many miracles.

John of Gaunt was one of the greatest protectors the Order has ever had, and both in England and abroad he and his family had Carmelites for confessors who in all probability filled also the posts of almoners and secretaries. Although in one case²⁸ he acted with uncalled for brutality towards a member of the Order, he did much for the improvement of some of the convents and took the lion's share in the foundation of Doncaster. In a letter to Urban VI. on behalf of the Order (of which more anon), he calls himself, according to Bale, *frater ordinis*, though the copy before us gives his words as *filius confessionis ejusdem ordinis*.²⁹ Needless to say how proud the Carmelites were of their mighty protector, though they cannot have been quite blind to his serious shortcomings.

Henry Percy, first Earl of Northumberland, 'and many other noblemen, both English and French, wore the scapular and desired to be buried with it.'

To these must be added Popes Gregory X. and Benedict XII. who, as Cantilupe says, wore it previous to their election; and finally, Dom Pedro, a Portuguese count. 'Nec aberant qui hoc gaudentes indusio variis fuere sanati languoribus.'³⁰

If, as we think, this list was compiled in the fourteenth century, it serves as an illustration to Swanyngton's words: 'When these facts became known in England and abroad, numerous grandees desired to be affiliated to the Order so that they might participate in its blessings and die in the holy habit.'

In this and similar enumerations it is frequently stated that the scapular was worn secretly. Purposeless as such a notice may seem at first sight, it appears to us to contain a valuable hint. Of course the scapular, even if much larger than those used nowadays, would be practically a secret garment. But, considering what we already know

²⁸ Walsingham, *Historia (Rolls' Series)*, ii. 114.

²⁹ Selden, 41, *supra*; Bodley, 73, fol. 185a.

³⁰ Harley, 3838, chap. xix., where Cantilupe is specially quoted. The same names, with more or less extensive explanations, recur frequently in the various note-books, sometimes singly, at other times in groups.

about the manner in which it came to be regarded as the most essential part of the religious habit, and the one to which the promise of Our Lady is chiefly if not exclusively attached, it seems to us that the writer who first drew up this catalogue (in saying that the habit was worn secretly) may have intended to convey to his readers that only one part of it, the one that would adapt itself most easily to court dress as well as the coat of mail, namely the scapular, was used ; whence later writers, already accustomed to the prerogative of the scapular, concluded that there was some secrecy about it. If this is not the right interpretation we must own that we fail to see the point of this obscure remark. But perhaps the case of Frederick, King of Sicily, may help us to understand still better by what processes the scapular was substituted for the complete habit.

We ought also to add a word about the comparative scarcity of miracles wrought on account of the scapular. Modern books on this devotion abound in records of miracles, many of which have been canonically investigated. But, apart from the Winchester miracle and another reported by Leersius (which is hardly to the point), we have only the general remark that many who wore the scapular were cured through it of various diseases. An appeal to the unknown is, as a rule, bad logic, but in this case there may be some justification for it, because it seems inconceivable that Sibert de Beka in his *Flores historiarum*, William de Coventry in his *Scutum Carmelitarum*, and Nicholaus de Cantilupe in the work whence the list of persons wearing the scapular is derived, should have treated of the scapular devotion without illustrating their narratives by accounts of such miraculous events. Unfortunately these books are lost. Bale was so unsystematic in his transcripts that his silence counts for nothing. We certainly should know very little of the great devotion of the inhabitants of Toulouse to the miraculous statue of Our Lady which had been brought from Mount Carmel, had not Bale taken the trouble of copying some sixteen closely written pages containing, besides an account of the shrine, an incredible number of miracles, among them the resuscitation of nearly twenty

persons, all of which occurred within one year.³¹ In taking notes he acted as a book-worm without any set purpose, not like an historian who collects materials according to a pre-arranged plan.

OUR LADY OF MOUNT CARMEL

The principal feast of the Carmelite Order is the Solemn Commemoration of Our Lady, popularly known as the Scapular feast, which is sometimes held on the Sunday following the 15th of July, but the real celebration of which is the 16th, the day 'after the feast of the Division of the Apostles,' on which day St. Simon's vision occurred. The older historians of the Order, like Lezana, were under the impression that it was introduced in 1226 in commemoration of, and thanksgiving for, the confirmation of the Rule under Pope Honorius III., because the lessons for matins gave a detailed account of the circumstances connected with this event. It appears that the Pope was willing to confirm the said Rule but that two officials of the Roman Court, whom some writers even call cardinals, offered stubborn resistance until Our Lady appeared to Honorius bidding him to protect the Order specially dedicated to her, and warning him that the anger of God had been provoked by those who put an obstacle to her will. Accordingly the two officials were struck with sudden death, and it was rumoured abroad that one of them made a bad death, *dispari exitu sed discessu pari*. The fact that in this legend were quoted the words of the second Council of Lyons (1274), whereby the Order was finally confirmed, should have warned Lezana that it must be of considerably later origin; and in fact the feast was as yet unknown when the Ordinale of 1315 was drawn up, neither does it appear in the Calendar of 1340.³² It occurs for the first time in the calendar prefixed to a copy of Friar Nicholas de Lynn's astronomical tables,³³ which

³¹ Harley, 1819, fol. 89b-97a.

³² 'Obituaire du Couvent des Carmes à Bruges,' edited by W. H. James Weale in the *Annales de la Société, d'Emulation . . . de la Flandre*, 1900.

³³ MS. Arundel, 347. It does not, however, appear in other copies (Add.; 15,209, and Arundel, 207). Nicholas de Lynn lived and died at Norwich, Chaucer mentions him in the *Astrolabe*, Prologue III.

must have been written about 1387. It is there called *Commemoratio sollemnis S. Mariae*. After that date it appears in all liturgical books of the Order with the exception of a book of Hours (Lyons, 1516).

It is not difficult to discover the occasion which led to the introduction of this feast.

A violent discussion having arisen at Cambridge between Friar John Stokes, Dominican, and Friar John Horneby, Carmelite, the former contending that the Carmelites had been instituted in honour of that great penitent, St. Mary of Egypt, and the latter maintaining that they owed their title and glory to the Blessed Virgin, a public disputation was held in the presence of the heads of the University in a chapel of the Carmelite church, behind the northern gate of the church. We doubt whether a body of learned men at the present time would have had the patience to listen to the long speech delivered on this occasion by Horneby, for it occupied no less than thirty-five pages in double columns,⁸⁴ and Stokes' response cannot have been much shorter. The arguments, too, would scarcely be deemed satisfactory nowadays for they are chiefly derived from Canon law and hardly touch upon the historical problem; but the University must have been fully convinced, for it issued two decrees whereby the victory is attributed to Horneby without the slightest qualification and all members are strictly prohibited ever to call these matters into question. The decrees bear the date of the disputation, 23rd February, 1374.

But the matter did not stop here, for the strife allayed at Cambridge broke out with renewed force at Chester.

Some invidious persons boldly declared that the Carmelites had as much right as, but not more than, other religious to consider themselves the chosen servants of Our Lady. Strange to say, most of those who thus spoke died a sudden death, for which

⁸⁴ John Horneby was admitted for preaching and confessions in the Diocese of Ely in 1337. The date of his death, which took place at St. Botolph's, is not on record. His disputation is preserved in MS. Bodley, 86, fol. 176-211. The two decrees are printed in Daniel, *Speculum Carmel.* i. 120. On John Stokes see Quétif and Echard, i. 674. His *Determinationum volumen* containing his side of the dispute, seems to be lost.

reason the Lord Abbot, Thomas (de Newport), caused public processions to be held at St. Werburgh's, and when the Carmelites passed in front of the shrine of the holy hermit, Goddesstald, in the eastern part of the choir, lo! a miraculous image of the Blessed Virgin, which was placed there and greatly venerated by the faithful, was seen to point at them with the finger, saying in an audible voice, as if addressing each one of the brethren in particular: 'Behold my brethren, behold my brethren, behold my beloved brethren, the chosen ones!'³⁵

Lest such attacks should be renewed to the detriment of religion in general and the Carmelites in particular, John of Gaunt addressed a letter to the Pope in which he rendered an account of what had happened and requested His Holiness to graciously declare the alleged articles to be utterly untrue and forbid them to be held and propounded under severe penalties; and in order the more to increase the devotion of the people towards the Order of Our Lady of Mount Carmel, to grant indulgences to those who would address the members of the said Order under the title of the Mother of God and oppose themselves to all who dared to contravene any of His Holiness' injunctions on this matter. This letter, John of Gaunt says, had been occasioned by the singular affection he had always felt and still feels towards the said Order, of which he is *filius confessionis*.³⁶ Accordingly, Urban VI. granted an indulgence of three years and as many quarantines to those who should call the Carmelites the brethren (or friars) of the most Glorious Mother of God (26th April, 1379).

A short time before the Duke of Lancaster wrote to the Pope, the General of the Order, Bernard Olerius, came to England for the purpose of a visitation of the province. At a chapter held at Doncaster on the feast of the Assumption, 1376, he prescribed that in future this feast should be styled throughout the Order *Festum confratrum Ordinis beatae Mariae genitricis Dei de Monte Carmelo*.³⁷ For some

³⁵ Thomas Scrope (Bradley), Carmelite recluse of Norwich, afterwards titular Bishop of Dromore, *Chronicon*, apud Daniel, *loc. cit.* i., 179. The gesta of Chester he refers to are probably the *Annales Cestrenses* (Cotton, Otho, B. 3), which perished in the fire at the Cottonian Library.

³⁶ Bodley, 73, fol. 185a; *Bullarium Carm.*, i. 141.

³⁷ Bodley, 73, fol. 138, from a note by Friar Robert Ormeskirk, who was Procurator of the Order at Windsor, *i.e.*, agent at court, residing at Oxford.

reason or other this injunction was not complied with, but instead of it the feast of the 16th of July was introduced.

As has already been stated, it appears for the first time in a calendar of *circa* 1387. For a long time it had no special liturgy, both the office and the Mass being taken from the common with the exception of the prayer, which began *Deus qui excellentissimae Virginis et Matris tuae Mariae titulo humilem ordinem et electum singulariter decorasti et pro defensione ejusdem multa miracula suscitasti, concede*, etc., (the allusion to the Chester miracle is obvious). Thus the Oxford Breviary of 1399, the Kilcormic Missal of 1458,³⁹ the first printed Breviary (Brussels, 1480) where the prayer is accidentally omitted,⁴⁰ the Breviaries of 1490, 1495, 1504, etc., the Missals of 1551 and 1574, etc. In England, however, we find also some special offices. A fragment of 'proper' offices written in 1478 prescribes for Vespers the antiphons *Haec est regina*, etc., from the feast of the Annunciation with the ordinary psalms of Our Lady, *Laudate pueri* and four other psalms beginning with *Lauda* or *Laudate*, chapter *Beata es Maria*, great response *Sicut cedrus*, hymn *Ave Maris stella*, verse *Diffusa est*, antiphon for Magnificat *Ave regina coelorum*. Eight lessons for Matins contain, besides the story about the confirmation of the Rule under Honorius already alluded to, an eloquent encomium of the Blessed Virgin, the homily is on the Gospel *Loquente Jesu*, the Mass is *Salve sancta parens*, with special prayers.

This office gave rise to another which, according to the taste of the times, was entirely in verse. We owe its preservation to the indefatigable pen of Bale,⁴² who, in one of his note-books,⁴³ attributes it, as well as some other Carmelite offices, to himself; but this can only refer to the particular

³⁸ MS. University Coll., Oxford, 9.

³⁹ MS. Trinity Coll., Dublin, B. 3 i. It has been (most unsatisfactorily) edited by Rev. Hugh Jackson Lawlor, D.D., in *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy*, Vol. xxxi., Part X. Dublin, 1900.

⁴⁰ The feast is marked in the calendar, but passed over in the body of the Breviary.

⁴¹ MS. Add., 12, 195.

⁴² MS. Cambridge, Ff. vi. 28

⁴³ Selden, 41, *supra*.

copy, for several of the pieces there contained are certainly not his work. In fact there is every reason to think that the entire collection is due to George Ripley,⁴ and Friar Robert Bale. Strange to say, neither in the lessons, which are a poetical paraphrase of those in Add. 12,195, nor in the remaining portion of this office, is there a direct allusion to the scapular and the promises attached thereto. There are, however, several passages which seem to refer to it in more or less veiled language. Thus in the response after the third lesson :—

- R. Tu ~~am~~oenus paradisus soli deo cognitus
 Nitens, candens et invisus castitate praeditus,
 Nobis confer pietatem per immensam caritatem.
 V. Deo tu propinquior sanctisque celerior
 Mater ad dandum munera vitae prece largissima. Nobis.

Again, at the end of the ninth lesson :—

Sic ergo per te sanctarum sanctissima succidantur demerita damnationis aeternae, et in profectum perducantur opera salutis aeternae. Ad honorem Filii tui, etc.

Likewise in an alternative antiphon for *Benedictus* :—

Regina gloriae Maria diceris,
 dulcis memoriae primis et posteris,
 nam legis veteris praedita litteris
 es nostri generis decus historiae
 sis nobis miseris in lacu funeris
 et tuis famulis scutum victoriae.

This office can only have been in use in the English province, for the printed liturgical books, until 1579 inclusive, content themselves with the common office and Mass of Our Lady with the exception of the prayers. But after the Carmelite liturgy had been brought into closer harmony

⁴⁴ Originally a canon of Bridlington, afterwards Carmelite recluse at St. Botolph's. He died about 1480. His rhymed office on Our Lady of Dolours was introduced in the Order in 1489. Robert Bale, Prior of Burnham, ✠ 11th November, 1503. He wrote, among other works, the office of the Raptus St. Eliae (17th June), contained in the Cambridge MS. In it he has drawn largely on two offices of St. Eliseus, contained respectively in the MS. Add., 12,195, and the Brussels Breviary. He also wrote an office for the feast of St. Simon Stock, beginning *Ave Simon pater inclite*, which we have not been fortunate enough to secure.

with the new Roman books (1584), it was deemed advisable to obtain a new set of lessons setting forth the whole of the Carmelite tradition. They were approved by the Sacred Congregation of Rites in 1609 on the recommendation of Cardinal Bellarmine, and again under Urban VIII., and have been extended to the whole Church. It is too well known to need mention here what a prominent part they played in the interminable disputes between the Carmelites and Father Papebroch.

- BENEDICT ZIMMERMAN, O.C.D.

To be continued.]

THE FRANCISCAN FAMILIES

ON St. Matthias' day,¹ 1208, Francis of Assisi was present at Mass in the little church of the Porziuncola, and being struck for the first time with the full sublimity of the Gospel of poverty,² which happened to be the Gospel of the Feast, he took the shoes from off his feet, and discarding the conventional hermit's dress which he had worn since his first conversion, he put on a rough tunic, girded himself with a rope, and thus stood clad for the first time in the habit of a Friar Minor. In a sense his Order may be said to date from that day. His first two disciples, Bernard of Quintavalle and Peter Catani, joined him on the 16th April of the same year; that is another date which may be taken as the date of the foundation, for an Order can scarcely be said to exist, except potentially, in its founder only. But the real date of the foundation is rather a year later (conventionally the 16th April, 1209) when St. Francis and his first eleven disciples presented their Rule for approval to Innocent III., and made their profession as Friars Minor into the hands of the Supreme Pontiff.

The religious professing the Rule of St. Francis remained undivided for some three hundred years. Not that there were not varieties of Franciscans during this period, but a variety does not constitute a species, and where there is one head there is but one body. It was not until 1517 that the modern Conventual Friars obtained a separate head, called in the Bull of Pope Leo X. a *Master-General*, and were recognised by the Pope as a separate Franciscan family. At the same time that body of Friars known as 'Observantins' was recognised as constituting the legitimate descendants of St. Francis, and their head was styled 'the Minister-General of the whole Order of Friars Minor.' In 1619 the Capuchins, a variety of Franciscan founded

¹ 24th February.

² Matth. x. 9 *et seqq.*

in 1525, obtained a separate head of their own. So that the great society founded by St. Francis became divided into three branches, each having its own chief, and each distinct from the other, the Friars Minor Observantin, the Friars Minor Conventual, and the Friars Minor Capuchin.

Franciscan is a generic term : but it is a most important matter to understand quite clearly to what species or variety a particular Friar Minor belongs. If we read that Leonard of Port Maurice was a Franciscan that is something ; but not until we know that he belonged to the ' Riformati,' or rather ' Riformelli,' do we know his real Minoritic status. The subject is vast and not without complications, and calls for the majesty of in-folio, but in this article we will, at least, try to arrive at names, a rough classification, and the true nature of such differentiations or structural changes as have taken place. Roughly speaking, there have been three kinds of division in the Franciscan Order : (1) Friars who separated themselves at periods of relaxation from the community of the Order or common life the better to observe the Rule of the Founder, but who remained subject to the hierarchical superiors of the Order, and never sought a separate head of their own, *i.e.*, the so-called ' Caesareni ' in the early days of the Order, the family of the Blessed Paoluccio Trinci in 1368, the Amadeites in 1464, etc. ; (2) Friars who separated themselves that they might live under duly authorised dispensations from the substance of the Rule, *i.e.*, the Conventuals ; (3) Friars, who, while observing the strict Rule separated themselves to become an independent congregation under an independent head, *i.e.*, the Capuchins, since 1619. From this it will be seen that a section of the Order may be separated from the parent stock *numeric* only as in the case of the Capuchins, *specific* only as in the case of the Conventuals immediately after 1517,³ *numeric* and *specific* as in the case of the modern Conventuals. The Capuchins being separated *numeric* only

³ Pope Leo required that the election of the Conventual Master-General should be confirmed by the Observantin Minister-General, thus theoretically, at least, preserving the unity of the Order by placing the legitimate source of authority in one head.

remain Friars Minor *specific* and *generic* ; the Conventuals now being separated *numeric* and *specific* remain Friars Minor *generic* only. There have also been many Franciscan groups in the past who only differed *accidentaliter* from the parent stock : they were under the obedience of the Minister-General and therefore were not separated *numeric*, they observed the Rule *ad litteram* and therefore did not differ *specific*.⁴ Such were the 'Riformati' of Italy, the Discalced Friars of Spain, the Recollects of France, Belgium and Germany. All these had their own particular 'Constitutions,' but these Constitutions did not in any way detract from the substance of the Rule ; indeed, they did but rather add to its severity.

The Franciscan ideal was the loftiest ever set in express terms before the world. Hundreds of thousands of men before the day of St. Francis, had left all to follow the Lord, but in leaving all that was their own, it was only to become, even though they may have often been unconscious of the fact, part owner in the property of large bodies corporate. The individual in a religious Order owned nothing ; the Order itself, or its individual houses, may have enjoyed large revenues. St. Francis was to found an Order in which neither the body corporate nor the individual owned anything. It was in this that he differed from all other founders ; his Order owned nothing, and to this day owns nothing. The churches in which his brethren praise God and administer the Sacraments ; the houses in which they live and work ; the grounds or yards attaching to such houses—all are the property of someone else, but never of the Order. The Holy See itself is usually the owner ; but in some cases the property may be private property, as in the well-known case of the famous convent of St. Damian's at Assisi of which the Friars enjoy the use, but which is the property of the Marquis of Ripon.⁵ Let nobody say that it came

⁴ See that masterly work, *Brevis Historia Ordinis Minorum*, by Peter Van den Haute, a Belgian Recollect (Rome, 1777, fol.), Tract. II. ; *De Essentia et Divisione Ord. Min.*, *passim*, and especially cap. xv. *De Divisione Primaria* and cap. xvi. *De Divisione Specifica*.

⁵ Over the entrance of the Church of St. Damian's is a picture of a golden buck at gaze, the crest of the Robinson family, encircled by the Garter

to the same thing in the end ; that the Franciscan friar practically owned property because he had the use of it. When the despoiler came along at the Protestant Reformation or the French Revolution, the individual Benedictine could allege his corporate interest in the property from which he was forcibly ejected ; the Franciscan could only say, it is not *ours* certainly, but neither is it yours who seize upon it.

This is the main thing to bear in mind about the Friars Minor : they owned no property, not even corporately. Whenever in history we come across Friars Minor owning property, there we have Friars Minor breaking their Rule. Always excepting the Conventuals who, since the Council of Trent, have been allowed to own property corporately. The greatest enemy to the Franciscan ideal has been the world itself. Although the world knew that this particular body of men wished to possess nothing, although it admired them chiefly for that reason, yet the world did its best to make them accept priceless possessions. The world ought to admire the Conventuals who took its gifts ; religion ought to be grateful to them ; they were always something of a safety-valve which helped to preserve the more rarefied aspects of the Franciscan ideal to the rest of the Order. But the subject of the use of property by Franciscans, of the alms and revenues administered and held for them by gentlemen extraneous to the Order and known as 'Syndici Apostolici,' likewise merits the majesty of in-folio and cannot possibly be treated here.⁶

An ideal as high as that contemplated by the Rule of St. Francis is almost certain, in human hands, to lead first to disputations, then to disintegrations. But for the strong hand of the Popes the great work of St. Francis would not have survived him half a century. Yet in spite of brutal

and its motto, *Honi soi qui mal y pense*. No one certainly will think evil of the Most Honourable Marquis for having saved this historical monument, perhaps for ever, from the outrages of modern vandalism.

⁶ The austere and reforming Minister-General, the Blessed John of Parma, obtained the institution of 'Syndici Apostolici' (the 'Amici spirituales' of cap. iv. of St. Francis' Rule) by Pope Innocent IV.'s Bull, *Quanto Studiosus*, 1247.

onslaughts upon the ideal from without, and insidious onslaughts from within, it confronts us to this day, not always in its first freshness, but having within it, potentially, the whole spirit of St. Francis which at any unlooked-for moment might lead his latter-day brethren into the Enochian walk of the first disciples. No religious Order has been such a source of constant preoccupation to the Popes; threatened with total extinction from without, threatened from partial extinction from within, the Popes have known in these times of stress how to preserve the whole ideal *in petto* as a spiritual treasury upon which they afterwards draw, while for the time being they had to be content with giving to this section or that of the Order that half ideal which is better than none.

It was by an instinct which we can understand his modern followers calling divine, that St. Francis, above all founders of Orders, placed his family under Papal protection and instituted the system of Cardinal Protectors which has since been adopted by all religious Orders. The curious tendency to disintegration in the Order consequent upon the great variety of life possible under its ideal, is best manifested by the great number of names which, in history, all mean Franciscan Friar. The real name of the Order was that of the Friars Minor, but Caesareno, Narbonese, Coelestino, Clarense, Coletano, Amadeito, Caperolano, Friar of the Holy Gospel or Capuce, Neutral, Friar of the Community, Conventual, Reformed Conventual, Friar of the 'Family,' of the Cismontane Family, of the Ultramontane Family, Grey Friar, Observantin, Zoccolante, Bernardino, Riformato, Nottolino, Riformello, Cordelier, Recollect, Alcantarino, Descalzo, Capuchin—all these terms (and there are some others) signify a member of that great Order, so rich in the spiritual life, founded by the poor man of Assisi as a single association with one chief only. Nearly all these branches or families came into being as a reassertion of that contemplative or eremitical life which was as the groundwork of St. Francis' scheme, but which being coupled with the active life, was the side most exposed to relaxation. The times of greatest crisis in the

Order have occurred when it failed to provide proper nurseries of the eremitical life for the development of its holiest souls.

The disciples of St. Francis were, as I have said, called Friars Minor by their holy founder. It is a name which has found but little favour. Thousands of people are familiar with the term Franciscan who do not know that it is synonymous with Friar Minor. So early as 1236, only ten years after the death of St. Francis, we came across Friars Minor with another designation, the Caesareni. These were the friars, zealous for the literal observance of the Rule, who joined themselves to the holy Caesareus of Spire in his protest against the relaxations introduced by the famous Minister-General, Elias. They were never in any sense a separate body though to be found chiefly in the remote hermitages of the Order. With the advent of the zealous Minister-General, Giovanni da Parma, in 1247, the Caesareni may be said to have ceased to exist. All they had desired was to observe the austerity and simplicity of the earliest Franciscan life, and that had now become possible outside the hermitages. But in returning freely to the convents they may be said to have leavened the whole Order in Italy with the true Franciscan spirit which they had preserved in retirement. Frate Elia has been handled very severely by some chroniclers and historians, and he merits some of their severity. But his great defect, as a ruler, was that while fostering, often with splendid results, the active side of the Order, he neglected, undervalued, and finally almost despised its eremitical life.

The Order of Friars Minor, as I have said, remained united under one head for over three hundred years, with the exception of two relatively small branches which had a separate existence *numerice*. But during this time many branches, differing from the parent stock *accidentaliter*, grew apace and flourished. And the first of these was the Coelestini, started in 1294 by Fra Liberato de Macerata. They were the only Franciscans who ever formally renounced the name of Friars Minor, for while the rationale of their existence was the literal observance of the Rule

of St. Francis, they gladly took upon themselves the name of Poor Hermits of Pope Coelestin, and separated altogether from the Order. The hermit Pope, St. Coelestin V., who had sanctioned their existence and given them their name, kept the Chair of Peter for five months only, and his principal work was to protect and establish these zealous friars. The Coelestini did not live long: 'de se quasi evanuit Coelestinorum Congregatio,' says Perer Van den Haute. But the seed they had sowed sprung up in the *Narbonesi* and *Clareni*, two Congregations which I can but mention here.

The Narbonesi faded away like the Coelestini, but the Clareni, founded by Fra Angelo Clareno, survived to the days of Leo X. and even Pius V. Until 1472 they existed entirely separate from the Order under the obedience of the diocesan ordinary. In that year the greater part of them returned to the obedience of the Minister-General, retaining their peculiar habit (the *becha*) and their own constitutions. The *Coletani*, sprung from the reform of St. Colette among Minorite nuns in the fifteenth century, form yet another Congregation of Minorite Friars. A more important Congregation were the *Amadeiti*, founded in Italy by the Blessed Amadeus, a noble Portuguese. From a Jeronymite hermit he became a Franciscan lay-brother in 1451, and was ordained priest in 1459. None of the Franciscan families of the fifteenth century, except the Clareni, had ever been separated from the community of the Order, but lived under the obedience of the Ministers-Provincial and the Minister-General. Their separation was confined to living in their own houses under their own constitutions, and sprang from the desire of a more perfect observance of the Rule.

It was one of these small families, originated by a lay-brother in a retired hermitage, which was eventually to fill the world with its name and save the Order. Paoluccio Trinci, of the noble house of Trinci—his cousin, Ugolino, was Lord of Foligno—obtained in 1368 the leave of his superiors to retire to the little convent of Brogliano in Umbria, with a few frairs like-minded with himself, and

there live the poor and abject lives of the first Franciscans. By 1374 this little reform possessed six convents. Fra Paoluccio aimed at no novelties: his reform was strictly under the obedience of the Ministers-Provincial, that is to say his convents never formed separate provinces in themselves, but continued to form part of the regular Minorite provinces. It is true that in 1388 Fra Paoluccio was appointed by the Minister-General Commissary in the government of the reform, but this in no way separated it in substance from the Order. The followers of Fra Paoluccio came to be called 'Friars of the Family' in contradistinction to the bulk of the Order, the 'Friars of the Community.' They were popularly known, too, as *Zoccolanti* (Latin, *calopedes*) from wearing sandals with *wooden* soles. But the name by which they live in history is Observantin or Friars of the Observance, for Fra Paoluccio's tiny reform was to grow into the great Observantin family with its numerous offshoots. He died at Foligno, on the 17th September, 1391, aged 81, having spent sixty-seven years of his holy life in the Order of St. Francis.

In 1402 one of the great lights of Christendom joined the Friars of the 'Family' as a novice—Bernardine of Siena. So greatly did his influence contribute to the spread of the 'Family'—it had about 300 convents and 5,000 subjects in Italy alone when the saint died in 1444—that he has often been erroneously spoken of as its founder. But the humble and holy aristocrat lay-brother, Paoluccio Trinci, has a clear title to that honour. In 1414 another saint joined the 'Family'—St. John of Capistran—and yet another in 1416, San Giacomo della Marca. About this time too, flourished Pedro of Villacreces who established his 'houses of Recollection' in Spain, and can reckon S. Pedro Regelado (ob. 1456) among his disciples. So great had the influence of the 'Family' become that in 1415 the care of the Porziuncola, the holiest spot in the *Orbis Seraphicus*, was taken from the 'Friars of the Community' and given to the 'Friars of the Family.' Other famous Franciscan houses were already in their possession, as for

instance, the Carceri above Assisi, St. Damian's, and Greccio. Aracoeli in Rome they obtained in 1445.

Anno Domini, 1415, is an important year in many ways in the history of the Franciscan Order. The Council of Constance met in that year, and it was at the Council of Constance that the terms 'Observantin' and 'Observance' first came into being, as opposed to 'Vita Communis' or 'Vita Communitatis.' At the Council of Constance eleven French Franciscan convents belonging to the Provinces of Burgundy, Touraine, and France properly so-called, obtained a separate existence in the sense that they were allowed to have Vicars-Provincial. That is to say, that within the regular Province of the 'Community' certain convents were allowed existence as a Provincial unit under a *Vicar-Provincial* nominated by the Minister-Provincial.

The unity of the Province thus remained unaffected; only certain convents within it were accorded a semi-independent existence by sanction of authority. This has ever been the marvel of the Catholic Church and the chief admiration of those who study her ways with sympathy and intelligence, that she has known how to contain a kaleidoscopic variety of system and sentiment within the sharp bounds of a clearly defined unity. It was to these eleven French convents that the term 'Observantin' was first applied, but it must not be forgotten that all the other convents of the 'Family' were strenuously observing the Rule, though as yet having only separate houses and in no sense a separate Provincial existence. The *imperium in imperio* is a constant feature in Franciscan life, and the principle of it must be constantly borne in mind in studying the intricate developments of Franciscan history. In 1438 St. Bernardine of Siena was Commissary or Vicar-General of the 'Family.' Pope Eugenius IV. was in the Chair of Peter, and he was extraordinarily zealous in his endeavours to bring about a strict observance of the Rule in the Minorite Order. In 1443, by the Bull *Fratrum Ordinis Minorum*, he divided the Observantins into two families, the Cismontane and the Ultramontane family, giving to each its own Vicar-General under obedience of the Minister-General. In 1445 he went

a step further and by the Bull *Ut Sacra Ordinis Minorum* granted to the whole body of Observantins the privilege accorded at the Council of Constance to eleven convents of three French Provinces, namely, existence as Provincial units under Vicars-Provincial, subject to the Ministers-Provincial, which of course brought with it the right to hold separate Provincial Chapters.

By the same Bull he effectively divided the Observantins into two distinct families under Vicars-General, each with the right to hold its General Chapter separate from the other. The Cismontane Family consisted of the Provinces in the following countries: Italy, Dalmatia, Crete, Bosnia, Austria, Bohemia, Poland, Corsica, Ragusa, Hungary, Tyrol, Albania, and the Holy Land. And the Ultramontane Family was located in the following countries: France, Spain, Germany, Portugal, Ireland, Scotland, England, the Low Countries, Sardinia, to which were afterwards added America and India. The Cismontane Vicar-General resided at Rome, the Ultramontane Vicar-General at Madrid. Thus was the Observantin branch of the Order, 'the Friars of the Family' originated by Fra Paoluccio Trinci, divided administratively into two very distinct families. But in all this the unity of the Order remained intact, for all were subject to the authority of the Minister-General. The two Observantin Vicars-General may be looked upon as powerful vassals, ruling their large fiefs in practical independence of the overlord, but they did homage to the overlord and recognised his suzerainty.

The Friars of the 'Community' now began very generally to be called Conventuals. The learned author of the *Secoli Serafici* states that the first official document which contains the expression 'Conventual' is Eugenius IV.'s Bull *Super Gregem* (1431). Innocent IV. (*Cum tanquam*, 1250) decreed that Franciscan churches, where convents existed, might be called Conventual churches and practically take rank as Collegiate churches. But the Friars did not then come to be called Conventuals as signifying any distinct section of the Order, but merely to indicate the inmate of a convent, as for instance, *cum essem Conventualis ibi*:⁷ 'When I was

a member of that convent.' In 1413 a determined effort was made to unite the 'Community' and the 'Family' in a strict observance of the Rule. At the General Chapter held at Assisi in that year, Constitutions framed by St. John of Capistran, known as the *Constitutiones Martinianae* from being embodied in the Bull *Cum Generale Capitulum* of Martin V. (21st June, 1430), were adopted by all present.

There was only one point on which the Rule was gravely departed from. A number of houses of the 'Community' either held real property, or enjoyed, through the administration of their 'Syndici Apostolici,' regular incomes from real property for which they had contracted some obligation. This, though perfectly compatible with a holy life and a poor life, was unquestionably contrary to the spirit of Franciscan poverty, and a clear derogation from the Rule. The efforts of the Minister-General, Fra Guglielmo da Casale, who had been elected at the General Chapter for the purpose of putting down this abuse, proved unavailing. He became discouraged almost at once, and prevailed upon Pope Martin V. in the same year to allow such houses, as chose, to enjoy incomes from real property, but not to own such property. This dispensation was granted by the Bull *Ad Statum Ordinis* (August 23rd), and we now for the first time have Friars Minor lawfully dispensed from the observance of an article of their Rule. Note that by no means all the convents of the 'Community' availed themselves of this dispensation, and such as did not may fairly be described as houses where the Rule was observed, though they did not formally pass over to the Friars of the 'Family.'⁸

I must not dwell upon, and yet cannot altogether omit, the reform of Juan de la Pueblo, a holy Spaniard, who after seven years of austere life in the hermitage of Carceri above Assisi, founded a few convents in Spain on a similar model

⁷ Alvarus Pelagius, *De Planctu Ecclesiae*, quoted by Padre Palomes in his *Dei Fratres Minori*. Palermo, 1897, p. 27.

⁸ It is important to distinguish between the mere relaxation of the severity of the religious life and the formal abandonment of any article of the Rule. When religious houses are spoken of as being 'relaxed,' it does not necessarily follow that they are formally breaking their Rule.

which came to be known as convents of the Strict Observance. These convents were not under the jurisdiction of the Vicars-Provincial of the Ultramontane family (Observantins), but under the obedience of the Ministers-Provincial of the Community (Conventuals). Fra Juan died in 1495, and in 1496 one of his most fervent disciples, Fra Juan de Guadalupe, obtained leave from Alexander VI. (an indifferent Pope who yet had the good of the Church much at heart⁹) to yet further reform his master's 'reform.' He founded a 'Custodia'—a division of a Minorite province corresponding something to the hundred of a county—called of the Holy Gospel whence his 'Frailes' came to be called the 'Fratres de Sancto Evangelico'; also 'de Caputio,' from a pointed hood introduced into the habit by Fra Juan. They were also known as the 'Discalced Friars,' from the fact that they went completely barefoot without sandals or 'zoccoli,' but they must not be confounded with the famous barefoot Franciscans of Spain that came into being in the following century. The Friars 'de Sancto Evangelico' played a noble part in the evangelisation of the New World, but popular historians fail to distinguish them, as they should, from other Franciscans. The first question, I repeat, to ask about a Franciscan when one comes across him in history is: To what section of the Order did he belong? Otherwise the term Franciscan has but a vague signification.

The year 1517 is a most important year in the history of the Friars Minor. In that year Leo X. resolved to unite in one body all the various sections of the Order that observed the Rule, and give them a chief of their own who was to be *the* Minister-General of the Order and consequently the real successor of St. Francis ruling over *the* Friars Minor. By the Bull of Union *Ita et vos* (29th May, 1517), he united in one body the Observantins, the Amadeiti, the Clareni, the Coletani, the Spanish Barefoot Friars, 'de Sancto Evangelico,' the reformed friars under the jurisdiction of the 'Community,' all Franciscans in fact who were observing the Rule and not availing themselves of

⁹ 'Sa bullaire était irréprochable,' says De Maistre.

any dispensations however lawful. This great body is described in the Bull (§ 13) as the 'Friars Minor of St. Francis of the Regular Observance,' and also (§ 14) simply as 'Friars Minor.' They became in fact the Community, the Order. Those friars who continued to live under dispensations (the Conventuals) were formed by the Pope into a separate religious body (see the Bull *Onnipotens Deus*, 12th June, 1517). Their chief, whose election had to be confirmed by the Minister-General, was called a *Master-General*; the heads of their Provinces *Masters-Provincials*. The Conventuals were thus divided *specifical* only from the Observantins, *not numerical*, for in theory at least the whole Order depended from one head. By the Bull the Observantins were to take precedence of the Conventuals upon all occasions.

About seventy years later the Conventual Master-General began to call himself Minister-General, and the title has very generally been accorded him ever since, even in Apostolic letters, though the ordinance of Leo X. was never formally revoked. The Minister-General never availed himself of his right to confirm the election of the Master-General, therefore it is best to regard the Conventuals as a separate body, even *numerical*, from the year 1517. In 1565 they accepted the indult of the Council of Trent allowing Mendicant Orders to own property, and thus became even more effectually differentiated *specifical*. As regards the Observantins the distinction of Cismontane and Ultramontane remained; so vast a spiritual empire was too cumbrous for government by one head; therefore the Minister-General was chosen alternately from the two families, and the remaining family was governed by a Commissary-General, confirmed by the Minister-General, but ruling in practical independence of him. The Vicars-Provincial had, of course, now become Ministers-Provincial, and each of the two families held its own Chapters General. As before the headquarters of the Cismontanes were at Aracoeli at Rome, of the Ultramontanes at Madrid.

It might be thought that this union would have effectually put an end to the possibility or necessity of all further

'reforms' or divisions in the Order. But the spirit of St. Francis is the very spirit of fecundity, and within a few years of the publication of the *Ita et vos* four new, important, vigorous, deeply spiritual, and very austere Franciscan families sprang into existence, the *Riformati* or *Fratres Stricteris Observantiae* of Italy, the *Alcantarini* or Barefoot Friars of Spain, the Recollects of France, Germany, and the Low Countries, and the Capuchins of all the world. The four families are striking evidence of the vigour and intensity of the great Catholic revival which followed hard upon the Reformation.

The Capuchins were started under extraordinary circumstances in 1525 by Fra Matteo da Basci, a friar of the Cismontane Observantins. Having seen in a dream or vision St. Francis wearing a habit with a long pointed hood *sewn* on to the tunic, in contradistinction to the rounded hood and capuce of the Observantins which is detachable from the tunic, Fra Matteo obtained leave from his superiors to make himself a similar habit and live by himself as a hermit. He had not at first any idea of forming another Franciscan congregation: the movement was entirely personal to himself. But other Franciscans attracted by his habit—has it not its fascinations to this day?—attracted still more by his fervour and sanctity, obtained leave to join him in his austere life and adopt his habit. It was under these singular circumstances and only eight years after the *Bulla Unionis* that the world-famed Capuchins took their rise. In 1528 their existence as a separate congregation was approved by Clement VII. They obtained their own Vicars-Provincial and Vicar-General, and were placed under the obedience of the Conventual Masters-Provincial and Master-General. Fra Matteo was elected the first Vicar-General, but after holding the office for two months only he resigned and rejoined the Observantins. The family grew and spread and flourished exceedingly, so that in 1619, Pope Paul V. made them entirely independent of the Conventuals, and their twenty-third Vicar-General, Fra Clemente da Noto, became the first Minister-General of the Friars Minor Capuchin.

The success with which the first Capuchins revived the primitive Franciscan simplicity caused several hundreds of Observantins to go over to them. The Order was, therefore, obliged to seek some remedy for such a state of things, and in 1532 obtained leave from Clement VII. to open in every Province some four or five houses of a stricter observance to which the more fervent spirits could retire without seeking to join the Capuchin hermitages. This may be taken as the real beginning of these *Frati*, popularly known in Italy as Riformati and familiarly as 'Nottolini,' from the *nottola* or clasp of wood and leather with which they fastened their cloaks. Their convents remained under the Ministers-Provincial of the Observance, but were divided into 'Custodie,' with a Custode of the Reform at the head of each. In 1639 there were twenty-five of these Custodie, and Pope Urban VIII. erected them into Provinces independent of the Observantin Ministers-Provincial, but still dependent, of course, upon the Minister-General or Commissary-General, whichever happened to be ruling in Rome. In 1642, the Riformati framed Constitutions of their own which are famous in the history of the Order, and changed the form of the habit in some respects. But notwithstanding all this they differed from the parent stock *accidentaliter* only, remaining true and effective Friars Minor, *generice*, *specificæ*, and *numericæ*.¹⁰

One of the brightest ornaments in the *Orbis Seraphicus* is the family known as the Alcantarini or Spanish Barefoot Franciscans. Never since the foundation of the Order, perhaps, was the poor and mortified spirit of St. Francis so thoroughly revived as in these friars. I have briefly referred to the Discalced Friars instituted by Fra Juan de Puebla in 1487, and Fra Juan de Guadalupe in 1496, and who were known as the 'Fratres de Sancto Evangelico seu

¹⁰ I dare not here pause to speak of the 'Friars of the Retreat' (*Frati del Santo Ritiro*, popularly and lovingly called *Riformelli*), an offshoot of the Riformati, approved by authority in 1662, and founded by a Spanish lay-brother, Fra Bonaventura de Barcelona, now the Venerable, some day assuredly to be called Blessed and Saint. Their fascinating story, still to be told in English, would assuredly tempt me too far outside the narrow bounds of this brief study of a great subject.

de Caputio.' These friars were joined to the great Observantin body by the *Bulla Unionis* of 1517, but they never seem quite to have lost the peculiar practices of poverty and meanness which made them a distinct family. The more fervent spirits among them considered that the 'union' caused a relaxation of the discipline in the Spanish Friars Minor. The Spaniard more than any other countryman, perhaps, needs the incitement of a high ideal, and, be it said in justice to him, he more than any other Christian has been able to realize ideals of the interior life, the dizzy heights of which the commoner nations of Christendom dare scarcely contemplate. St. Peter of Alcantara, the real founder of the Spanish Barefoot Friars Minor as they came down to us in the nineteenth century, lived perhaps the hardest, the most austere supersensual life ever attained by any saint in the great inner history of the Catholic Church.

St. Peter was born in 1499 and died in 1562. His reform was first placed under the Conventuals but in the year of his death passed to the obedience of the Observantins. And note, so as to avoid a common pitfall, that there were Spanish Discalced Friars (two provinces of them) in the Neapolitan territories which then formed an appanage of the Spanish crown. These friars were of course Italian in nationality, but Spanish as regards the Franciscan Congregation to which they belonged. They continued to exist after Naples became a kingdom under the Spanish Bourbons. Not every Italian Franciscan, therefore, of whom you read in the seventeenth, eighteenth, or nineteenth century, was an Observantin, a Conventual, Capuchin, or a Riformato: he may have been a member of the Spanish Barefoot family.

And now *de Recollectis*, and as briefly as possible. The Recollects are the French Reformed Friars. They correspond to the Riformati in Italy, and the Descalzos in Spain, but were a congregation entirely separate from both having their own Ministers-Provincial, but owing allegiance to the Minister-General of the Observantins. The word 'Reform,' or 'Reformed' has led to much equivocation in Franciscan

history. When we speak of 'Frati Riformati' we may mean friars who belonged to any one of the numerous 'Reforms' in the Order, or we may mean friars who belonged to the Italian family called the 'Riformati.' The Recollects and the Descalzos were both Reformed Friars, but they were not *Riformati*.¹¹ And note, by the way, that Barefoot and Recollect alike may lead to similar equivocation. Most Franciscans are barefoot, but not all are Descalzos. So, too, friars living in the old *Domus Recollectionis* of the Regular Observance were Recollects for this reason, but must never be confounded with the regular Recollects of the French Reform. The Ultramontane Observantins never flourished in France, and were joined to the Conventuals by Clement XIV. The popular Franciscans of France since the sixteenth century were the Recollects, and though he does not tell us so, 'Father Lorenzo,' the Franciscan whom Yorick met at Calais and immortalized, was, without doubt, a Recollect. The French Reform extended to the Spanish Netherlands and Lower Germany, so that in these countries, too, we find Recollects. They formed an integral part of the French family. The origin of the French Recollects is difficult to disentangle, but the moving spirit, if not the actual founder of the Reform, was François de Simon, a French Observantin who had lived among the Italian Riformati and the Spanish Descalzos, and on his return to France took a leading part in the institution of the Reform (*circa* 1579).

The year 1897 is another *annus mirabilis* in Franciscan history. In that year Pope Leo XIII. by his Apostolic Constitution *Felicitate Quadam* (another *Bulla Unionis*) joined into one great body the parent stock, that is to say, the Observantins and the three branches that were separated from it *accidentaliter*, namely, the Riformati, the Alcantarini or Discalced Friars of Spain, and the Recollects. The distinction between Cismontane and Ultramontane was

¹¹ See this point luminously proved by Fra Casimoro di S. M. Maddalena, an eighteenth century Scalzo of Naples, in *La Palestina e le su Missioni* of PP. Marcellino da Civezza and Teofilo Domenichelli (Florence, 1892, pp. 66-79).

abolished, and with it the Commissary-General who ruled in that family from which the Minister-General for the time being had not been elected. To this great united body the Pope has given the primitive style and title of the Friars Minor, and their head he calls, like Leo X. before him, the Minister-General of the Order of Friars Minor. They have but one body of Constitutions;¹² they wear the same habit each having sacrificed some peculiarity of that hitherto worn by them; their Provinces have been fused, so that where before two Provinces, say Observantin and Riformato, existed side by side in the same territory, there is now only one Province; nay, in Italy at least, there has been a fusion in the very houses, so that one now finds a convent composed half of ex-Observantins and half of ex-Riformati. Speaking generally, the Observantins have been slightly levelled up; the Riformati, Alcantarini, and Recollects slightly levelled down. Though uniformity is now restored to normal Franciscan life, yet Leo XIII. insists strongly in the *Bulla Unionis* upon the necessity of also having convents of a stricter observance for those 'altioris perfectionis vitæque contemplativæ cupidioribus,' and the new Constitutions (art. 8) provide for one or two Retreats (*Conventus sacri Recessus*) in every Province. The union presented such thorny impossibilities, such seemingly insurmountable difficulties, that its accomplishment must be regarded as one of the triumphs of the pontificate of Leo XIII.

There are now, therefore, only three Franciscan families in existence: the Friars Minor Conventuals, the Friars Minor Capuchin, and the Friars Minor. All three are lawfully sons of St. Francis. The Conventuals observe the Rule with various dispensations, lawfully accorded; the Minors and Capuchins observe the Rule pure and simple, differing only *accidentaliter* in their particular Constitutions. Each of the three families has its own Minister-General, and is totally separate and distinct the one from the other. The Minister-General of the Minors must be

¹² *Regula et Constitutiones Generales Fratrum Minorum*, Quaracchi, 1899.

regarded as *primus*, not *inter pares* I think, for Apostolic authority has recognised in his family alone the name which was given to it by its founder ; to the Capuchin Minister-General must be accorded the second place because his family observes the whole of the founder's Rule ; and to the Conventual Minister-General the third place because his family has accepted of dispensations from the substance of the Rule. But there is a sense in which the three families may be considered as but one. St. Francis, by Chapter VIII. of the Rule, gives to his fraternity a General Minister and servant whom his friars are to obey, but in Chapter I. of the Rule he chooses as the controlling force or real head of his Order the Pope and his successors.¹³ The Minister-General is, therefore, but the Vicar-General of the real head of the Order, the Pope, and if it please the head of the Order to have three Vicars-General instead of one, who can say him nay. Thus, the division *numérique* disappears, and the whole of the Franciscan families become one in the spirit of St. Francis. It is not, perhaps, to consider it too curiously to consider it in this way : the Conventuals represent the religious life of St. Francis after his first conversion before he had conceived of a religious state above the monastic or eremitical life of his own day ; the Minors represent his own Minoritic life on earth ; and the Capuchins represent his risen life. For Francis of Assisi is not dead but liveth, and in his risen life not content with the strict observance of his Rule, but desiring a yet stricter (*strictioris observantiae*), he has at times so reformed and revived portions of his Order, that they have even surpassed the first friars in all the glories and virtues of the Apostolic life, and may fairly claim to rank as new foundations of their ever-living founder. But whether one or three, whether united *substantialiter* or separated in them-

¹³ 'Fratres Franciscus promittit obedientiam et reverentiam domino papae Honorio, ac successoribus ejus canonice intrantibus, et Ecclesiae Romanae.' And see Chapter XII. of the Rule, where the Cardinal Protector is even styled the 'Governor' of the Order: 'Ad haec per obedientiam injungo Ministris, ut petant a Domino Papa unam de sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae Cardinalibus, qui sit gubernator, protector et corrector istius Fraternitatis.'

selves *numericæ*, concerns us but little : the matter of real moment is that there are still sons of St. Francis dwelling upon this dull earth, and that they excel most mortal things in the quality of mere human interest. They are a living *Legenda Antiqua* in which you may read voluminously of the past at leisure and in good company, and I would say : try this reading of history backwards from them to their wonderful first origin, and see if that first origin do not suddenly become illumined with new and altogether unexpected lustre and significance. This is at least the lesson that I seem to have learned by consorting with the living sons of Francis, and not merely poring over the records of Minoritic generations that are dead and gone.¹⁴

MONTGOMERY CARMICHAEL.

¹⁴ To verify the facts of this article see, amongst other authorities, the *Bullarium Romanum* ; Wadding, *Annales Minorum* ; De Gubernatis, *Orbis Seraphicus* ; *Chronologia Historico-Legalís Seraphici Ordinis* ; Van den Haute, *Brevis Historia Ord. Minorum* ; *Secoli Serafici* ; Palomes, *Dei Fratri Minori* ; *Novissima pro Cismontana Minorum Familia Generalium Constitutionum Collectio* (Rome, 1827) ; *Regula et Constitutiones Generales Fratrum Minorum* (Quaracchi, 1899).

Notes and Queries

THEOLOGY

A MATRIMONIAL CASE: WHEN IS A DOMICILE GAINED AND LOST ?

REV. DEAR SIR,—A solution of the following case in the next number of the I. E. RECORD would much oblige :—

A domestic servant was employed in this parish, and had been residing here for about four years. A marriage was arranged between her and a man who had a fixed residence in this parish. About a fortnight previous to her marriage, and in view of marriage, she left her service and went to live with her married sister, who resided in a neighbouring parish. The latter's residence had been formerly the parental domicile, but both parents are long since dead. After the marriage she returned to live with her husband in this parish.

Quaeritur :—

- 1°. Who had the right to assist at the marriage ?
- 2°. Could she be said to have still retained her parental domicile in the neighbouring parish ?
- 3°. Did she forfeit her quasi-domicile by leaving this parish before marriage ?

VICARIUS.

We will reply to these questions in a different order from that of our correspondent.

(1.) Did the girl forfeit her quasi-domicile by leaving the parish of her master before marriage ? (a) It seems that this girl had a domicile rather than a quasi-domicile in the parish of her master. She had at the same time the two conditions required for a domicile, viz., actual habitation and the intention of living permanently in the parish. She had actual habitation in her master's home. She had also the intention of remaining permanently in the parish from the moment, before her departure, when she made up her mind to marry into the parish. The fact that the actual

habitation had been begun as a quasi-domicile does not militate against this view, because even though the habitation had been begun as a temporary home, still the subsequent change of intention was quite valid. This is the opinion of Feije :—

Cessat haec praesumptio (domicilium adfuisse), quando constat aliquem coepisse commorari in loco ob causam accidentalem temporaneam, qua cessante discessurus videbatur . . . Verumtamen ut is qui habet domicilium in loco, illud non omittit si superveniat officium ejusmodi seu conditio (temporanea), ita etiam, non obstante commorationis propter accidentalem hanc circumstantiam initio, verum domicilium contractum censebitur, si, cessante praefata conditione seu officio, eo modo quis pergat in loco habitare, qui ex circumstantiis prudenter dici debeat probare animum manendi perpetuo; *immo jam ante, si verbis vel factis certus fiat animus perpetuo manendi.*¹

Hence, we consider it certain that this girl had a domicile in the parish of her master.

(b) She did not lose this domicile when she left her master's house. A domicile, like a quasi-domicile, is not attached to a particular house in a parish. Hence her departure from her master's home did not deprive her of her domicile. Neither did her temporary departure from the parish deprive her of her already acquired domicile. As long as she retained the intention of returning to live in the parish as an inhabitant so long did her domicile remain. Feije says :—‘ Porro ad amittendum domicilium non sufficit actualis discessus, nec diuturna absentia ; sed sive verbis sive factis debet constare de animo valedicendi domicilio, et quamdiu de eo non constat, illud conservatur.’²

(2.) Did the girl retain her parental domicile ? Our correspondent does not supply sufficient data to give a definite reply to this question. This will be clear, we think, from the following considerations. A parental domicile is lost only by formal or virtual renunciation. On the one hand, the death of parents, long absence, or the marriage of the sister who lived in the old home, did not necessarily

¹ Feije, *De Imp. et Disp. Matr.*, p. 129. The italics are ours.

² Feije, *loc. cit.*, p. 130.

imply such renunciation. Notwithstanding all these, the girl could have retained an intention of returning, after years of service or during intervals of service, to live in the parental home as a member of the family. Such intention would suffice to retain the parental domicile. The acquisition of a domicile elsewhere did not imply such renunciation, because that acquisition did not remove at least a conditional intention of returning to the parental domicile if, perchance, the marriage were postponed or altogether abandoned. Such conditional intention suffices for the retention of a domicile. Hence on the one hand there is no sufficient proof supplied that the girl lost her parental domicile. On the other hand, the fact that the girl returned to her sister's home before her marriage does not clearly prove that she returned there as to a parental domicile. She could have returned as a guest, if she had lost her parental domicile. We think, then, that sufficient data have not been given for a definite reply. At most, we can say that there is a presumption in favour of the retention of the parental domicile, because it is presumed to remain till it be proved to be lost. Presumption, however, must yield to fact. Hence, we would advise our correspondent to find out from an investigation of the circumstances of the particular family whether the girl came as a guest, or as a member of the family. If the latter, she had her parental domicile. If the former, the parental domicile did not remain.

(3.) Who had a right to assist at the marriage? (a) The parish priest of the sponsus could certainly validly assist at the marriage. He had also a right to assist, because the sponsa had a domicile in his parish. (b) If, from investigation, it be found that the girl retained her parental domicile the parish priest of the parental parish had also a right to assist at the marriage.

VALIDITY OF PIOUS BEQUESTS

REV. DEAR SIR,—A large sum of money is left by a parishioner of mine for religious and charitable purposes. There is, however, an informality in the will which makes the whole

instrument invalid in the eyes of the civil law. Does the bequest hold good in conscience? What are the obligations of the next-of-kin? What are the obligations of a confessor who is informed of the circumstances, but finds the penitent unwilling to part with the legacy? I am, Rev. and dear Sir,

Your faithful servant,

RECTOR.

In the case mentioned by our correspondent there can, we presume, be no doubt about the deliberate wish of the testator. The question for discussion, then, refers to the validity in conscience of such last will if it be invalid in the eyes of the civil law merely because of the absence of a legal formality. This question has been discussed by theologians and canonists at great length. All theologians and canonists agree that if there be question of a legacy left for pious objects *ad sedandam conscientiam*, v.g., as restitution, the will is valid in conscience. This has been decided by a decree of the S. Penitentiary, dated 23rd June, 1844. All theologians and canonists agree also that other pious legacies in the Papal States are valid in conscience, because the valid law of these States is the law of the Church. That law has expressly declared the validity of such legacies in the Papal States.

There has been some difference of opinion as to the validity in conscience of such bequests outside the Papal States. Nearly all theologians and canonists held that these legacies are certainly valid. They held this view because the State has no jurisdiction in religious affairs, and consequently cannot invalidate a pious bequest which is certainly a religious matter. Hence, *per se*, such a bequest is valid in conscience. Moreover, the next-of-kin cannot presume on the consent of the Church, because mere silence on the part of the Church cannot be taken as signifying the permission to devote to other objects the goods left by will for pious purposes. Such silence, if it did exist, can be explained on the supposition that the Church was practically powerless to interfere with the usurpation of the State. Hence, it has been generally held by

theologians and canonists that such bequests are valid not only speculatively, but also in practice.¹

There were a few theologians, such as Carriere,² who, on Gallican principles, claimed for the State the power of interfering in such spiritual matters. D'Annibale³ lends, at least negatively, the assistance of his great authority to this opinion. He says :—‘*Quamdiu igitur S. Sedes loquuta non fuerit, existimo, non oportere inquietari eos qui, extra Ditionem Pontificiam, non praestant relictā ad causas pias in testamento irritō ex jure civili.*’

We believe that speculatively and practically the common opinion of canonists and theologians is now certain. (a) The intrinsic reasons mentioned above in favour of the common view seem to us to be convincing. (b) The extrinsic authority of theologians and canonists is so strongly in favour of this opinion that we hesitate to allow any solid probability to the view of Carriere or D'Annibale. (c) Whatever be said about former times, at present the opinion of Carriere, or even of D'Annibale, cannot be sustained in face of the decision of the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda, dated 30th April, 1895, in reply to a question of His Eminence Cardinal Logue.⁴ His Eminence asked about the validity in conscience of a will leaving an annual sum of money *in perpetuum*, for Masses to be said in a church which was named. This will was invalid according to English law which recognises only a temporary foundation. The S. Congregation replied that the will was valid in conscience, and, moreover, laid down the principle of its decision : ‘*Jam vero certum est . . . legatum perdurare, quum lex civilis non possit ea quae sunt ad causas pias sua auctoritate statuere ; ac proinde legatum haeredes obligat juxta tenorem et modum ipsius legati.*’ Although this decision was given in a particular case the general principle, which it lays down, applies to all cases of pious bequests. Hence we think it practically certain that such

¹ See S. Alp., *Theologia Moralis*, lib. iii., n. 923 ; Lehmkühl, *Theologia Moralis*, ii., n. 522 ; Ballerini, *Opus Theologicum*, t. iii., p. 839.

² *De Contractibus*, n. 219.

³ *Summula*, ii., n. 340.

⁴ I. E. RECORD, Nov., 1895, p. 1048. The italics are ours.

bequests are valid in conscience, notwithstanding the absence of a formality required by civil law.

To the questions asked by our correspondent we are now able to give a reply. (1) The will is valid in conscience. (2) The next-of-kin are bound in conscience to give the property to the pious objects for which they were destined by the testator. (3) Confessors are not free to absolve *mala fide* retainers of such property. If the heirs-at-law be *bona fide* a confessor must judge from the particular case whether it be best for him to make known the obligation, to merely counsel a renunciation of the goods, or to remain silent. As Lehmkuhl says⁵: 'Nihilominus confessarii est videre utrum haec monitio in singulari casu jussione an suasionem urgeri debeat, imo an silentio premi; scilicet sine spe fructus non debet et poenitentem in malam fidem conjicere et causis piis nihil prodesse.'

J. M. HARTY.

LITURGY

RITE OF INTERMENT IN PARTICULAR CASES

REV. DEAR SIR,—The Ritual *De Exequiis* makes provision for the case in which the funeral comes to the church and thence proceeds to the cemetery. Now, in very many cases this would be altogether impracticable, and in such cases it is not at all so clear in what the funeral service should consist; nor is there anything even approaching uniformity in practice. Your opinion, therefore, regarding the subjoined cases would be highly valued.

1. When the priest attends the funeral at the house of deceased; custom and other reasons being against his going to the cemetery.

2. When the priest meets the funeral at a cemetery distant from a church.

3. In cemeteries in which stand some remains of an old church the coffin is brought inside the latter, and the service begins with *Non urbis in pedicuum*, as in an ordinary church.

4. Though there seems to be no authority for it in any Ritual

⁵ *Theologia Moralís*, i., n. 1148, nota 1.

I have seen, there exists the custom in this and neighbouring dioceses (and, perhaps, it is general in Ireland); the custom, viz., of the priest, at the end of the Exequial service of the Ritual, taking a shovel and putting a little mould three times on the coffin in the grave, saying each time, *Memento homo*, etc.

SOGGARTH.

This query raises points of importance as well as of interest. Every detail prescribed by the Liturgy in connection with the burial service deserves closest attention, and should be fulfilled with all the completeness that is possible. Nothing can better convince us of the tender solicitude of the Church for the exact performance of our duties towards her dying and deceased members than a thoughtful perusal of that portion of her Liturgy in which she lays down, with much detail, how we are to succour the departing, what reverence we are to bestow on the dead body, and what prayers and suffrages we are to speedily offer up for the welfare of the soul. It would, then, be a cruel frustration of these loving designs of our kind Mother, if we did not try, as well as we can, and as far as circumstances reasonably permit, to discharge these very important obligations.

In the case of a death we think the practice of having the remains transferred to the church for Mass next morning is much to be desired. Of course we know it is not always feasible. But, where at all possible, it ought to be done, and it will be the means of putting a stop to ever so many abuses, especially in the case of the poor. Then the people should be induced to have the interment take place early in the morning. This would mean the saving of much time to those attending the funeral. They would thus be able to return home seasonably and to do a substantial day's work, instead of diverting, after a late interment, to places of questionable advantage.

As to our correspondent's questions:—

1. Mass is said at the house of the deceased, and the priest cannot escort the funeral procession to the graveside. Here the Ritual¹ clearly insinuates that the

¹ *Ordo Exequiorum*, cap. iii. n. 14.

entire 'officium' should be performed where Mass has been celebrated. That is, after Mass the Absolution should immediately follow, and all the other prayers in the Ritual should be said to the end. The *Deus cuius miseratione* may be omitted if the sepulchre is situated in consecrated ground, unless unblest material is introduced, or the grave be in a Church.

2. We are not told if there has been Mass, and if the Absolution consequently has been given. In case Mass and the Absolution have not taken place then the priest on entering the cemetery intones the *In paradisum*, recites the *Miserere*, *De profundis*, etc., during the progress to the graveside; then on the remains being deposited near the grave he should begin the *Non intres*, and recite everything in the Ritual with the exception of the *In paradisum*, and the prayer for the blessing of the grave, if this is already blessed. If there has been Mass, and if the Absolution has been already given, then the priest should act as already described in escorting the remains to the graveside. Here the Absolution is not given, but all the rest will be the same. The portion of the service from the Ant. of the *Benedictus* to the end may be repeated even if already said.²

3. Where there is a church in connection with a burial-ground the remains may be taken there for the Absolution, which begins with the *Non intres*, and concludes with the *Deus cui proprium*. Afterwards they are transferred to the prepared grave, the Ant. *In paradisum* being recited, and the rest of the service will be performed in the way already mentioned. The same applies to an old ruin, as to an ordinary church. A priest assisting at the burial service should, if possible, wear some sacred vestment. It would, indeed, be desirable if he were vested in soutane and surplice on entering the cemetery, but he ought always wear the stole at the very least. Of course incense cannot always be had conveniently on these occasions, but Holy Water can, and should never be absent. There is nothing in the Rubrics about the custom of asking the prayers of those

² De Herdt, *Praxis Lit. Brit. Rom.*, p. 153.

present for the repose of the soul of the deceased. But the practice is quite lawful if it be done at the end of the service.

4. As to the custom of the priest throwing some shovelfuls of clay on the coffin, saying meantime *Memento homo*, etc., it is not mentioned in the Ritual, but it may be held to be one of those reasonable practices that are *juxta* rather than *contra Rubricas*. Baruffaldus³ mentions this custom apparently with approval among some others which are found in the *Sacerdotale Brisciense*, and Wapelhorst,⁴ quoting Falise, says that it may be followed since 'iste enim ritus teste Catalano, antiquissimus est.'

This would be the time to ask those present to offer some prayers for the deceased.

There are a great many curious customs in connection with funerals. For instance, in some places it is usual to make a complete circuit of the cemetery before taking the coffin to the grave. This is not in accordance with the Ritual which prescribes the *Via brevior*. Again, the remains in some graveyards are brought to a certain spot and rested there for an appreciable time. This spot probably marks the site of an old church, or, possibly, the resting-place of some priest, or person of reputed sanctity. With regard to all these customs which are not clearly opposed to the Ritual, Baruffaldus has a very wise observation: 'Ritus a rituali pro exequiis prescripti servandi sunt salva semper aliquorum locorum consuetudine quae in materia funerum multum operatur.'⁵

P. MORRISROE.

³ *Rit. Rom. Com.*, Tit. 36, n. 172.

⁴ *Compendium Sac. Lit.*, p. 472, note 6.

⁵ Tit. 36, n. 1.

CORRESPONDENCE

' ALTAR-STONES WITHOUT RELICS '

REV. DEAR SIR,—I read your remarks relative to the use of altar-stones without relics, in the last issue of the I. E. RECORD, with much interest. I trust they will serve to direct and fix the attention of the clergy on the necessity of procuring altar-stones WITH relics, and awaken them to the serious responsibility they incur if they are any longer oblivious of this obvious duty.

In one observation, however, I fear you are too sanguine and confident, namely, when you take for granted the *facility* there is nowadays of procuring altar-stones WITH RELICS. My experience of thirty years speaks the contrary. In the many missions I have been in, as curate, I found the altar-stones generally without relics; and when permitted to rectify the error I had great trouble is discovering and considerable expense in negotiating for ones with relics instead. This occurred in instances after the Bishop of the diocese *warned* his priests at Conference to procure them, adding plainly that no parish should be without them, as he was about to consecrate a large number, each of which would cost but the hire of the mason who chiselled them, *i.e.*, some 4s. or 5s.

Notwithstanding all, the same difficulty presented itself to me on subsequent missions as curate. And as my plan in that capacity always was, *quieta non movere*, except where I saw the feasibility, I made no effective move further.

Even at present, as pastor, I am sadly in need of altar-stones with relics, and I have applied to convents and monasteries and other places where I thought they were obtainable, but all to no effect, though I offered to give 10s. or £1 for each. I am in the same wistful state of mind still, and I think I can say the same for many pastors of my acquaintance.

If you would be so good as to have this letter inserted in the I. E. RECORD, it may catch the eye of some one in a position to supply the want, or at least to give some information on the matter, and thus meet a rubrical requirement long neglected, and the cause of much annoyance to many priests.

A SUBSCRIBER.

[We hope to give our correspondent the information he requires in our next issue.—ED. I. E. RECORD.]

DOCUMENTS

THE JUBILEE OF THE IMMACULATE CONCEPTION

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GENARIORUM A DOGM. DEFINIT. B. M. V. IMM. CONC.

PIUS PP. X.

Universis Christifidelibus praesentes litteras inspecturis salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Quae Catholico nomini aeternaeque fidelium saluti bene, prospere, feliciterque eveniant ea ex supremi Apostolatus officio quo fungimur divinitus, quacumque ope possumus, procuramus et spiritualium munerum largitione favemus. Iam vero cum, proximo anno, quinquagesimus recurrat anniversarius dies ex quo toto Catholico orbe plaudente fel. rec. Pius PP. IX. Praedecessor Noster, solemni decreto Virginem Deiparam sine labe originali Conceptam declaravit, atque ad auspicatissimi eventus memoriam recolendam plurimis in templis ac sacellis die octava cuiusque mensis per solidum annum, a die octava vertentis Decembris ad octavam pariter diem Decembris mensis proximi anni MDCCCCIV vel Dominica immediate respective sequenti, peculiares habendae sint supplicationes; Nos, quibus nihil antiquius quam ut fidelium pietas erga immunem ab omni macula Virginem magis magisque in dies excitetur, coelestes idcirco Ecclesiae thesauros, quorum Nobis dispensationem Altissimus commisit, benigne in Domino reserare censuimus. Quae cum ita sint, de Omnipotentis Dei misericordia at BB. Petri et Pauli Apostolorum eius auctoritate confisi, omnibus ac singulis fidelibus ex utroque sexu, qui in qualibet ex Ecclesiis sive sacellis ubique terrarum existentibus, in quibus de respectivi Ordinarii licentia menstrua in honorem Immaculae Virginis supplicatio rite fiat, eidem, contrito saltem corde, adsint, in forma Ecclesiae solita de poenaliu numero septem annos totidemque quadragenae; quoties vero diebus quibus mensilis haec pia exercitatio locum habet Ecclesias seu oratoria supramemorata contrito similiter corde visitent, toties iis in forma pariter Ecclesiae consueta trecentos dies de numero poenaliu expungimus. Insuper eisdem ex utroque sexu fidelibus, qui saltem ter intra anni curriculum dictis suppli-

cationibus aderunt, atque admissorum confessione expiati et coelestibus epulis refecti pro Christianorum Principum concordia haeresum extirpatione, peccatorum conversione, ac S. Matris Ecclesiae exaltatione pias ad Deum preces effundant, semel tantum per unumquemque eorum lucrandam, plenariam : tantum iis qui intra futuri anni MDCCCIV spatium vel turmatim vel singillatim peregre ad hanc Almam Urbem Nostram accedant, dummodo vere quoque poenitentes et confessi ac S. Communione refecti Vaticanam et Liberianam Basilicas devote visitent ibique, ut supra, pias ad Deum preces effundant, etiam Plenariam omnium peccatorum suorum indulgentiam et remissionem misericorditer in Domino concedimus. Denique largimur fidelibus iisdem, si malint, liceat plenariis hisce ac partialibus indulgentiis vita functorum labes poenasque expiare. Non obstantibus contrariis quibuscumque. Praesentibus unice tantum. Volumus autem ut praesentium litterarum transumptis seu exemplis, etiam impressis, manu alicuius Notarii publici subscriptis et sigillo personae in ecclesiastica dignitate constitutae praemunitis, eadem prorsus adhibeatur fides quae adhiberetur ipsis praesentibus, si forent exhibitae vel ostensae.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum sub anulo Piscatoris die VII Decembris MCMIII, Pontificatus Nostri Anno Primo.

L. ✠ S.

ALOIS. Card. MACCHI.

DECREE ON THE RESTORATION OF SACRED MUSIC

URBIS ET ORBIS

CIRCA APPLICATIONEM 'INSTRUCTIONIS' PII PP. X QUOAD
RESTAURATIONEM MUSICAE SACRAE

Sanctissimus Dominus Noster Pius Papa X *Motu proprio*, die 22 Novembris 1903 sub forma *Instructionis de musica sacra* venerabilem Cantum Gregorianum iuxta codicum fidem ad pristinum Ecclesiarum usum feliciter restituit, simulque praecipuas praescriptiones, ad sacrorum concentuum sanctitatem et dignitatem in templis vel promovendam vel restituendam, in unum corpus collegit, cui tamquam *Codici iuridico musicae sacrae* ex plenitudine Apostolicae Suae Potestatis vim legis pro universa Ecclesia habere voluit. Quare idem Sanctissimus Dominus Noster per hanc Sacrorum Rituum Congregationem mandat et praecipit, ut *Instructio* praedicta ab omnibus acci-

piatur Ecclesiis sanctissimeque servetur, non obstantibus privilegiis atque exemptionibus quibuscunque, etiam speciali nomine dignis, ut sunt privilegia et exemptiones ab Apostolica Sede maioribus Urbis Basilicis, praesertim vero Sacrosanctae Ecclesiae Lateranensi concessa. Revocatis pariter sive privilegiis sive commendationibus, quibus aliae quaecumque cantus liturgici recentiores formae pro rerum ac temporum circumstantiis ab Apostolica Sede et ab hac Sacra Congregatione inducebantur, eadem Sanctitas Sua benigne concedere dignata est, ut praedictae cantus liturgici recentiores formae, in iis Ecclesiis ubi iam invectae sunt, licite retineri et cantari queant, donec quamprimum fieri poterit venerabilis Cantus Gregorianus iuxta codicum fidem in eorum locum sufficiatur. Contrariis non obstantibus quibuscunque.

De hisce omnibus Sanctissimus Dominus Noster Pius Papa X huic Sacrorum Rituum Congregationi praesens Decretum expediri iussit. Die 8 Ianuarii 1904.

SERAPHINUS Card. CRETONI, S.R.C. *Praef.*

L. ✠ S.

✠ DIOMEDES PANICI, Arch. Laodicen., S.R.C. *Secret.*

[From this Decree it will be seen that the instructions of the 'Motu Proprio,' published in our last issue, must be obeyed and carried out as soon as possible (*quamprimum fieri poterit*). The Graduals and Missals containing the new authorised chant can be had from Descleè, Lefebvre et Cie, of Tournai, Belgium.]

**OFFICE AND MASS FOR THE FEAST OF ALL THE SAINTS OF
THE SOCIETY OF JESUS**

SOCIETATIS IESU

**APPROBATUR OFFICIUM CUM MISSA PROPRIA, DE FESTO OMNIUM
SANCTORUM S. J. SUB RITU DUPLICI 2^{ae} CLASSIS**

Impensa totius Societatis Iesu vota depromens, Rmus. Pater Ludovicus Martin, eidem Societati Praepositus Generalis, Sanctissimum Dominum Nostrum Leonem Papam XIII, humillimis precibus rogavit, ut Festum Omnium Sanctorum sub ritu duplici secundae classis, prouti compluribus Religiosis Ordinibus concessum fuit, amodo a Patribus Alumnisque ipsius Societatis in posterum recoli valeat: atque schema respectivi Officii cum

Missa proprii diligenter exaratum, supremæ Apostolicæ Sedis sanctioni demississime subiecit.

Exhibitum vero huiusmodi Officium et Missam quum, ad iuris tramitem, Emus. et Rmus. Dnus. Cardinalis Andreas Steinhuber, Relator, in ordinariis Sacrorum Rituum comitiis, subsignata die ad Vaticanum habitis, proposuerit; Emi et Rmi. Patres sacris tuendis Ritibus praepositi, re mature perpensa, auditoque R. P. D. Alexandro Verde, S. Fidei Promotore, rescribendum censuerunt: '*Pro gratia et ad Emum. Ponentem cum Promotore Fidei.*' Die 21 Aprilis 1903.

Quare, propositi Officii et Missæ ab ipso Emo. Ponente cum Promotore Fidei revisione accuratissime peracta, hisque omnibus Sanctissimo Domino Nostro Leoni Papæ XIII, per infrascriptum Cardinalem Sacrorum Rituum Congregationi Praefectum relatis; Sanctitas Sua sententiam Sacri ipsius Consilii ratam habens, suprascriptum Officium cum Missa proprium de Festo Omnium Sanctorum Societatis Iesu, enuntiata Dominica Novembris ritu duplici secundæ classis ab universa eadem Societate in posterum quotannis recolendo, benigne approbare dignata est: servatis Rubricis. Contrariis non obstantibus quibuscumque. Die 22, iisdem mense et anno.

S. Card. CRETONI, S.R.C. *Praef.*

L. ✠ S.

✠ D. PANICI, Archiep. Laodicen., *Secrius.*

Officium in Festo Omnium Sanctorum Societatis Iesu

AD VESPERAS

Ant. 1. Omnis, qui invocaverit Nomen Domini, salvus erit
Psalmi ut in I. Vesp. de com. Apost.

2. Beati qui lavant stolas suas in sanguine Agni, ut sit potestas eorum in ligno vitae.

3. Qui ad iustitiam erudiunt multos, fulgebunt quasi stellæ in perpetuas æternitates.

4. Quam speciosi pedes evangelizantium pacem, evangelizantium bona.

5. Beati pauperes spiritu; quoniam ipsorum est regnum coelorum.

Capitulum.

I. Thess. IV.

Fratres, rogamus vos et obsecramus in Domino Iesu, ut quemadmodum accepistis a nobis, quomodo oporteat vos ambulare et placere Deo, sic et ambuletis, ut abundetis magis.

HYMNUS

Jesu dicata Nomini,
Cohors beata militum
Victrix, subactis hostibus,
Agit triumpho gloriam.

Ignatius cui legifer
Sanctique ductor agminis
Praeest, ovaque in omnibus
Gessisse bella filiis.

Hinc purpurati sanguine,
Astant recincti laureis :
Divina quique cordibus
Christi intus erunt munera.

Sunt quos coronat liliis
Intacta morum castitas :
Evexit et quos sanctitas.
Domesticis virtutibus.

Jesu beantur lumine,
Jesum salutant canticis,
Jesuque grati deferunt
Palmas, coronas, lilia.

Patri perennis gloria,
Natoque Patris unico,
Sanctoque sit Paraclito
Saeculum per omne gloria.
Amen.

V. Sit Nomen Domini benedictum. Alleluia.

R. Ex hoc nunc et usque in saeculum. Alleluia.

Ad Magnif. Ant. Hi sunt fratrum amatores, et populi Israël :
hi sunt, qui multum orant pro populo, et universa sancta civitate.

ORATIO

Da nobis quaesumus Domine, per intercessionem beati Patris Ignatii sanctorumque omnium qui sub sanctissimo Nominis Jesu vexillo ipso duce militarunt : ita tibi perfecto corde servire ; ut post huius vitae cursum gloriosi exitus illorum consortes esse mereamur. Per Dominum.

AD MATUTINUM

Invitat. Regem regum Dominum venite adoremus : Quia ipse est corona Sanctorum omnium.

HYMNUS

Sol noctis umbras discutit,
Terrasque complet lumine :
Tu, Christe, nostris mentibus,
Aeterna lux illabere.

Fratrum triumpho plaudimus,
Qui te secuti principem,
Tuo perennem Nomini
Laudem beati concinunt.

O Nomen admirabile,
Omniq[ue] maius nomine !
Invicta semper militum
Tutela, terror hostium.

Nostrum decus, spes unica,
Jesu, fidelis agminis,
Quod sub tuis insignibus
Caeli meret stipendia.

Fac nos benigno numine
Exempla patrum persequi :
Te corda nostra diligant ;
In corde regnes omnium.

Patri perennis gloria,
Natoque Patris unico,
Sanctoq[ue] sit Paraclito
Saeculum per omne gloria.
Amen.

IN I. NOCTURNO

Ant. 1. Turris fortissima Nomen Domini : ad ipsum currit iustus, et exaltabitur.

Psalmi in tribus Nocturnis ut in Festo Omnium Sanctorum.

2. In omnem terram exivit sonus eorum, et in fines orbis terrae verba eorum.

3. Quis ascendet in montem Domini ? aut quis stabit in loco sancto eius ? Innocens manibus et mundo corde.

V. Laetamini in Domino, et exultate iusti.

R. Et gloriamini omnes recti corde.

De Epistola beati Pauli Apostoli ad Ephesios.

Lectio I.

Cap. I.

Gratia vobis et pax a Deo Patre nostro, et Domino Jesu Christo. Benedictus Deus et Pater Domini nostri Jesu Christi

qui benedixit nos in omni benedictione spirituali in caelestibus in Christo. Sicut elegit nos in ipso ante mundi constitutionem, ut essemus sancti et immaculati in conspectu eius in charitate. Qui praeordinavit nos in adoptionem filiorum per Jesum Christum in ipsum : secundum propositum voluntatis suae, in laudem gloriae gratiae suae, in qua gratificavit nos in dilecto Filio suo. In quo habemus redemptionem per sanguinem eius, remissionem peccatorum secundum divitias gratiae eius, quae superabundavit in nobis in omni sapientia, et prudentia : ut notum faceret nobis sacramentum voluntatis suae, secundum beneplacitum eius, quod proposuit in eo, in dispensatione plenitudinis temporum, instaurare omnia in Christo, quae in caelis, et quae in terra sunt, in ipso : in quo etiam et nos sorte vocati sumus praedestinati secundum propositum eius, qui operatur omnia secundum consilium voluntatis suae ; ut simus in laudem gloriae eius.

R. Adorabant viventem in saecula saeculorum, et mittebant coronas suas ante thronum dicentes : * Dignus es, Domine Deus noster, accipere gloriam, et honorem, et virtutem.

V. Fecisti nos Deo nostro regnum, et sacerdotes. Dignus es.

Lectio II.

Cap. IV.

Obsecro itaque vos, ut digne ambuletis vocatione, qua vocati estis, cum omni humilitate, et mansuetudine, cum patientia supportantes invicem in charitate, solliciti servare unitatem, spiritus in vinculo pacis. Unum corpus, et unus spiritus sicut vocati estis in una spe vocationis vestrae. Unus Dominus, una fides, unum baptisma. Unus Deus et pater omnium, qui est super omnes, et per omnia, et in omnibus nobis. Unicuique autem nostrum data est gratia secundum mensuram donationis Christi. Et ipse dedit quosdam quidem Apostolos, quosdam autem Prophetas, alios vero Evangelistas, alios autem pastores et doctores ad consummationem sanctorem in opus ministerii, in aedificationem corporis Christi ; donec occurramus omnes in unitatem fidei, et agnitionis Filii Dei, in virum perfectum, in mensuram aetatis plenitudinis Christi ; veritatem autem facientes in charitate, crescimus in illo per omnia, qui est caput Christus.

R. Vidi subtus altare animas interfectorum propter verbum Dei ; et clamabant voce magna : * Usquequo Domine, non vindicas sanguinem nostrum ?

V. Et dictum est illis ut requiescerent adhuc tempus modicum, donec compleantur conservi eorum, et fratres eorum. Usquequo.

DE EPISTOLA AD ROMANOS

*Lectio III.**Cap. XII.*

Obsecro itaque vos, fratres, per misericordiam Dei, ut exhibeatis corpora vestra hostiam viventem, sanctam, Deo placentem, rationabile obsequium vestrum. Habentes autem donationes secundum gratiam, quae data est nobis, differentes : sive prophetiam secundum rationem fidei, sive ministerium in ministrando, sive qui docet in doctrina, qui exhortatur in exhortando, qui tribuit in simplicitate, qui praeest in sollicitudine, qui miseretur in hilaritate. Dilectio sine simulatione. Odientes malum, adhaerentes bono : charitate fraternitatis invicem diligentes : honore invicem praevenientes : sollicitudine non pigri : spiritu ferventes : Domino servientes : spe gaudentes : in tribulatione patientes : orationi instantes. Benedicite persequentibus vos : benedicite et nolite maledicere. Nulli malum pro malo reddentes providentes bona non tantum coram Deo, sed etiam coram omnibus hominibus.

R. Sedes Dei et Agni in illa erunt, et servi eius servient illi ; et videbunt faciem eius ; * Et Nomen eius in frontibus eorum.

V. Dominus Deus illuminabit illos, et regnabunt in saecula saeculorum. Et Nomen. Gloria Patri. Et Nomen.

IN II. NOCTURNO

Ant. 1. Dominus pars hereditatis meae, et calicis mei : tu es qui restitues hereditatem meam mihi.

2. Impinguasti in oleo caput meum : et calix meus inebrians quam praeclarus est.

3. Magnificavit Dominus facere nobiscum : facti sumus laetantes.

V. Exultent iusti in conspectu Dei.

R. Et delectentur in laetitia.

DE SERMONE S. BERNARDI ABBATIS

In trans. S. Malach. Ep. serm. II. circ. med.

LECTIO IV.

Congratulemur, fratres, congratulemur, ut dignum est, parentibus nostris ; quia et pium est defunctos plangere, et pium magis congaudere viventibus. Numquid non vivunt ? Et beate. Nimirum visi sunt oculis insipientium mori, illi autem sunt in pace. Denique iam concives sanctorum et domestici Dei, psallunt pariter et agunt gratias dicentes : Transivimus per ignem

et aquam, et eduxisti nos in refrigerium. Transierunt plane viriliter, et feliciter pertransierunt. Transierunt plane per ignem et aquam, quos nec tristia frangere, nec detinere mollia potuerunt. Laetemur, quod angeli nostri ascenderunt ad cives suos, pro filiis captivitatis legatione fungentes, corda nobis conciliantes beatorum, vota illis intimantes miserorum. Laetemur, inquam, et exsulemus, quia caelestis illa curia ex nobis habet, quibus sit cura nostri, qui suis nos protegant meritis, quos informarunt exemplis, miraculis confirmarunt.

R. Beati pauperes spiritu : * Quoniam ipsorum est regnum caelorum.

V. Hi sunt, qui cum mulieribus non sunt coinquinati ; virgines enim sunt. Quoniam.

LECTIO V.

Benedictus Dominus Deus, qui tantorum Sanctorum ministerio visitavit plebem suam, et nunc assumptis iis in sanctam civitatem, tantae recordatione suavitatis nostram non desinit consolari captivitatem. Exultent in Domino spiritus eorum, quod levati pondere corporeae molis, nulla iam terrena materia praegravantur, quominus tota alacritate ac vivacitate corpoream omnem et incorpoream transeuntes creaturam, pergant toti in Deum, et adhaerentes illi, unus sint cum eo spiritus in aeternum.

R. Qui ad iustitiam erudiunt multos : * Quasi stellae in perpetuas aeternitates.

V. Quam speciosi pedes evangelizantium pacem, evangelizantium bona. Quasi stellae, etc.

LECTIO VI.

Domum istam decet sanctitudo, in qua tantae frequentatur memoria sanctitatis. Sancti nostri, servate eam in sanctitate et iustitia, miserti nostri, qui inter tot et tantas miseras memoriam abundantiae suavitatis vestrae eructamus. Magna est super vos divina dispensatio pietatis ; qui vos parvos fecit in oculis vestris, magnos in suis ; qui magna fecit per vos, salvans tot gentes, magna fecit vobis, introducens vos in gloriam suam. Festivitas vestra, quae merito vestris virtutibus votiva impenditur, vestris nobis efficiatur meritis et precibus salutaris. Liceat nobis aliquas, vobis migrantibus, retinere reliquias de fructibus spiritus, quibus onusti ascenditis, qui in vestro hodie tam delicioso convivio congregamur. Vita vestra, lex vitae et disciplinae ; memoria vestra, dulcedo suavitatis et gratiae.

R. Beati qui persecutionem patiuntur propter iustitiam :
 * Quoniam ipsorum est regnum caelorum.

V. Nolite mirari, si odit vos mundus ; quia me priorem vobis odio habuit. Ipsorum. Gloria Patri. Quoniam.

IN III. NOCTURNO

Ant. 1. Fundatur exultatione universae terrae mons Sion :
 Deus fundavit eum in aeternum.

2. Cor meum et caro mea exultaverunt in Deum vivum.

3. Beati qui habitant in domo tua, Domine : in saecula saeculorum laudabunt te.

V. Iusti autem in perpetuum vivant.

R. Et apud Dominum est merces eorum.

Lectio sancti Evangelii secundum Matthaeum.

Lectio VII.

Cap. V.

In illo tempore : Videns Jesus turbas, ascendit in montem et cum sedisset, accesserunt ad eum discipuli eius. Et reliqua.

HOMILIA S. BERNARDI ABBATIS

In festo Omn. Sanct. Serm. 3 in Matth. V.

Advertitis, nisi fallor, tres esse sanctarum status animarum : primum videlicet in corpore corruptibili, secundum sine corpore, tertium in corpore iam glorificato. Primum in militia, secundum in requie, tertium in beatitudine consummata ; primum denique in tabernaculis, secundum in atriis, tertium in domo Dei. Quam dilecta tabernacula tua, Domine virtutum ! Multo magis tamen atria concupiscibilia. Sed beati omnino qui habitant in domo tua, Domine. Laetatus plane sum in his, quae dicta sunt mihi, fratres, quoniam in domum Domini ibimus. Quod si quaeritis, unde id tam fiducialiter praesumam ; inde sine dubio, quod iam multi ex nobis in atriis stent, exspectantes donec recipiant corpora sua, donec impleatur numerus fratrum. In illam enim beatissimam domum nec sine nobis intrabunt, nec sine corporibus suis, idest nec sancti sine plebe, nec spiritus sine carne.

R. Beata gens, cuius Dominus Deus eius : * Populus, quem elegit in haereditatem sibi.

V. Ecce tabernaculum Dei cum hominibus, et habitabit cum eis. Populus.

LECTIO VIII.

Propterea cum resurrectionem expeterent corporum, acce-

perunt divinum responsum, dicens : Sustinete modicum tempus, donec compleatur numerus fratrum vestrorum. Acceperunt tamen iam singulas stolas ; sed non vestientur duplicibus, donec vestiamur et nos. Stola enim prima ipsa est felicitas et requies animarum : secunda vero immortalitas et gloria corporum. Sed una hoc tibi, o misera caro, unde tibi hoc ? Animae sanctae, quas propria Deus insignivit imagine, te desiderant ; quas remedit proprio sanguine, te expectant ; et ipsarum sine te compleri laetitia, perfici gloria, consummari beatitudo non potest.

R. Defecit caro mea, et cor meum : * Deus cordis mei, et pars mea Deus in aeternum.

V. Quid mihi est in caelo ? et a te quid volui super terram ? Deus cordis mei. Gloria Patri. Deus cordis mei.

LECTIO IX.

Quid ergo ? putasne, poterit humana anima in hoc gaudium Domini sui et in hanc eius requiem intrare ? Poterit sine dubio si fidelis inveniatur super pauca, quae accepit militiae suae tempore. Sciat ergo servus Christi vas suum possidere sanctificatione ; glorificet et portet Deum in corpore suo : nec dubium quin fidelem in modico servum supra multa constituat Dominus liberalis et dives. Supra multa plane, quoniam constituet eum dominum domus suae, et principem omnis possessionis suae. Haec est ergo beata spes quam expectant animae sanctae et : licet in gratiarum actione versentur pro ea felicitate, in qua iam requiescunt ; adhuc tamen orant et clamant ad Deum pro ea consummatione, suam praestolantur.

AD LAUDES

et per Horas

Ant. 1. Notas mihi fecisti vias vitae : adimplebis me laetitia cum vultu tuo.

2. Ego autem in iustitia apparebo conspectui tuo : satiabor cum apparuerit gloria tua.

3. Sanctorum velut aquilae iuventus renovabitur : florebunt sicut lilium in civitate Domini.

4. Inebriabuntur ab ubertate domus tuae : et torrente voluptatis tuae potabis eos.

5. Haec requies mea in saeculum saeculi : hic habitabo, quoniam elegi eam.

Capitulum.

I. Thess. IV.

Fratres, rogamus vos et obsecramus in Domino Jesu, ut

quemadmodum accepistis a nobis, quomodo oporteat vos ambulare et placere Deo, sic et ambuletis, ut abundetis magis.

HYMNUS

O virgo Mater, virginum
Flos, nostra quam sodalitas
Vitae vel ipso a limine
Dulcem parentem nominat.

Sancta auspicato vulnere
Vocas ad arma Ignatium :
Materna parvo coetui
Arridet orto charitas.

Ades sereno lumine,
Motosque sedas aequoris
Fluctus, procellas disiicis,
Pacisque reddis munera.

Te afflante, virtus enitet,
Rubet rosarum purpura,
Intacta florent lilia,
Palmae virescunt martyrum.

Rex Jesus et dux agminis ;
Tu, Mater alma Numinis,
Regina : utrique subdimur,
Jesu tuique milites.

Patris perennis gloria,
Natoque Patris unico,
Sanctoque sit Paraclito
Saeculum per omne gloria,
Amen.

V. Adiutorium nostrum in Nomine Domini :

R. Qui fecit caelum et terram.

Ad Bened. Ant. Ecce Dominus veniet, et omnes Sancti eius cum eo ; et erit in die illa lux magna. Alleluia.

ORATIO

Da nobis, quaesumus Domine, per intercessionem beati Patris Ignatii sanctorumque omnium qui sub sanctissimo Nominis Jesu vexillo ipso duce militarunt : ita tibi perfecto corde servire ; ut post huius vitae cursum gloriosi exitus illorum consortes esse mereamur. Per Dominum.

AD TERTIAM

*Capit. I.**Thess. IV.*

Fratres, rogamus vos et obsecramus in Domino Jesu, ut quemadmodum accepistis a nobis, quomodo oporteat vos ambulare et placere Deo, sic et ambuletis, ut abundetis magis.

R. br. Laetamini in Domino : * Et exultate iusti. Laetamini.

V. Et gloriamini omnes recti corde. Et exultate. Gloria Patri. Laetamini.

V. Exultent iusti in conspectu Dei.

R. Et delectentur in laetitia.

AD SEXTAM

*Capit.**Tob. II. 18.*

Filii Sanctorum sumus, et vitam illam expectamus, quam Deus daturus est his, qui fidem suam nunquam mutant ab eo.

R. br. Exultent iusti * In conspectu Dei. Exultent. *V.* Et delectentur in laetitia. In conspectu. Gloria Patri. Exultent.

V. Justii autem in perpetuum vivent.

R. Et apud Dominum est merces eorum.

AD NONAM

*Capit.**2. Cor. II. 14.*

Deo autem gratias, qui semper triumphat nos in Christo Iesu, et odorem notitiae suae manifestat per nos in omni loco ; quia Christi bonus odor sumus Deo.

R. br. Iusti autem : * In perpetuum vivent. Iusti. *V.* Et apud Dominum est merces eorum : In perpet. Gloria Patri. Iusti.

V. Adiutorium nostrum in Nomine Domini :

R. Qui fecit caelum et terram.

IN II. VESPERIS

Ant. I. Quam dilecta tabernacula tua, Domine virtutum ! concupiscit et deficit anima mea in atria Domini.

Psalmi ut in I. Vesp., et loco ultim., Ps. 115 Credidi.

2. Elegi abiectus esse in domo Dei mei, magis quam habitare in tabernaculis peccatorum.

3. Mihi autem adhaerere Deo bonum est : ponere in Domino Deo spem meam.

4. Fortitudo mea, et laus mea Dominus : vox exultationis et salutis in tabernaculis iustorum.

5. Unam peti a Domino, hanc requiram : ut inhabitem in domo Domini omnibus diebus vitae meae.

Capitulum.

I. Thess. IV.

Fratres, rogamus vos et obsecramus in Domino Iesu, ut quemadmodum accepistis a nobis quomodo oporteat vos ambulare et placere Deo, sic et ambuletis, ut abundetis magis.

Hymnus, ut in I. Vesperis.

V. Sit nomen Domini benedictum, Alleluia.

R. Ex hoc nunc et usque in saeculum, Alleluia.

Ad Magnif. Ant. Vos qui reliquistis omnia, et secuti estis me, centuplum accipietis, et vitam aeternam possidebitis.

ORATIO

Da nobis, quaesumus Domine, per intercessionem beati Patris Ignatii sanctorumque omnium qui sub sanctissimo Nominis Jesu vexillo ipso duce militarunt : ita tibi perfecto corde servire ; ut post huius vitae cursum gloriosi exitus illorum consortes esse mereamur. Per Dominum.

Missa in Festo Omnium Sanctorum Societatis Jesu

Introitus.

Philip. II.

In nomine Iesu omne genu flectatur, caelestium, terrestrium, et infernorum : et omnis lingua confiteatur, quia Dominus Iesus Christus in gloria est Dei Patris.

Ps. 8. Domine, Dominus noster, quam admirabile est Nomen tuum in universa terra ! V. Gloria Patri.

ORATIO

Deus, qui nos, sub sanctissimo Nominis tui vexillo militantes, beati Patris Ignatii et Sanctorum nostrorum praesidio confirmasti ; concede, ut, quorum celebramus gloriam, virtutum quoque imitemur exempla. Qui vivis.

Lectio Epistolae Beati Pauli Apostoli ad Corinthios.

Ep. II. cap. VI.

Fratres : Adiuvantes autem exhortamur, ne in vacuum gratiam Dei recipiatis. Nemini dantes ullam offensionem, ut non vituperetur ministerium nostrum ; sed in omnibus exhibeamus nosmetipsos sicut Dei ministros in multa patientia, in tribulationibus, in necessitatibus, in angustiis, in plagis, in carceribus, in seditionibus, in laboribus, in vigiliis, in ieiuniis, in castitate, in scientia, in longanimitate, in suavitate, in Spiritu Sancto, in charitate non ficta, in verbo veritatis, in virtute Dei,

per arma iustitiae a dextris et a sinistris, per gloriam et ignobilitatem, per infamiam et bonam famam : ut seductores, et veraces, sicut qui ignoti et cogniti : quasi morientes, et ecce vivimus : ut castigati, et non mortificati : quasi tristes, semper autem gaudentes : sicut egentes, multos autem locupletantes : tanquam nihil habentes, et omnia possidentes. Vos enim estis templum Dei vivi sicut dicit Deus : Quoniam inhabitabo in illis et inambulabo inter eos : et ero illorum Deus, et ipsi erunt mihi populus.

Graduale.—Hebr. XIII. Mementote praepositorum vestrorum, qui vobis locuti sunt verbum Dei : quorum intuentes exitum conversationis, imitamini fidem.

V. Ps. 132. Ecce quam bonum, et quam iucundum habitare fratres in unum. Alleluia, Alleluia.

V. Luc. XXII. Vos estis, qui permansistis mecum in tentationibus meis : et ego dispono vobis regnum ut sedeatis super thronos iudicantes duodecim tribus Israel. Alleluia.

✠ *Sequentia sancti Evangelii secundum Matthaeum.*

In illo tempore : Videns Iesus turbas, ascendit in montem et cum sedisset, accesserunt ad eum discipuli eius, et aperiens, os suum, docebat eos dicens : Beati pauperes spiritu ; quoniam ipsorum est regnum caelorum. Beati mites ; quoniam ipsi possidebunt terram. Beati qui lugent ; quoniam ipsi consolabuntur. Beati qui esuriunt et sitiunt iustitiam ; quoniam ipsi saturabuntur. Beati misericordes ; quoniam ipsi misericordiam consequentur. Beati mundo corde ; quoniam ipsi Deum videbunt. Beati pacifici ; quoniam filii Dei vocabuntur. Beati qui persecutionem patiuntur propter iustitiam ; quoniam ipsorum est regnum caelorum. Beati estis cum maledixerint vobis, et persecuti vos fuerint, et dixerint omne malum adversum vos mentientes propter me : gaudete et exsultate, quoniam merces vestra copiosa est in caelis.

CREDO

Offertorium. Ecc. XLIV. Filii eorum propter illos usque in aeternum manent : semen eorum et gloria eorum non derelinquetur. Nomen eorum vivit in generationem et generationem.

SECRETA

Militibus tuis, Domine, adesto propitius, Sanctorum nostrorum interveniente suffragio ; et quos caelestibus mysteriis alis ad victoriam, tui Nominis virtute confirma. Qui vivis.

Communio. I. Cor. I. 9. Fidelis Deus, per quem vocati estis in societatem filii eius Iesu Christi Domini nostri.

POSTCOMMUNIO

Fac nos, Domine Iesu, immortalitatis alimonia refectos, in Corde tuo iugiter vivere; ut te in omnibus et super omnia diligentes, perpetua vita cum Sanctis tuis fruamur in caelis. Qui vivis.

THE APPOINTMENT OF ITALIAN BISHOPS

MOTU-PROPRIO

DE ELECTIONE EPISCOPORUM AD SUPREMAM S. CONGREGATIONEM
S. OFFICII AVOCANDA

PIVS PP. X.

Romanis Pontificibus maximae semper curae fuit, ut singulis in orbe terrarum Ecclesiis tales praeficerentur Pastores qui probe scirent strenueque valerent tantum sustinere *onus* vel ipsis *angelicis humeris formidandum*. Ex quo factum est ut ab antiquis temporibus plura iidem ediderint, quibus vel novae pro Episcoporum felici delectu traderentur normae, vel iam traditarum observantia urgeretur.

Haec inter speciali quidem recordatione digna censemus quae, ante Sacrosanctum Tridentinum Concilium, Supremus Pontifex Leo X,¹ post illud vero, Xistus V,² Gregorius XIV³ atque Urbanus VIII⁴ de qualitatibus promovendorum deque forma in eorum promotione servanda sapientissime constituerunt; Nobis tamen in primis memorare libet quae a pia memoriae Decessoribus Nostris Benedicto XIV⁵ et Leone XIII⁶ decreta sunt. Quorum alter methodum hac in re gravissima a priore invectam ab usu paulatim recessisse dolens, eam instaurare cogitans, inde a primo sui Pontificatus anno, Constitutione *Immortalis memoriae* peculiarem S.R.E. Cardinalium Congregationem instituit, cuius esset,

¹ Bulla *Supernae dispositionis* edita 3 Nonas Maii 1514.

² Bulla *Immensa* edita 11 Kal. Febr. 1587.

³ Bulla *Onus* edita Idibus Maii 1591.

⁴ Instructio circa modum servandi praescriptiones Conc. Trid. et Const. *Onus* Greg. XIV in processibus de eligendis Episcopis, edita an. 1627. In Conc. Trid. hac de re agitur sess. VII, cap. 1; sess. XXIV, cap. 2; sess. XXV, cap. 1.

⁵ Bulla *Ad Apostolicæ* edita 16 Kal. Nov. 1740, et *Gravissimum* edita die 18 Ian. 1757.

⁶ Bulla *Immortalis memoriae* edita 11 Kal. Oct. 1878.

salva manente in omnibus forma et ratione in electione et confirmatione Episcoporum exterarum regionum eousque a Sancta hac Sede servata, operam suam ad promotionem praeficiendum Italiae dioecesisbus sedulo praestare.

Providentissimi huius instituti salutaribus effectibus experientia comprobatis, vix dum, licet inviti, universalis Ecclesiae gubernacula, Deo disponente, tractanda suscepimus, ad illud perficiendum provehendumque animum intendimus. Quem in finem praefatam de eligendis Italiae Episcopis a Leone XIII fundatam Congregationem, Supremae Sacrae Congregationi S. Officii, cui Ipsimet immediate praesidemus, coagmentantes, decernimus at statimus ut, servatis ex integro rationibus et formis quae in electione Episcoporum pro locis Sacris Congregationibus de Propaganda Fide et Negotiorum Ecclesiasticorum Extraordinariorum subiectis vel ubi peculiaribus Constitutionibus aut Concordatus res moderatur, in praesens adhibentur, caeterorum omnium Episcoporum delectus ac promotio eidem Supremae S. Officii Congregationi, veluti materia ipsius propria, deferatur.

Et quoniam huius Congregationis id proprium est, quod eius membra et officiales ad suum munus fideliter obeundum inviolatumque in omnibus et cum omnibus secretum servandum sub poena teneantur excommunicationis maioris latae sententiae, ipso facto et absque alia declaratione incurrendae, a qua nonnisi a Nobis atque a Nostris pro tempore Successoribus Romanis Pontificibus, privative etiam quoad S. Poenitentiarum ipsumque D. Cardinalem Poenitentiarum, praeterquam in articulo mortis, absolvi queant; eadem prorsus obligatione sub iisdem omnino poenis et sanctionibus teneri in posterum volumus atque expresse declaramus omnes et singulos, cuiuscumque dignitatis ac prae-eminentiae sint, quos in negotio de eligendis per supradictam Supremam S. Officii Congregationem Episcopis, quovis modo, ratione vel titulo partem habere contingat.

Ut autem eidem Supremae Congregationi in gravissimo hoc expediendo negotio, certa et constans norma praesto foret; methodum ea in re sequendam, opportuna Instructione, singillatim describi curavimus; qua, praeter ea quae de accuratissima circa promovendorum fidem, vitam, mores prudentiamque inquisitione peragenda statuimus, in plenum vigorem revocavimus *periculum de doctrina* quod ab ipsis promovendis, habita ratione praescriptionum S. Caroli Borromaei in Conc. Prov. Mediolan. I. p. 2, omnino faciendum praecipimus.

Quae quidem omnia ut per ipsammet Supremam Congregationem S. Officii plane adimpleri valeant, mandamus denique, ad quos spectat, ut Sedium Episcopaliū, ut supra non exceptarum, vacatio eidem in posterum, litteris ad ipsius Cardinalem Secretarium datis, quamprimum ac recto tramite notificetur.

Haec edicimus, declaramus, sancimus, contrariis quibuscumque non obstantibus.

Datum Romae, apud S. Petrum die XVII Decembris MCMIII, Pontificatus Nostri anno primo.

PIVS PP. X.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

A HISTORY OF MODERN ENGLAND. By Herbert Paul. In Five Vols. Vols. I., II. London: Macmillan & Co., 1904.

MR. HERBERT PAUL'S *History of Modern England* will be complete in five volumes. So far only two have appeared; and we have just made our way through them. The history begins with the downfall of Sir Robert Peel's government in 1846, and the two first volumes bring us to the death of Lord Palmerston in 1865. The period is full of interest. The Prime Ministers during the time were Lord John Russell, Lord Derby, Lord Aberdeen, Lord Palmerston, Lord Derby again, and Lord Palmerston again. The 'Ecclesiastical Titles Bill,' the 'Irish Famine,' the 'Italian Revolution,' the 'Crimean War,' the 'Indian Mutiny,' the American 'Civil War,' are the chief events that come under review.

Mr. Herbert Paul's historical style is that of an expert journalist rather than of a great historian. The book is full of clever things, of epigrammatic summaries, of keen invective, of brilliant description. It is magnificent; but it is not history. When Mr. Herbert Paul has finished his five volumes he will have produced a most interesting and attractive work; but the 'History of Modern England' will still remain to be written.

In matters Irish which have nothing to do with the Church Mr. Paul is usually sympathetic, although his sympathy stops short as a rule when it comes to a matter of finance. His treatment of ecclesiastical subjects that refer in any way to the Catholic Church is often flippant and not rarely offensive. Louis Napoleon excites his anger at every turn. He is a 'perjurer,' 'a robber,' and 'a thief.' There is no end to his villainy. Really anyone who writes of Napoleon III. as Mr. Paul does is no historian. He is a furious political partisan. He cannot suppress his rage; he cannot even keep it under decent restraint.

Another victim of Mr. Paul's animosity is King Ferdinand of Naples—'a cruel and superstitious bigot,' whom Gladstone denounced so fiercely in his famous letter to Lord Aberdeen. But what Mr. Paul fails to note is the fact that Lord Palmerston,

who was such a fiery partisan of liberty at Naples was an equally strenuous defender of slavery in America, and that the man who helped so powerfully to dethrone King Ferdinand became one of the props of the Turkish Empire and of the abominable tyrant who ruled it. It is really laughable to read all this humbug about Naples coming from men who supported Sir Robert Peel's Coercion Bill, making it a crime to appear out of doors after nightfall. Talk of unfair trials! Why, these very men, having carried through Parliament a Coercion Bill of their own, took hold of their political opponents without any trial of any kind, threw them into their dungeons wholesale, made them herd with criminals of the deepest dye, made them sleep on the plank-bed, degraded, reviled, and defamed them; and then they want us to take them seriously when they talk of tyranny at Naples and tell us that it was the pure fire of liberty burning within their bosoms that made them attack King 'Bomba.' King Ferdinand certainly did many things that were severe and that will not stand the test of humanity; but at least he did not make merry over the sufferings of his victims. He did not jeer at Poerio's 'breeches.' He did not publicly declare that his policy was to exterminate a million of his subjects and give the remainder twenty years of 'resolute government.' He did not grind his people with taxation for the benefit of foreigners, nor starve their intellects unless they proved traitors to their faith.

A fine specimen of British grandeur is noted in the case of Lord Clarendon who was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in 1850. 'He had no sympathy with Irishmen, or with Catholics; but he was inflexibly just, and his conduct in removing Lord Roden, the leader of the Orange party in the North, from the Commission of the Peace for encouraging the turbulent procession at Dolly's Brae met with almost universal approval.' What a magnanimous statesman! And what wonderful impartiality that the hero of Dolly's Brae was not allowed to administer justice to the Catholics of Ulster! For similar conduct a Catholic magistrate would have been transported to Botany Bay. Lord Roden was deprived of the Commission of the Peace; and the statesman who had the courage to take such vigorous action is commended by a British Radical historian of the twentieth century!

Accounting for the sympathies of Englishmen in the struggle between Russia and Turkey which eventuated in the Crimean War, Mr. Paul says:—'They saw a great power bullying a

small one ; and their sympathies went where the natural sympathies of Englishmen always go.' After all there is nothing like impartiality, even when you are compelled to do justice to yourself. If you do not blow your own horn, who will blow it for you ?

The spirit of chivalry may have departed from other lands ; but it is at least a consolation to know that it still hovers over Britain. Other countries may indulge their Chauvinism and Fatherlandism ; we, like Anacharsis Clootz, stand up for mankind.

With all his Jingoism, however, Mr. Paul is a very attractive writer and his two volumes are well worth reading. He may not be able to extricate himself from inherited prejudice and the influence of environment and tradition : but his greatest faults are redeemed by a sprightly wit, an ardour that is refreshing, a sincerity that leaves no room for doubt, a go and earnestness that are communicative, and a style that for not being classic is none the less captivating. There is not a dull page in the two volumes. Catholics will find much in them that must be discounted. Irishmen will find a great deal that will provoke a not unfriendly smile. We cannot recommend them to the general reader ; but educated Catholics may read them with pleasure and with profit.

J. F. H.

GOSPELS OF THE SUNDAYS AND FESTIVALS. By Rev. C. Ryan. Two Vols. Dublin: Browne & Nolan, Ltd. 1904.

EVERY priest entrusted with the care of souls knows the value of a good commentary on those portions of Holy Writ which most frequently form the subject of his sermons. Year after year it is his duty and privilege to explain the words of his Divine Master, to put before the faithful the great truths of salvation : the obvious reason for the Church's law being, that in the Gospels these truths are inculcated as nowhere else in Scripture. Hence the prominent place assigned them in the mental and moral training of the young ecclesiastic.

But though in his college course he studied the Gospels with all due attention, it may easily happen that before beginning to prepare his Sunday discourse the priest feels a desire to refresh his knowledge respecting some word or phrase or locality or event. In the midst of missionary work he may, however, be

unable to secure time for prolonged study, or on the other hand he may find that the familiar class-book, though admirably adapted to its own end, or rather because so admirably suited, is not exactly what he wants at present. Hence the need of what may be called a preacher's commentary, designed and executed for the special work in hand. A great authority has said that definiteness is the preacher's virtue, and the remark applies to every work written for the preacher's use.

The author of the present commentary, Father Ryan, who was for many years Professor of Scripture in Clonliffe College, Dublin, has had ample opportunity of knowing the wishes and the needs of ecclesiastical students. Added to this, his parochial experience has enabled him to give to his work a practical character that is rarely to be met with. It would be difficult to find an equally good book on the subject; indeed, so far as we know, there is none to be found in English. Its plan may be briefly described here. First, the Greek text and the Vulgate version are placed in parallel columns. Then comes the Douay or an English translation. In case the Sunday Gospel has elsewhere a passage or passages parallel to it Father Ryan gives them, and adds what he calls a 'Combined Narrative.' This is, we venture to think, one of the most useful and original parts of the entire work. As regards both the learned Introduction and the Notes, suffice it to say that they are copious and clear. If we may select a few specimens and direct our readers' attention to them, the explanation of the dogmatic bearing of the Gospel of the third Mass on Christmas Day (vol. i., p. 75, ff.), and of the difficult text (St. John xiv. 28) in the Gospel for Whit-Sunday, seem worthy of special notice. This remark applies also to the harmonizing of statements apparently contradictory, an all-important matter to which minute and unremitting attention has evidently been devoted. Instances of it may be found in vol. i., pp. 233, 334, and Gospel for Easter, p. 327, ff. Father Ryan has neglected nothing that could enhance the value of his work, every available source of information has been consulted, and the results of his wide reading are given so concisely that it is a pleasure to read his book.

We heartily recommend it, and we trust that its circulation may correspond to its merit.

R. W.

IN PATHS OF PEACE. By Lily E. F. Barry. With Illustrations by A. G. Racey. London: Burns & Oates. Price 2s. 6d.

THIS volume consists of a series of short essays, or monographs, on various subjects of a literary, moral, social, and domestic character. They were originally published in an American magazine, and now appear in book form for the first time. The authoress is possessed of a keen philosophic way of looking at things, so that each little sketch is the outcome of deep and studied thought, and, consequently, affords very wholesome reading of a practical kind. She discusses such topics as 'Self-Restraint,' 'The Power of Kind Words,' 'Hospitality,' 'Heroism in Small Things,' etc., and what she has to say on these and kindred matters is well worth reading.

The writing is vigorous, and the style is both graceful and attractive. The book might be used with advantage by those who have to do with the formation and training of youthful minds. In fact, all who are desirous to know the true dignity and value of life, and to live up to their knowledge, will profit by its advice in many things.

APHORISMI EUCHARISTICI. Opera Jacobi Merlo-Horstii, denuo edidit, Jos. Aloysius Kerbs, C.S.S.R. Ratisbon, Rome, New York: Pustet. 1902.

WE have much pleasure in bringing under the notice of the clergy this beautiful little book of devotion for priests, by the famous author of the *Paradisus Animae*. It is a collection of the choicest utterances of the Fathers and approved ascetical writers on the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass, intended to inflame the piety and increase the reverence of those who are privileged to ascend the altar. The late Cardinal Manning often said that 'the *Paradisus Animae*' of Horstius, was, with the *Imitation of Christ*, amongst the greatest books of devotion ever written.

Other works of the same author, such as the *Viaticum Quotidianum Hominis Christianae*, and the *Monita Sapientiae Christianae*, have served as guides to some of the holiest and best men that ever lived. In this little volume we have the *pia monita* of the celebrant. The chapters are headed, 'Dignitas Sacerdotii et Sacrificii,' 'Praeparatio Missae Praemittenda,' 'Puritas et Sanctitas Requisita,' 'Probatio Sui Ipsius ante

Missam,' 'Excitanda Fides et Devotio,' 'Pura et Sancta Intentio Celebrantis,' 'Compositio Corporis et Animae,' 'Gratiarum Actio,' 'Frequens Celebratio Missae,' 'Effectus Sacrificii,' 'Praxis Pie Celebrandi.' At the end the official and indulgenced prayers before and after Mass are given together with the Litanies.

There are, of course, many books of devotion of this kind in use at the present day. Of this one we will only say that it is admirably suited for its purpose, not too long or too diffuse, convenient in size and well printed. Fortunate are the priests who will read a chapter of it before and after Mass.

J. F. H.

MONASTERIES AND RELIGIOUS HOUSES OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND. By F. M. Steele. Washbourne. 1903.

THIS work is a popular account of the religious congregations and communities in Great Britain and Ireland, and despite the interesting explanation to which we are treated in the Introduction, we should have preferred that the title of the book had been a little more exact. For those who wish to learn something about the religious communities in these countries, and who have no opportunity of consulting the more exhaustive accounts, this work will prove exceedingly useful. The sketches of the different bodies, though necessarily brief, are accurate, and, as far as possible, complete. The publishers are to be congratulated, especially on the 'Illustrations' of the habits of the different communities.

J. MACC.

[A New York correspondent informs us that the Dr. Mooney referred to in a recent number of our periodical in connection with altar wine is *not* Mgr. Mooney, Vicar-General of New York, but a distinguished Catholic layman now no more. We gladly make the correction.—ED. I. E. RECORD.]



SIR HORACE PLUNKETT'S LECTURE

THE Irish Catholic clergy have had many opportunities during the past hundred years of seeing themselves as others see them. Their critics have been as busily engaged, as inquisitorial, as confidential with the public, as they have been numerous and varied. If there remains a microscopic defect in our character that has not been thrown upon the screen and specially magnified for the edification of the world and for our own reproof and correction we may rest assured that it will not long lie hidden, seeing the number and the eagerness of the explorers who are in search of it. The activity of these investigators during the past few years has been truly prodigious; and if we have hitherto taken but little notice of their exertions it is because we were of opinion, with Dean Swift, that—

The most effectual way to baulk
Their malice is to let them talk.

Frank Hugh O'Donnell,¹ Filson Young,² George Moore,³ W. J. M. Starkie,⁴ M. J. F. M'Carthy,⁵ Professor Tyrrell,⁶ R. J. Smith,⁷ have in turn given us the benefit of their

¹ *The Ruin of Education in Ireland.*

² *Ireland at the Cross Roads.*

³ *The Untilled Field*

⁴ Paper read before the British Association in Belfast.

⁵ *Five Years in Ireland. Priests and People.*

⁶ The famous Sonnet.

⁷ *Ireland's Renaissance.*

vast experience and of their unrivalled stores of knowledge and virtue. Their wisdom has been acquired in regions of philosophic calm to which the clergy, of course, have no access. The restricted horizon that limits our outlook and the clouded atmosphere through which we move are, of themselves, sufficient to keep us out of court. The short-comings of Christianity escape our narrow vision, and the hopeless dishonesty and selfishness of its expounders are brought home so clearly to our doors that we need not even try to divest ourselves of the responsibility they entail. And so without any earthly motive except that of doing a public service and setting the country right, these comrades so strangely allied and so curiously assorted have taken the field against us, and have concentrated upon us the deadly fire of their batteries.

Of Mr. Frank Hugh O'Donnell we do not wish to write an unkindly word. We can make many allowances for the aberrations and eccentricities of genius. We do not quite forget the eloquence of other days. We have still some recollection of the embassy of Challemel Lacour and of the fourth centenary of Martin Luther. We can forgive him a good deal for the grandeur of his conceptions and the Olympian range of his imagination. What could be finer, for instance, than his comparison of Maynooth College to the great Phanar of Constantinople—the great light-house in which, under the shadow of the Crescent, the Greeks were educated—those Phanariots who became the virtual rulers of an empire, the merchant princes of European cities from Odessa to Marseilles, the agents and ultimately the founders of Grecian liberty? Above all, we cannot forget that Mr. O'Donnell was at one time a very orthodox and edifying contributor to our own pages, in which he stigmatised with proper epithets the opponents of clerical and monastic life on the continent of Europe.

As Mr. Filson Young looks upon all religions from the standpoint of an impartial outsider, and as he is graciously pleased to consent that we should be tolerated, what can we do but make our humble acknowledgments and thank our stars that after having survived the Penal Laws we

are not to be extinguished by a correspondent of the *Daily Mail*?

To have been tried and found wanting both in faith and morals by Mr. George Moore is, indeed, a sad reproach, coming from such a high authority; but tried by so severe a test how could we expect any other result?

Of Dr. Starkie we have already said our say; and we may safely leave him to carry out the *organisation* of the National Board.

Nobody, we fancy, will expect us to waste words or space on Mr. M'Carthy, whose works are pretty sure to recoil on their author, if they have not done so already, without any help from us. But is not Mr. M'Carthy a 'Catholic' product of Trinity College? And what more striking justification than his performance could be offered of the attitude of the Catholic body generally towards the establishment that has given him to the world? With four or five hundred M'Carthys scattered up and down through the country what a pleasant island this would be for Catholics to live in! And how nice and considerate of the Trinity College authorities to invite, through His Eminence Cardinal Logue, the Catholic youth of Ireland within the portals where so sweet and amiable a character has been formed. Here is truly one of the advantages of Catholics and Protestants resorting to the same mart of learning and drinking at the same pure fountain of knowledge. The most phenomenal thing about Mr. M'Carthy and his campaign, however, is the eagerness with which his effusions were taken up and disseminated by a section of our Protestant fellow-countrymen. We had no conception until then of how strong a place the old Adam held amongst them still.

We had thought, nevertheless, that the campaign was dying its natural death when out came Professor Tyrrell with his sonnet, like Dame Partington with her broom, to sweep back the tide of Catholic revival. We had been contending that it was within the historic precincts of the institution Professor Tyrrell so worthily represents that the degradation of our Church and faith was callously planned

and fiercely instigated in former days, and that, although it has lost a good deal of its power in recent times, its spirit is but little changed. Professor Tyrrell has come forward of his own accord to confirm this view. He has rendered us a service and we tender him our thanks.

It would not, perhaps, be courteous to pass over, even in such a brief review as this, Mr. R. J. Smith on *Ireland's Renaissance*. Mr. Smith has also weighed us in very delicate scales specially invented by himself, and in many respects has found the balance against us. It is pleasant, however, to be assured that we are not quite hopeless and that if we only follow the canons of conduct he lays down for us we may yet redeem some at least of our deficiencies.⁸

It is, on the whole, a considerable relief to turn from the class of literature we have thus briefly indicated to the work of Sir Horace Plunkett,⁹ which is now before us. Here, at least, we have a man whose practical services to the country entitle him to a hearing, and whose views are communicated in a style so clear and in language so moderate and dispassionate, that whether we agree with him or not we can always listen to him with interest and differ from him with candour and good feeling equal to his own. He is in every respect far abler, deeper, more refined, and more judicial than the reformers mentioned above. The earnestness with which he has addressed himself to the problems discussed in his book commands our admiration, and his evident desire to be courteous and impersonal even when most critical and aggressive give him no small claim to reciprocity. Praise and blame, it must also be acknowledged, are not confined to one side or the other. We should be, indeed, by no means unwilling to take in good part his criticism of ecclesiastical policy and conduct were we satisfied that his elaborate programme was not conceived—honestly and pleasantly conceived—outlined and planned with a far seeing eye to an achievement which does not quite commend itself to our acceptance. Not

⁸ We hope to get some of Mr. Smith's peculiar theories dealt with in the near future.

⁹ *Ireland in the New Century*.

being so satisfied we can scarcely be expected to offer him much sympathy in his distress. No one will have any difficulty in recognising the individual the author has in his mind when, speaking of the apathy and indifference of Irish Unionists to the welfare of their country, he says :—

Now and again an individual tries to broaden the basis of his Unionism, and to bring himself into touch with the life of the people. But, the nearer he gets to the people the farther he gets from the Irish Unionist leaders. The lot of such an individual is not a happy one ; he is regarded as a mere intruder, who does not know the rules of the game, and he is treated by the leading players on both sides like a dog in a tennis court. —(Page 64.)

Finally, we recognise with pleasure that there is not in Sir Horace Plunkett's volume much trace of the arrogant and domineering tone which less competent and less experienced authorities think themselves so freely at liberty to adopt in their disquisitions on the problems of Irish life, and particularly in their lectures to the Catholic clergy.

Having said so much we must candidly confess that, with the best will in the world, our stock of praise, apart from some details in the last two chapters, will not carry us much farther. For if anyone imagines that he is going to find in this volume evidence of any transcendental impartiality or of any profound political or economic wisdom he will not need much reflection to convince him that he has been grievously mistaken. We feel, indeed, quite justified in going a step further, and saying that this volume involves its author in such hopeless contradictions and reveals so curious an attitude of mind towards church and country that confidence in him, and co-operation with the Department over which he presides, will not, to say the least of it, be improved by its publication.

In the first three chapters we recognise a good deal that is true and a good deal that is half true mingled with things that are on the face of them childish and absurd. It is rather late in the day to be talking to us now of the tribal system and the clan, as if, whilst Englishmen had outgrown the heptarchy, the democratic Irish were still hankering after tanistry and gavel-kind.

Then we are told that five or six millions a year in agricultural rent would not be missed out of the pockets of Irish farmers if only they had the moral fibre and the civic virtue of Scotchmen and Englishmen to build up a fortune for themselves. Sir Horace Plunkett knows perfectly well that before Gladstone lifted the giant load off the shoulders of the Irish farmer industry and thrift, far from enabling him to build up a fortune, too often only added to his misery when he saw the fruits of both one and the other wrested from his hands. What industry could flourish, what thrift could bear fruit in such conditions? For it is no exaggeration to say, that taking things all in all, and making due allowance for temporary and isolated exceptions, the system of government and of land administration that prevailed since the Irish Protestant gentry sold the national birthright and abandoned their country in 1800 became a huge impediment to every effort, individual and national, that made for material progress. Truly has it been compared to the serpents in Laocoon, winding themselves around the sinews and paralysing the limbs of father and children alike, till the vital energy of both was well-nigh exhausted. What is the use of telling us that five or six millions a year of agricultural rent made no difference to a people so demoralised and impoverished? It may, indeed, be freely admitted that the amount extracted was not in itself so disastrous as the principle on which it was levied. But surely the extraction of six millions a year, to put it only at Sir Horace Plunkett's estimate, from a people whose life-blood had been drained away through so many other channels, was enough to leave the country in a state of hopeless inanition, particularly when so large a share of the amount was entirely unproductive and for the most part spent in foreign lands. Even when the first relief came Irish farmers had no guarantee that the fruits of their energy would be made secure beyond the term of fifteen years.

Now, however, that the 'blessed deliverance' is at hand—we know at what a cost—the Irish people may for the first time take heart and face the future with something

of the self-reliant spirit that has been so freely preached to them in the past. Let Sir Horace Plunkett talk of their moral fibre and civic virtue in twenty or thirty years, if he is still alive, which we sincerely hope he may be. Already he bears testimony to their progressive energy in one part of his contradictory book, whilst in another he dilates on their apathy and lack of enterprise. If they have made such strides since he has taken them in hands under a system of partial redemption what may we not expect when the redemption is complete ?

With the purely political questions discussed by Sir Horace Plunkett we cannot concern ourselves here. It is difficult, at the same time, to deal with his book without making a few observations on the academic side of the issues he has raised.

All through the book, and in one chapter devoted entirely to the subject, the author contends that the support given to the Irish representatives in Parliament, and the reliance placed on their efforts to promote the national welfare, have drawn away the strength and resources of the people from a far more profitable investment of their energy and wealth. He contrasts the success of the Protestants of the North who in industry and business rely on their own efforts, with the backwardness of the South where Catholics have devoted themselves so closely to politics ; and he considers it essential for the future progress of the country that politics and politicians should henceforth be measured at their real value, which is not very much, and that the chief efforts of the people should be directed to the promotion of agriculture and industry and the development of a sound and practical national life. We must leave to others to say whether or not they regard this programme as vitiated in the intention ; and how far, amongst similar things, the Protestants of this country, whether North or South, have been left to their unaided exertions. For our own part we hold that the political efforts of our representatives have secured for us blessings which no gold could purchase, and which are not to be measured by any standard that Sir Horace Plunkett seems to value. They

have, moreover, laid the foundation of whatever happiness or prosperity we may hope for in the future. They have done this, too, not only for us but for a large section of those Protestants in the North who, with all their moral courage and in spite of the premium placed on their Protestantism and the bounty on their opposition to the majority of their countrymen, have not, with a few exceptions, so very much to boast of in the way of temporal prosperity. Nor do we see any reason why antagonism should be fomented between the Gaelic League, the County Councils, or any other representative bodies and the men whom the people have chosen to represent them in a different capacity and in a different field. If they are wrong in their estimate of the political strength they have acquired it is strange how many there are who are willing to relieve them of it.

If, in the universal experience of the world, the ordinary affairs of a nation's life are managed more satisfactorily by its own people than by outsiders, and if, as in the case of the land, the fruits of national economy are to be the reward of the efforts of those who produced them, who can blame the Irish people if they think their harvest will be more secure in their own possession than in the guardianship of the great absentee? And as long as they are convinced that they have not yet secured the corner stone of the edifice that is to give them shelter and comfort, why should they not make a strenuous effort to acquire it? If, moreover, they think there is a much better chance of reconciliation with the minority of their countrymen and of a friendly and permanent understanding with their powerful neighbours by following the course they have adopted rather than any other, why should they not make that settlement, which they regard as the remedy for great evils as well as for little ones, the object of their most ardent pursuit and set their faces with determination against a system which no Englishman advocates for any civilised country but Ireland, and no Irishman for any country but his own. Sir Horace Plunkett is of opinion that the achievement of this purpose is impossible and useless. His countrymen, we have no doubt, will

give due consideration to his words and judge for themselves whether he speaks as a wise man and a prophet or rather as the representative of the very spirit he condemns. Very few of them, we think, will be converted from the error of their ways by Sir Horace Plunkett's reasoning. In the meantime there is assuredly nothing to prevent him and all other men of good-will from helping the Gaelic League and pushing forward the work of his Department without seeking to turn either one or the other into machines for the subversion of a policy on which his advice is not very eagerly sought.

The County Councils, and other popular bodies whom he lectures on their meddling in politics, may well retort : *Medice, cura teipsum*. Nobody is so foolish as to think that the opportunities of advancement that exist should not be availed of to the full, or that any of the other elements of a healthy and progressive national existence should be neglected or made to suffer. But as long as it takes fifty years of harassing agitation to remedy the most patent defects in the machinery of progress, and as long as you cannot get a policeman who makes himself a nuisance in an Irish village removed from the scene of his mischief unless you cross the stormy sea and find some means of setting the great imperial engine in motion, so long will Irishmen endeavour at whatsoever cost to secure an engine of their own, and provide for themselves those instruments of progress that prove so serviceable in other lands. Sir Horace Plunkett thinks that even if this were desirable our countrymen are going the wrong way about it, and should approach the English people in a very different spirit from that which they have manifested in recent years. But when the English people were approached in a friendly spirit, and a great English statesman whispered something about a 'union of hearts,' we wonder who it was that stirred up the passions of centuries and laughed to scorn the 'great reconciliation' which all Christian men should welcome?

Mr. Bryce, in his *History of the American Commonwealth*, tells us with what jealousy the States of the Union

bargained for their local autonomy at the Convention of Philadelphia in 1775, and everyone knows with what care the petty states of the German Empire safeguarded their local rights when they definitely entered the great Confederation in 1871. It is not alone Bavaria, Wurtemberg, Saxony that retain their local administration, but Baden, Hesse, Saxe-Coburg and Gotha, and little places like Anhalt, Oldenburg, Saxe-Weimar, have their parliaments and their practical independence. Even in Alsace-Lorraine the wishes of the people are consulted through the 'Landes-Ausschuss.'¹⁰

We are not politicians and, perhaps, do not understand these things; but we confess it does look strange to us that what is regarded as the palladium of right and liberty everywhere else should be looked upon in Ireland merely as an object of aversion which once bartered away is not worth recovering. It is necessary, perhaps, to have one's political centre of gravity, not indeed in the other world, still less in one's own unfortunate country, but on the other side of the channel, in order to see these things in their proper light.

But it is in the chapter on 'The Influence of Religion on Secular Life in Ireland' that Sir Horace Plunkett comes most directly into collision with the Catholic clergy.

Apart from questions of fundamental principle, which are serious enough, as we shall see later on, it would not be fair to say that the writer of this chapter makes any *unqualified* attack on the Catholic religion or the Catholic priesthood. Faults he has to find enough and to spare; but there is scarcely any fault for which he does not find some excusing cause or some qualifying explanation. Passages taken out of their context and carried away from the neighbourhood of other passages in conjunction with which they were intended to be read, are

¹⁰ The 'Landes-Ausschuss,' or local representative Chamber of Alsace-Lorraine, consists of 58 elected members, 13 from Lower Alsace, 10 from Upper Alsace, and 11 from Lorraine; and 24 members from the four towns of Strasburg, Mülhausen, Metz, and Colmar. See Kursehner's *Staatshandbuch*, p. 483.

liable to convey a false impression and in this case would, perhaps, be calculated to do some injustice to one who, on his side, has evidently made an effort to be just. His balancing may, indeed, leave upon you the impression of one who is—

Alike reserved to blame or to commend,
A timorous foe and a suspicious friend ;

but an open and unqualified attitude of hostility is the last thing it indicates. It may be, indeed, that beneath its mild and cautious language you discover something you did not quite expect ; but in these days even mild language is something for which we may be thankful.

Whilst, therefore, we do not wish to class Sir Horace Plunkett with the rabid bigots of the Orange party, or their Catholic allies from Trinity College and the Queen's Colleges, it is nevertheless true that with many excuses, qualifications, and apologies, he finds himself obliged to admit nearly all the charges made against us by these sympathetic critics. We must refer our readers to the book itself for a full appreciation of this chapter ; but we do not think it can be regarded as unfair if we take up here only one side of the picture and deal with the principal charges he makes against our religion and ourselves.

First of all it strikes him as an outsider that our religion is 'in some of its tendencies non-economic if not anti-economic.'

The reliance of that religion on authority, its repression of individualism, its complete shifting of what I may call the human centre of gravity to a future existence, to mention no other characteristics—appear to me calculated, unless supplemented by other influences, to check the growth of the qualities of initiative and self-reliance, especially amongst a people whose lack of education unfits them for resisting the influence of what may present itself to such minds as a kind of fatalism with resignation as its paramount virtue. (Page 102.)

If Sir Horace Plunkett has a taste for that sort of controversy he might have condescended to look into the works of Balmès¹¹ or Father Young,¹² and tell us what answer

¹¹ *European Civilization.*

¹² *Protestant and Catholic Countries Compared.*

he has to make to these writers on the subject of celibacy and Catholicism and their influence on civilization and prosperity. If he was not prepared to do that it can scarcely be considered fair that he should utilize the position which he has hitherto held with the good will of Irish Catholics, to discredit their religion and themselves in the eyes of the world. That, of course, may not have been his intention. He speaks, indeed, with diffidence, and, as usual, qualifies and almost withdraws his words in the following passage ; but his words are on record, and the qualification does not blot them out.

It is true, of course, that Catholics do not look on wealth as the highest good either of individuals or of nations. It is true that they make the value of this life to depend chiefly on its relation to the life to come. Protestantism is, on the other hand, utilitarian and worldly. It goes on the principle that as this world is the best we have any experience of we should make the most of it. Catholics even go so far as to think that the highest and most perfect form of life is to leave all this world can offer and take up the cross and follow the footsteps of their Master in detachment and poverty. To Protestants all this is extravagance and folly. But whilst Catholics maintain that their conception of life is founded clearly on the Gospel, and that the Gospel is neither 'uneconomic or anti-economic,' they also believe that it is better suited than any other to raise up and to maintain a strong, pure, and energetic race. They believe, moreover, that their view of things is justified by history and by the actual condition of the world. 'One ounce of fact is worth a ton of theory,' says Russell Lowell ; and when we find such countries as Belgium, Westphalia, and Lombardy putting British manufactures out of their own market, we are not particularly alarmed as to how our religion looks from the economic point of view to an outsider like Sir Horace Plunkett.

To attribute the apathy of the Irish peasant not to its natural and patent cause, but to a resignation which is in reality a kind of fatalism, is another illustration of the author's inability or unwillingness to face realities. To

deprive a man persistently of the reward of his labour and then to ascribe to fatalism the fact that he takes the world easy is rather too transparent. No matter how you may wish to ignore the past and turn your face to the future, habits begotten of three centuries of demoralisation and oppression cannot be got rid of all in a day.

We are sorry that Sir Horace Plunkett should have thought it worthy of him to join in the cry that has been raised against the building of churches and ecclesiastical dwelling-houses by people from whom nothing better could be expected. We should have thought that the reply of the Bishop of Limerick to Professor Tyrrell and his sonnet, which represented the general opinion of Catholics on this subject, would have been enough for a moderate man like the author of *Ireland in the New Century*. Everybody knows that there are in each province in Ireland hundreds of churches built under the shadow of the Penal Laws which are now crumbling to decay ; and yet the bishops and clergy will not undertake to replace them until the advent of better times. Out of consideration for the poor they think it better that the ' Old chapels ' should stand for generations yet to come ; and that only in an extreme case, when, owing to the ravages of time, the threatening ruin of an old building leaves them no choice, they should decide to build again. This decision once come to they do not admit that they are violating any economic principle in erecting, once and for all, a solid and suitable structure. In some few cases, indeed, the sense of proportion in these matters may not have been observed ; but the excess can scarcely be said to constitute any serious economic crime.

With almost all that Sir Horace Plunkett says about the furniture of existing churches and the importation from abroad of statues, wood-carvings, stained glass, and textile ornaments, we are in entire agreement. We cannot help thinking that, speaking generally, what the country produces is more acceptable to Almighty God in His temples, than ornaments imported from other lands. And we sincerely hope that with improved methods in technical and artistic education it may soon be possible to get in this

country everything that could fairly be required for the ornamentation of our churches.

Sir Horace Plunkett is shocked at the number of costly and elaborate monastic and conventual buildings which have recently been set up on all sides, and looks upon their inmates as belonging to the 'unproductive classes.' We could readily agree that some proportion should be observed between the population and resources of any country and the number of monastic and conventual establishments that would be a benefit to it and not a burden ; but as things stand the last country in the world in which the conventual establishments could be said to be a burden is Ireland, where they admittedly give the best education and perform works of charity and mercy which may seem 'unproductive' to those who dislike them, but to unprejudiced witnesses are not so. The same may be said of the Christian Brothers, and we know of no other Order that is on the increase or setting up any buildings worth mentioning. On the other hand we know that whilst the Protestant Episcopal clergy are well housed and lodged, mostly at the public expense, by the arrangement made at the time of Disestablishment, many poor Catholic priests have to live in miserable houses or in wretched lodgings where they can barely procure the necessaries of life. And whilst all this noise is made about Catholic church-building and religious houses the fact is lost sight of that a large section of the Protestant community is wasting its energy in a fashion that must strike anyone who has eyes to see. We all know that there are numerous towns in every province where there are four or five thousand inhabitants. In such towns you find, as a rule, one Catholic church for three or four thousand people ; whilst for one thousand Protestants, and sometimes less, you have not only a Protestant Episcopal church, but half-a-dozen conventicles representing various sects and communities of Protestants. These little buildings are, in the great majority of cases, the reverse of artistic. There is nothing in the least educational or inspiring about them. They are certainly not anything from which we could learn

a lesson in any respect. But they have to be maintained with their caretakers, and to pay rent and taxes, and support a clergyman and his family. This is all very hard on the poorer class of Protestants who frequent these places, and it does not strike an outsider as being based on any very sound principle of economy, or as representing a particularly economic religion ; but after all that is their own affair. If they want such luxuries, let them have them. Who desires to interfere with them ? But if we Catholics wish to spend a few pounds on our own places of worship why will Protestants not show us a little toleration and shout so loudly that this money would be much better spent on a bacon-factory or a poultry-yard ? And if Sir Horace Plunkett thinks that secular, municipal, and industrial buildings are neglected, why does he not get his friends to spend on them some proportionate share of the £112,000,000 for the production of which the *moral fibre*, the *energy*, and the *self-reliance* of the Irish people are to be mortgaged for the next sixty-eight and a half years ? He may rely upon it that the clergy would be only too glad to co-operate in any such project with the ' natural leaders ' of the people, if these leaders would only give the lead in their own walk of life, and do something, besides talking and preaching to others, for the good of their country.

But whatever hesitation Sir Horace Plunkett may have about condemning the conventual and monastic system he has none whatever in assuring us that ' the competition of celibates, living in community, is excessive and educationally injurious.' During a good part of last century there were many places in Ireland where there were no classical or secondary schools except those conducted by laymen. Elderly people will tell you that in their time there were no other in whole counties. Do you think these poor laymen, who struggled so bravely in those dark days to keep alive the torch of learning amongst the people, got any assistance or any countenance whatever from the people who are now so much concerned about lay teachers ? Did they get any support from a paternal and enlightened Government ? Did the great territorial landlords, with

thirty and forty thousand acres in the neighbourhood, give a penny to maintain the men who tried so hard to bring the blessings of education to the doors of the poor delvers on their properties? No. They were allowed to starve and die out, and the people would have been left in hopeless ignorance if the clergy had not stepped into the breach, and helped them to rise above the condition of slaves, and opened up to them the way to professional and mercantile life. These men, 'who have money for everything except education,' have covered the country with secondary schools which they have provided by imposing on themselves hardships and privations that were severe almost beyond endurance, but which they have never grudged in such a cause. There is, perhaps, nothing more glorious in the history of the Church during the nineteenth century than this spectacle of old men, grown venerable in the service of faith and fatherland, handing over for the education and advancement of their people, the savings of a life-time, and of young men throbbing with life and energy, depriving themselves of the most primitive comforts and putting aside all notion of those pleasant surroundings to which, within modest limits, they might lawfully aspire, in order to be able to contribute to the same noble purpose.

Now that the schools erected through such sacrifices are successful and flourishing and have put the Protestant schools out of court in public competition, with all their advantages of lay teaching and enlightened management, we find this effort made to cause friction between the clergy and the laity of our Church by people who occupy public positions of responsibility and trust. We are convinced that when the time comes to settle this matter definitely and permanently there will be no quarrel between the clergy and laity of Ireland. The more lay teachers, the better qualified and the better paid, that become available for these establishments the better we shall be pleased. But in the meantime Sir Horace Plunkett and all others may make up their minds that these teachers will not be trained in nationless or godless colleges, but in a university where they will be made sensible of their duties both to faith and country.

Such a university Sir Horace Plunkett is prepared to give us, not as a right but as a privilege, and he would not regards as 'bigots' those who would refuse it. Well, we are much obliged; but we do not want any privilege from him or anyone. We want our right and nothing more, and we shall be satisfied with nothing less. To tell the great majority of the Irish people that they have no right in their own country to a system of higher education, to which they could reconcile their consciences, seems to us a very strange message from a man who evidently wants to be regarded as moderate and liberal. And to refuse to acknowledge as bigots those who deny the right seems equally strange. If the conditions were reversed for a moment we wonder whether the bigotry would become apparent. If even a majority of Catholics in Belgium or Canada were to act on this principle, would they be bigoted? If an Irish County Council got control of funds for secondary education and refused to allocate any share of them to the Protestant minority, would that be bigotry? We know pretty well what answer Sir Horace Plunkett would give to the question: but what right have Catholics to draw logical conclusions? Bigotry is what Protestant economists make it, and not what the whole world thinks it is and should be.

As Sir Horace Plunkett and his friends have not been able to grapple in any effective way with the problem of emigration evidently they think it may save them from the result of their incompetence and inefficiency to throw the responsibility on the Catholic clergy, and to attribute the whole exodus to the building, and the educational and social influence of the Catholic Church. We think, on our part, that if there were other handsome buildings erected as well as handsome churches that the people would be more contented at home and more fascinated by their country. But can the clergy be expected to build opera-houses and theatres, and open up fine streets, and squares, and gardens? Can they be seriously expected to build restaurants and coffee-houses and arcaded pavilions, and

the hundred and one resorts of a refined and pleasant life which bring people together on an equal footing and make them feel they are citizens of a common fatherland, and enjoy some little share at least of the elegance to which a civilized people may aspire? Is it their specific business to construct piers and quays, and provide the people with fishing boats and the latest and most improved quality of nets and gear?

The clergy are quite willing to co-operate in all these things as far as their means and time and professional propriety will allow, as they co-operate heartily in the work of the Agricultural Department for which they have got such superior patronage and such scanty recognition from Sir Horace Plunkett. But we should have thought that the lead in all these things should be given by the 'natural leaders,' who, according to themselves, have a monopoly of the wealth and intelligence of the country. They say, no doubt, that we alone have the confidence of the people. But we welcome competition. Why will they not honestly compete with us for the love and devotion of the people by loving them and serving them as we do? And if they try for once, why should they begin by a system of office-preaching against the religion of the people which, next to 'street preaching,' is to them the most objectionable sort of zeal?

The question of emigration, however, is one about which we do not care to indulge in recrimination or retort. Idle controversy will not help to cure it. If you want to find a remedy you must look to the seat and the cause and the circumstances of the disease. Here, then, is how the problem looks to us.

In addition to certain tendencies and impulses of nature, which are an undoubted inheritance of the Celtic race, particularly of the Irish and the Scotch, impelling them to seek adventure and change, numberless circumstances in the condition of Ireland urge people to yield to this propensity rather than overcome it. Foremost amongst them is the perpetual appeal coming from the men and women who left Ireland in the days of the crow-bar, and who think

no temporal good can be hoped for in the land of misery they knew in their infancy and youth. No matter how many emigrants may have succumbed in the struggle for existence, great numbers have survived and have succeeded in one way or another in making a competence for themselves. Mindful now of the claims of love and kinship they call to their side the sons and daughters of those who were nearest and dearest to them, often providing situations for them beforehand, and helping them in many ways to start on the journey of life in a strenuous but free country. In the course of a few years one of those young men returns on a visit to his native spot, dressed in broadcloth and tweed, and has pleasant tales to tell of American cities, where work is hard, no doubt, but where the pay is good, and the resorts of entertainment and recreation numerous and cheap. The unsatisfied arrears of capacity for enjoyment are thus stirred to their depths in a countryside. The long suppressed instinct of nature begins to bud forth again. A fever of hope and unrest is communicated on all sides, and hundreds of boys and girls, bred in poverty, who have no such stay or support in America as their more fortunate acquaintances, are tempted to try their fortune in a field where they expect to come all of a sudden into prosperity, without anything of the gradual, patient, life-long effort which people in their circumstances have to face and do face in other lands. Heaven knows what disappointments and sufferings await them when they come face to face with the realities of their lot, and how many of them fall victims to the blind and inexcusable folly that tempted them away from their home and country.

We will not stop to dispute here with Sir Horace Plunkett the causes of this miscalculation and weakness. If it were anything in the system of national education over which the clergy had control we have no doubt they would give it their best attention. But of this we are convinced that it is not the girls of our convent schools or the pupils of our Christian Brothers who go away in this helpless fashion; and Sir Horace Plunkett will admit that the education of the so-called 'National Board' is very far, indeed, from being our ideal. Nor is there anything to be gained by

reverting once more to the historic causes that tended so powerfully to aggravate and intensify every primitive fault of the race that care and kind treatment and education, continued through centuries, would have done so much to counteract if not entirely to eradicate. We have now to begin with this legacy of brutality and shame, and every influence that we can bring to bear upon it, in the home, in the school, in the church, in the private and public life of the people, will be applied with intelligence and sympathy. We cannot hope for success all at once ; of ultimate success we have no doubt.

This, however, is only one part of the remedy, and some questions very naturally suggest themselves in regard to the others.

Whilst the clergy and the people are doing so much to provide attractions, to foster the national language, games, sports, customs and music, to build halls of amusement, reading rooms, clubs and concert halls, hospitals and churches, to say nothing of their efforts to promote native industries and manufactures, what is being done by the people who are sweeping away the £112,000,000 out of the country ? And what is being done by the power that extracts £3,000,000 annually in excessive taxation from the poor people of Ireland ? Sir Horace Plunkett has endeavoured to do something no doubt, and the country was prepared to give him credit for it, had he not set himself to gossip and boast, and to patronize and censure those whom he was supposed to enlighten and to benefit. Some noble exceptions there are also elsewhere, who realise that the chief wealth of a nation ought to be reproductive and to become the fruitful granary of industry, art, and science, making an ever increasing return to the efforts of those who produced it. Apart from these the chief land-marks left us by the two classes we have mentioned are the *workhouse* and the *public-house*, fit monuments of the civilization they had conceived as the best we should aspire to. The *workhouse*, we hope, has had its day, and may soon become a hospital only. What is to be said of the *public-house* ?

We may commence like the schoolboy and say, without

hesitation, that of all the social evils imported from England for the ruin of this country, perhaps the greatest was the public-house. In other countries, at all events, there are redeeming circumstances in connection with the liquor-traffic that prevent it from becoming the source of absolute degradation and corruption. In Belgium, Germany, Switzerland, Italy, you see it carried on in large halls, well ventilated, well lighted, where the customers, at their small tables, sit and smoke and chat, and read their newspapers, and regale themselves decently and quietly with their beer, and then go about their business in sobriety and good humour. The attractions of music are often added, and the common artisan can recognise by ear the pieces of Dvorák, Berlioz, Lizst, or Sullivan, that are performed in his presence, and converse with intelligence about the latest political debate or the latest picture. Lectures on industrial and social questions sometimes vary the monotony. Gentle and simple mix there together. Food is served as well as drink. Indeed food is often the chief thing, and not the bogus make-believe, whilst drink is merely an accessory. The wife and children may come safely there without witnessing any departure from good manners or good conduct. Think of that picture for a moment and then think of the *public-house*.

Total abstinence is, of course, the salt of the earth in this country, when observed for the example of others and one's own security and sanctification, and it is also the only remedy for those who have become wrecks from frequent indulgence; but when all is done that should be done for the promotion of total abstinence, is there nothing to be done for those who will always be the great majority of the people? The clergy do what they can through the 'Anti-Treating League' and other organisations; but what voice have the clergy in the control of the liquor traffic? Can they close the dens which pass as 'public-houses' and spread ruin and misery on all sides, weakening the 'moral fibre' and breaking down the character of men and women whom they drive to sin and crime? What steady effort, industrial, moral, intellectual or patriotic, can be

expected from people soaked in whiskey any more than from people drugged with opium? And if the opium traffic is recognised as a curse, why should the liquor traffic be fostered here, and so organised and carried on as to enervate and stupefy the greatest possible number? Characteristics of race, climate, custom, locality, disposition make its ravages none the more difficult. What education can cope with a system that looks as if it were thus specially devised to demoralize and corrupt? And are the clergy to blame if, whilst all these traps are open on Sundays in all our large cities and, to a great extent, through the country too, the restaurants are all shut? Why is it that on the Sunday of the O'Growney funeral last year the people could get drink without limit, whilst a mouthful of food was nowhere to be obtained? We do not think that Ireland should follow slavishly the system of any country in the world in matters of this kind; but we can easily conceive such an organisation of the liquor traffic here as would rob it of half its debasing power, and so restrict and remodel it that the country would become as attractive to foreigners as it would be creditable to its own inhabitants. As matters stand, however, Irishmen can only conceive such things; the power to do more is not in their hands.

Sir Horace Plunkett blames the clergy for the strictness of their discipline, particularly on Sundays, and thinks it is calculated to drive the people off. The clergy must at all risks set their face against sin and evil whether on Sunday or Monday, and not even to justify Sir Horace Plunkett's co-religionists can they do evil or connive at evil that good may come of it. Amongst Catholics the end does not justify the means, however it may be with Protestants. But who ever heard that the Irish clergy set their faces against innocent mirth, or against lawful enjoyment on Sunday or any other day? The observance of the Sabbath is a grave and serious matter, and any suggestion made in connection with it requires to be done with the utmost delicacy and reserve; but surely it is not the clergy who think it sinful or improper to indulge in a game of draughts or chess, or in innocent out-door

games and sports on Sunday. It is certainly not the spirit of the Catholic Church to make people gloomy or morose, or to crush out amongst them all social joys. If Sir Horace Plunkett wished to find out the home of that spirit and the quarter from which it came, he might have consulted the pages of Buckle, a writer for whom he expresses such admiration in the early part of his book. He would very soon have come on a passage such as this :—

To be poor [says Buckle,¹³ describing the doctrines of the Scotch divines of the seventeenth century], to be poor, dirty, and hungry ; to pass through life in misery and to leave it with fear ; to be plagued with boils and sores and diseases of every kind ; to be always sighing and groaning ; to have the face streaming with tears and the chest heaving with sobs ; in a word, to suffer constant affliction and to be tormented in all possible ways—to undergo these things was a proof of goodness just as the contrary was a proof of evil. It mattered not what a man liked, the mere fact of his liking it made it sinful. Whatever was natural was wrong. The clergy deprived the people of their holidays, their amusements, their shows, their games, and their sports ; they repressed every appearance of joy, they forbade all merriment, they stopped all festivities, they choked up every avenue by which pleasure could enter, and they spread over the country an universal gloom. Then truly did darkness sit on the land. Men in their daily actions and in their very looks became troubled, melancholy, and ascetic. Their countenance soured and was downcast. Not only their opinions, but their gait, their demeanour, their voice, their general aspect, were influenced by that deadly blight which nipped all that was genial and warm. The way of life fell into the sere and yellow leaf ; its tints gradually deepened ; its bloom faded and passed off ; its spring, its freshness and its beauty were gone ; joy and love either disappeared or were forced to hide themselves in obscure corners, until at length the fairest and most endearing parts of our nature, being constantly repressed, ceased to bear fruit and seemed to be withered into perpetual sterility. Thus it was that the national character of the Scotch was in the seventeenth century dwarfed and mutilated . . . They [the Scotch divines] sought to destroy not only human pleasures, but human affections. They held that our affections are necessarily connected with our lusts, and that we must therefore wean ourselves from them as earthly vanities. A Christian had no business with love or sympathy. He had his own soul to attend to, and that

¹³ *History of Civilization*, vol. ii., p. 314.

was enough for him. Let him look to himself. On Sunday, in particular, he must never think of benefitting others ; and the Scotch clergy did not hesitate to teach the people that on that day it was sinful to save a vessel in distress, and that it was a proof of religion to leave ship and crew to perish. They might go : none but their wives and children would suffer, and that was nothing in comparison with breaking the Sabbath. So, too, did the clergy teach that on no occasion must food or shelter be given to a starving man, unless his opinions were orthodox. What need for him to live ? Indeed, they taught that it was a sin to tolerate his notions at all, and that the proper course was to visit him with sharp and immediate punishment. Going yet farther, they broke the domestic ties and set parents against their offspring. They taught the father to smite the unbelieving child, and to slay his own boy sooner than allow him to propagate error. As if this were not enough, they tried to extirpate another affection, even more sacred and more devoted still. They laid their rude and merciless hands on the holiest passion of which our nature is capable—the love of a mother for her son. . . . To hear of such things is enough to make one's blood surge again, and raise a tempest in our inmost nature. But to have seen them, to have lived in the midst of them, and yet not to have rebelled against them, is to us utterly inconceivable, and proves in how complete a thralldom the Scotch were held, and how thoroughly their minds as well as their bodies were enslaved.

Whatever there is of this spirit in Ireland was introduced by the Scotchmen, Muggletonians, and Anabaptists who came over here in the eighteenth century to track out the priests, and to act as spies and informers on Catholics who had any landed property or a horse above the value of five pounds.

Sir Horace Plunkett complains of the relics of superstition that still linger in certain parts of the country. What these remnants are he does not specify. We wonder whether he refers to the superstition of 'thirteen at a table,' or 'three lights in a room,' or 'walking under a ladder,' that prevail so largely in the circles to which he belongs. Or is it, perhaps, the obscurantist superstition of the Christian Scientists that left his friend Harold Frederic to die without a doctor, and that is said not to be unknown in high quarters even in Dublin ? Or might it be the barbarous superstition of the North of Ireland that regards the

Pope as Anti-Christ, and that made four 'strong farmers' jump off their car as they returned from a fair, to attack an inoffensive priest, and beat him with their sticks about the head and face as he lay unconscious on the ground? No. It is more probably the 'worm's knot,' or the 'hare's foot,' or the 'cure for 'sciatic in the legs' of the 'wise woman' of Lisclogher, so beautifully and so wittily described by the Hon. Mrs. Greville Nugent in a recent number of the *Nineteenth Century*.

In his Lenten Pastoral His Eminence Cardinal Logue calls attention to the fact that twenty or thirty years ago all the ills of Ireland used to be ascribed by economists of the Horace Plunkett school to early and improvident marriages, to the over-population of the country, to the number of saints' days that Catholics observed as holidays, to the demoralizing practice of almsgiving, and a whole litany of Catholic observances that violated the economic code of which they were the expounders. The cry is changed now, and when these old theories are exploded a new one has to be found. St. Lubbock has since come upon the scene. Lord Salisbury's plan of getting rid of a million of the population has been practically carried out. Marriages, early or late, have greatly declined, and almsgiving no longer excites the jealousy of former days. The economist, therefore, turns to church building, and education, and the social influence of the clergy, and proclaims to all England and Scotland that he has discovered the cause of all the mischief. He goes even deeper still, and professes to have observed some root-antagonism between Catholicism and economics. Now, when no such antagonism has been discovered by such enlightened authorities as Professor Périn, of Louvain, or Mr. Devas of London, nor by such liberal writers and thinkers as Le Play,¹⁴ or Bastiat,¹⁵ or Leroy Beaulieu,¹⁶ or de Tocqueville,¹⁷ you must naturally conclude that something besides economics has been troubling

¹⁴ See *La Réforme Sociale en France*, chapter on 'Religion.'

¹⁵ *Economical Sophisms*.

¹⁶ *La Répartition des Richesses*, by, 'Paul'; and *Papacy, Socialism and Democracy*, by Anatole Leroy Beaulieu.

¹⁷ *La Démocratie en Amérique; L'Ancien Régime et la Révolution*.

Sir Horace Plunkett, and you feel very strongly that you would have much preferred to get the few shreds of secular knowledge you desired from this Protestant gentleman, without any nods or hints about the true religion.

What Sir Horace Plunkett, in his private capacity, thinks about us or our religion is not a matter of much concern to us ; but it must be a subject of the deepest concern and uneasiness to all Irish Catholics to see at the head of a great public department, with extensive patronage in his hands, a man who openly professes his belief that the conception of economics based upon their religion is, in several of its most important aspects, fundamentally wrong and bad, and that the system of education based on that religion is calculated to weaken, and does weaken as a matter of fact, the ' moral fibre ' of the whole nation, sapping the energy, and undermining the moral strength and courage of the majority of its people. That, we say, is a serious declaration coming from an official who is paid by the people to attend to a very different sort of business. What wonder that we should find this notion prevalent in so many quarters when we thus see it openly proclaimed by a man who, on the whole, had got so large a share of the confidence of Irish Catholics. For our part we very much mistake the character of the Irish people if they have not intelligence enough to see through all this mechanism of statecraft, and ' moral fibre ' enough to show what they think of it.

J. F. HOGAN, D.D.

THE CENTENARY OF BOSSUET

BOSSUET'S SERMONS

THE world honours the memory of its heroes, and the Church celebrates the centenaries of her saints.

The example of the great men of the past serves as a light and an encouragement to men earnest in the struggles of the present. And not only those who were great in action deserve to be remembered. Those also are worthy of honour, 'who were endued with wisdom, showing forth in the prophets the dignity of prophets, and by the strength of wisdom instructing the people in most holy words.'¹ Such a one was James Benignus Bossuet, the second centenary of whose death France celebrates on 12th April, 1904. Bossuet is one of those men who belong not to their own country alone, but to the whole Church; and therefore the lessons to be learned from his centenary are not limited to France. There are many points of view from which that great man may be considered. As a scholar his fame was European, as a controversialist he was unrivalled, as a historian he was eminent, as a bishop he was a model of zeal. Defects may, indeed, be found in him. In his controversy with Fénelon his zeal for sound doctrine was more remarkable for strength than for suavity. In his defence of the Declaration of the Liberties of the Gallican Church, he laid down principles which even before the Council of the Vatican French theologians had abandoned. But in one respect, that is in eloquence, Bossuet ranks second to none. The eloquence of Bossuet in his funeral orations has never been surpassed. In them he has reached a height to which Demosthenes and Cicero in their greatest speeches never attained. What Cardinal Bausset² says of the funeral oration on the great Condé may be justly said of them all: 'All that is most august and most sacred in religion, all that is most noble and majestic

¹ Eccli. xlv. 3, 4.

² Bausset, *Vie de Bossuet*, liv. viii., s. 6.

in eloquence, all that is most affecting in poetry is found combined in that admirable composition.' But it is not our present purpose to examine the career of Bossuet as a scholar, or as a controversialist, or as a historian, or as a bishop, nor even as an orator in the profane sense of the term; our purpose is to consider him as a preacher of the word of God. Leaving therefore out of the question the other aspects of his life and character, we shall, in the first place, sketch the career of Bossuet as a preacher; secondly, we shall examine what is the rank he holds amongst preachers; and, thirdly, we shall inquire what was the method he followed in the preparation of his sermons, and what were the principles he held regarding the office and the scope of preaching.

I

James Benignus Bossuet was born at Dijon in 1627. His elementary studies were made at the Jesuit College in his native town. Thence he passed to Paris, and entered the College of Navarre, at that time the most distinguished in the University. Here he studied with marked success; and in 1652 obtained the degree of doctor of theology. In the same year he was ordained priest. He made the retreat in preparation for his ordination in the monastery of St. Lazarus, under the direction of St. Vincent de Paul. Writing to Pope Clement XI. fifty years later, Bossuet recalls with gratitude the memory of that retreat, and he adds, that he became at the time a member of the celebrated Tuesday conferences which were held every week at Vincent's monastery, and attended by the *élite* of the clergy of Paris.

There were present [he writes] oftentimes bishops of great name, attracted by the reputation and the piety of the man (Vincent), and who were admirably aided in their apostolic cares and labours by that sodality. There were present also workmen that need not be ashamed, who rightly handled the word of God throughout their dioceses and preached the Gospel no less by example than by words. Vincent himself was the soul of the assembly, and when we heard him speak we felt that the words of the Apostle were verified. 'If any man

speaks, let him speak as the words of God, if any man minister let him do it as of the virtue which God administereth.' (1 Pet. iv. 11.)³

Soon after his ordination Bossuet went to reside at Metz, where he had obtained a canonry. In 1657 the Queen Regent, Anne of Austria, visited that city, and on her return to Paris she commanded Vincent de Paul to send a mission to Metz. Vincent, who was accustomed to employ his own congregation in giving missions to the people of the country districts, called to his aid the clergy of the Tuesday conferences. From amongst them he formed a band of missionaries to proceed to Metz. At this juncture Vincent wrote to the Abbé Bossuet requesting him, as he was on the spot, to assist in making arrangements for the mission. Bossuet gladly gave his co-operation. He not only made satisfactory arrangements for the missionaries, but he joined them in their labours. He preached at the cathedral, and at the parish church of the citadel, and gave instructions in catechism to the soldiers and the working people. His discourses were blessed. When the mission closed, the Abbé Chandenier, who had been director of it, wrote to Vincent to give an account of the good that had been accomplished, and to ask him to write a letter thanking the bishop of the place for his patronage. He added : ' Write also a word of congratulation to M. Bossuet for the assistance he gave us by his sermons and instructions, which were greatly blessed by God.' The mission at Metz took place in 1658. The following year found Bossuet in a wider field of labour. In 1659 he came to Paris as delegate of the chapter of Metz on the business of that body. From that date until his appointment to the see of Condom, and to the office of preceptor of the Dauphin, his labours in the pulpit were unceasing. Each year, for ten years, he preached either the Lenten or the Advent station in one or other of the great churches of Paris, delivering, according to the practice of the time, three sermons each week. He preached the Lent at the Church of the Minims in 1660,

³ Bossuet, Letter to Clement XI. for the Beatification of Vincent de Paul, Aug. 2, 1702.

at that of the Carmelites in 1661, at the Louvre before the Court in 1662, at St. Thomas du Louvre in 1665, and at St. Germain's before the Court in 1666. He preached the Advent station at the Louvre in presence of the Court in 1665; at St. Thomas du Louvre in 1668; and at St. Germain, before the Court, in 1669. The first of his great funeral orations was delivered in 1662, and the second in 1663. Meanwhile he was indefatigable in preaching to less brilliant audiences. From time to time he preached in convent chapels on the occasion of the clothing or the profession of nuns. He gave conferences in the parlours of convents to select audiences of pious persons, explaining to them familiarly the epistle or gospel of the office of the Church. He maintained his early relations with Vincent de Paul, and at his request, and probably in his presence, he preached one of his most beautiful sermons, that on 'The eminent dignity of the Poor in the Church,'⁴ in aid of the mother house of the Sisters of Providence, whom Vincent had founded. Nor did he neglect the instruction of ecclesiastics. At the invitation of Vincent de Paul he preached at St. Lazarus the retreat in preparation for the Easter ordinations in 1659, and the retreat for the Pentecost ordination in 1660. When Vincent passed to his reward, at the request of his first successor M. Almeras, Bossuet again preached the ordination retreats in 1663 and 1669. The number of clerics who made those retreats at St. Lazarus usually amounted to three hundred annually. The exercises lasted ten days and the preacher gave two conferences each day. When it was known that M. Bossuet was the person selected to deliver the lectures the attendance was unusually large. In the letter to Clement XI. already mentioned, Bossuet refers to those retreats in the following terms:—

He [Vincent] zealously instituted pious retreats for clerics about to receive orders; and we ourselves, at his invitation, and relying on his prayers and advice, gladly undertook on more than one occasion the task of delivering the accustomed conferences on ecclesiastical subjects.

⁴ 'Sur l'eminente dignité des pauvres dans l'Eglise.'

Unfortunately the conferences delivered by Bossuet during those retreats have not been preserved. The year 1670 marks an epoch in the life of Bossuet. In that year he received episcopal consecration as Bishop of Condom, a see which he soon after resigned to undertake the office of preceptor of the Dauphin of France. To that function the next twelve years of his life were devoted. With what sentiments he discharged that office may be inferred from a letter addressed, in 1672, to M. le Marechal de Bellefonds :—

I must say a word [he writes] about My Lord the Dauphin. I see in him, as it seems to me, the commencement of great graces, etc. . . . You would be delighted if I told you of the questions he puts to me, and the desire he manifests to serve God earnestly. But, the world, the world, the world, pleasure, bad advice, bad example ! Save us, O Lord, save us. Thou didst preserve the children in the furnace, but Thou didst send thy angel, and I, alas ! what am I ?⁵

In the midst of a court Bossuet led a life of retirement and study. From time to time, however, he reappeared in the pulpit ; and to this period belong three of his most splendid discourses, viz., his sermon for the clothing of Madame de la Valliere, and his funeral orations on Henrietta of England, and Henrietta of France.

In 1681 his duties as preceptor of the Dauphin came to an end, and he was promoted to the see of Meaux. Before setting out for his diocese he took a prominent part in the assembly of the clergy of France, and in the drawing up of the famous Declaration of 1682. At the opening of that assembly he delivered an eloquent sermon on the unity of the Church. But much as we admire his learning and his eloquence we cannot but regret that in that assembly he took a leading part in formulating principles derogatory to the rights of the Holy See, principles which no Frenchman, who values his allegiance to the Chair of Peter, could venture, since the Vatican Council, to revive. But Bossuet, Gallican though he was, professed the most profound respect for the primacy and authority of the Holy

⁵ Letter to the Marechal de Bellefonds, 9th September, 1672.

See,⁶ and a great desire for harmony between the ecclesiastical and civil powers ; and it may be alleged on his behalf that the extent of the Papal authority had not then obtained the solemn recognition which it has since received.

When the assembly came to a close Bossuet set out for his diocese. It was comparatively obscure ; even at the present day the episcopal city of Meaux contains only 12,833 inhabitants. Here Bossuet devoted himself with energy for two-and-twenty years to the duties of the episcopal office, to the visitation of his diocese, and the celebration of synods. In the moments of leisure which he could find amidst his official duties, he applied himself to study and to the composition of learned works, such as his *History of the Variations of the Protestant Churches*. But he did not permit his zeal for learning, or for the re-union of the Churches, to divert him from preaching, which the Council of Trent calls the first duty of bishops. He preached in his cathedral on all great festivals during the whole period of his episcopate from 1682 to 1702, when his last illness compelled him to be silent. He also delivered frequent synodal addresses to his clergy. Though only fragments of those discourses have come down to us, they suffice to show what manner of man he was. He spoke to his clergy at one time on the 'Sanctity of the Priesthood and on Prayer as the mark of it ;' at other times on 'Preaching ;' on 'Catechizing ;' on 'The Mission of the Preacher ;' on 'The duty of Preaching ;' on 'Preaching by Example.' The text of his last synodal address was 'Depositum Custodi.' In it he urged his clergy to guard with care the deposit of faith, the deposit of discipline, and the deposit of temporal goods destined for the relief of the poor. Not satisfied with solemn discourses such as those just mentioned, he seized every favourable opportunity to minister the word of exhortation. At the baptism of converts, at confirmations, and at ordinations he was wont to deliver an exhortation appropriate to the occasion. He addressed fervent exhortations from time to time to communities of nuns ; and it

⁶ See Letter to Cardinal D'Estrees, 1681.

would be difficult to find anything more practical or more beautiful than his sermon to the Ursulines of Meaux on the threefold silence—the silence of rule, the silence of prudence, and the silence of patience. Knowing from his early experience the salutary fruits of missions, he organised missions throughout his diocese, and on one occasion, assisted by Fénelon, the future Archbishop of Cambrai, and by the Abbé Fleury, he himself gave a mission in his cathedral city. From time to time he appeared in the pulpits of the capital. In 1683 he preached the funeral oration of Marie Therese of Austria, wife of Louis XIV., and soon after the funeral orations of the Princess Palatine, and of Letellier. In 1685 he preached on the occasion of the abjuration of the Duke of Portsmouth; and in 1686 he delivered the greatest of his funeral orations, that on the Prince of Condé. In 1700 he preached at St. Germain's, in presence of the exiled King and Queen of England. His last discourse was delivered in his own cathedral at Easter, 1702. From that time his chief care was to prepare for death. After much patient suffering the end came on 12th April, 1704; and after a long and great career Bossuet went to receive the double reward promised to those who rule well, and labour in the word and doctrine.⁷ Such is a brief sketch of Bossuet's career as a preacher. Let us go on to examine what is the rank which is due to him in that capacity.

II.

The truest test of the worth of a preacher is his influence on souls. But that test is often invisible to man. Sometimes when there is joy in heaven over the fruits produced by a preacher, the result is unnoticed on earth. The sins of men, as St. Augustine expresses it, are visible, but their penance is unseen. '*In occulto est unde gaudeam, in publico est unde torquear.*'⁸ But apart from this there are three great tests of the rank and influence of a preacher, viz., the testimony of his contemporaries, the judgment

⁷ 1 Tim. v. 19.
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⁸ St. Aug., Ser. 392.

of posterity, and the discourses which have survived him. Let us examine Bossuet's rank as a preacher in the light of these tests.

The great esteem in which Bossuet's eloquence was held by his contemporaries is evident from many sources. The Abbé Chandenier bears witness to the success with which he preached at Metz in the early years of his ministry. During the ten years he spent in Paris, previous to his episcopal consecration, he was invited on the most solemn occasions, to fill the principal pulpits of the capital. His sermon on St. Joseph, preached in presence of Anne of Austria, charmed all who heard it, and was referred to with eulogy in the Press of the day.⁹

The fact that Bossuet was invited to preach so often before the Court, and that he was selected to deliver the funeral orations of the most remarkable persons of the period, proves how highly his eloquence was appreciated. La Bruyère, a contemporary writer, in his character sketches, speaks thus of Bossuet: 'The Bishop of Meaux and Father Bourdaloue remind me of Demosthenes and Cicero. Both, masters of pulpit eloquence, have had the fate of great models; the former has had bad critics, and the latter bad imitators.'¹⁰ The same writer again refers to Bossuet in a discourse delivered before the Académie Française:—

What shall I say of that great man who has been so long the theme of envious critics, and has reduced them all to silence; whom in spite of ourselves we admire, who overpowers us by the extent and the eminence of his talents, who is at once an orator, a historian, a theologian, a philosopher, a man of rare erudition; of still rarer eloquence, in his discourses, in his writings, in the pulpit; a champion of religion, a light of the Church, let us use betimes the language of posterity, a Father of the

⁹ Jean Loret thus refers to this sermon in the *Musée historique*, 22nd March, 1659:—

' L'abbé Bousset esprit rare
Qu'aux plus éloquents on compare
Mercredi; jour de Saint Joseph
Aux Carmelites, dans le nef.
Fit un sermon memorable
Qu'il passa pour incomparable.'

See Floquet, *Etudes sur la vie de Bossuet*, vol. ii., p. 9.

¹⁰ La Bruyère, *De la Chaire*.

Church. What is he not? Name, gentlemen, a single virtue which he does not possess.¹¹

Bourdaloue himself, one of the greatest preachers of the age, spoke of Bossuet as more eloquent than himself.¹² These testimonies abundantly prove how great was the reputation Bossuet possessed as a preacher amongst his contemporaries. It is true in the brilliant letters of Mme. de Sevigné he is less frequently mentioned than Bourdaloue. But at the time Bourdaloue made his appearance in Paris, Bossuet had already gone into comparative retirement as tutor of the Dauphin, and when that duty was discharged he went to reside in his diocese, appearing in the capital only on rare occasions.

Amongst his contemporaries the reputation of Bossuet as a preacher was high, yet it seems certain they did not estimate his eloquence at its true value. What is the estimate in which he has been held by those who came after him. His rank as a preacher of funeral orations has never been disputed. All critics admit that in this respect he never had an equal, much less a superior. But the same unanimity has not always prevailed respecting his rank as a preacher. La Harpe speaks with disparagement of the sermons of Bossuet. 'Bossuet,' he says, 'was mediocre in his sermons, as was Massillon in his funeral orations.'¹³ For a long time critics, lay and clerical, handed on this appreciation, without serious examination. But in recent years the sermons of Bossuet have been made the object of careful study; and modern critics, of the highest eminence, do not hesitate to reverse the verdict of La Harpe. Villemain compares Bossuet to St. John Chrysostom, and pronounces him more eloquent. 'It is,' he writes, 'to Bossuet in his sermons that he (Chrysostom) might be compared if Bossuet could have an equal; if he had not that sublime gift which Christian eloquence rarely attained before his time.'¹⁴ Again he says: 'The sermons of Bossuet were, if not his greatest

¹¹ La Bruyère, *Discours prononcé dans l'Académie Française*.

¹² 'Une bouche plus éloquente et plus sacrée que la mienne.'

¹³ La Harpe, *Cours de Littérature*. Lycée, part 2, ch. i., 1-4.

¹⁴ Villemain, *Tableau de l'éloquence sacrée au iv. siècle*. Paris: 1881, p. 181.

at least his most natural work.¹⁵ According to M. Nisard Bossuet excels in dogmatic exposition, in moral lessons, in enthusiasm, and in logical argument. M. Feugère, in his studies on Bourdaloue, contrasts him with Bossuet, and speaks as follows :—

The distinctive character of Bossuet and his chief excellence is this : he influences by turns all the powers of the soul, he makes all its chords to vibrate ; he reasons, he strikes, he inspires terror, he consoles, he humbles, he raises up, he moves and casts into agitation all the faculties of the soul, he inspires it with many mingled feelings, and with an emotion that cannot be defined, but which will, he hopes, be transformed into a holy fear of the judgments of God, and from which will issue, perhaps, a cry of repentance and remorse. One may resist Bossuet, after deliberation, as one resists oneself ; but while he speaks one is capable of nothing else but mute submission to his powerful eloquence ; he sways, he commands, he carries off ; man overcome is silent, and follows him. When human speech reaches such a degree of power, it is no longer an orator we hear, but eloquence personified . . . Bossuet is an orator in the full force of the term, and in its fullest extent ; and one of the two or three most perfect orators that have ever endeavoured to persuade mankind.¹⁶

M. Brunetière,¹⁷ of the Académie Française, never tires in his praise of Bossuet's sermons. In them he finds lyric sublimity, suggestiveness, vivacity, and splendid imagery.

In the first place [he writes] no one in his time, nor in our time, has written with more exactness and precision, with more strength and splendour ; and these are but the more apparent and extrinsic qualities of the style of Bossuet. No one has made such use of the French language as he has done, nor drawn from it such admirable effects. In the second place no orator has ever more sincerely despised the artifices of rhetoric, and while not affecting a rudeness and a familiarity which would be, perhaps, only a less frank and more subtle manner of self-seeking, no writer has ever been less the slave of the superstition of form. His eloquence is characterised by poetry of ideas, by suggestiveness, by vivacity, and by the splendour of its imagery. I have drawn your attention to the fact that not even once in half a century did literary vanity put his voice or

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 504.

¹⁶ Anatole Feugère, *Bourdaloue, sa Predication et son temps*. Paris : 1889. 5th edition.

¹⁷ *Etudes critiques sur l'histoire de la littérature Française*, 5 et 6 série.—F. Brunetière, de l'Académie française.

pen in motion ; and that in the forty volumes which we possess from him, he never wrote a page inspired by the interest of self-love . . . His sole preoccupation was to convey to the minds of his hearers his own convictions of the divinity of his faith.¹⁸

In another place he writes : ‘ I call him the greatest of orators, and such he is as far as the eternal interests he treats of in his sermons are above those which inspired the speeches of a Demosthenes, or a Cicero, or a Mirabeau.’¹⁹

Père Longhaye, S.J., speaks of Bossuet’s sermons as not only very eloquent but also as eminently practical ; and Père Delaporte, in the *Etudes Religieuses* (April, 1889), says that it is more profitable to read twenty pages of Bossuet than one hundred volumes of sermon books.

Such is the verdict of the most competent critics of the present day. It is a verdict based on a careful examination of the sermons of Bossuet. Let us see, then, what account those sermons give of themselves. Only seven sermons of Bossuet, viz., the sermon on the unity of the Church, and six funeral orations, were published in his own lifetime. All his other sermons remained in manuscript until nearly seventy years after his death. From the keeping of his nephew they passed through many hands. The first edition of them were published in 1772 by a Benedictine of St. Maur, Dom Deforis. This edition was never completed, and many faults have been found with the manner in which it was brought out. Liberties were taken with the text, especially where two sermons on the same subject were found among the manuscripts. Let us take a few instances. To the second sermon on the Circumcision we find attached the following note : ‘ We have suppressed in this sermon several passages taken textually from the previous discourse, and which could be retrenched without injury to the order and connection of the discourse. We shall do the like on all occasions when circumstances permit, in order to avoid too frequent repetitions.’ In the third sermon on the same subject the following note occurs : ‘ Here a leaf of the manu-

¹⁸ Brunetière, ‘ Sur l’éloquence de Bossuet,’ conference delivered at Dijon, 1891.

¹⁹ Brunetière, *Etudes critiques*, 5 série.

script is missing. To connect what follows with the foregoing, we have endeavoured to fill up the void by inserting the passage which we have placed in brackets.' In a sermon for the clothing of a nun we find a similar note : —

This passage in Bossuet's manuscript is not connected with what goes before. But as the sermon is unfinished, to complete it as far as possible, we have thought it right to insert this fragment which falls in with the subject treated in the first point ; and which was probably written for a similar occasion.

These instances show that the dissatisfaction felt with the edition of Deforis was not unreasonable.

A second edition of Bossuet's sermons was published at Versailles (1813-19), by the Abbé Aubrive, who contented himself with pointing out the defects of the edition of Deforis, but did not correct them.

In 1862 Abbé Lachat published, through Vivès, the complete works of Bossuet including the sermons. This edition left several sermons in the same incorrect state in which they had been published by previous editors. In 1866 Abbé Gandar published a critical edition of a selection of Bossuet's sermons, which is highly esteemed. But to the Abbé Lebarq,²⁰ a priest of the diocese of Rouen, belongs the honour of having produced a truly critical edition of the sermons of Bossuet. He spared no pains in the preparation of that edition. The manuscripts of Bossuet's sermons still exist. The greater part, forming five volumes, are to be seen at the Bibliothèque Nationale;²¹ twelve sermons are preserved in the diocesan seminary at Meaux, and a few others in private collections. All these Abbé Lebarq carefully examined and published, arranging them in chronological order ; and prefixing to each a short account of the circumstances in which it was delivered. It was Bossuet's practice to write the exordium of his discourse last of all, and sometimes on a separate sheet. In consequence, the exordium of several sermons had become displaced, and in

²⁰ *Oeuvres Oratoires de Bossuet*, par l'Abbé Lebarq; 6 vols. Paris: 1891-96.

²¹ Bibliothèque Nationale MSS. Fond Français, 12821-12826.

some of the earlier editions, sermons are given with exordiums which do not belong to them. Lebarq has succeeded in rectifying this mistake, and has produced an edition, of which Brunetière²² says that 'it is one of the best, the most complete, and the most definitive which exists of any of our great classic authors;' and a writer in the *Etudes Religieuses* says that 'it is the only edition which a literary man, or a historian, who cares to be exact, can henceforward quote.' But the Abbé Lebarq has done more than produce a critical edition of Bossuet's sermons. He has shown how indefatigable Bossuet was in preaching. His edition contains 235 sermons, viz., 10 funeral orations, 21 panegyrics of saints, and over 200 sermons. He points out that, in historical documents, there is found mention of at least 300 other sermons which have not been preserved. Anyhow, what remains of Bossuet's sermons exceeds what has been preserved of Bourdaloue, or of Massillon. He establishes also the great excellence of Bossuet's sermons. The depreciatory criticism of La Harpe and others was based on ill-arranged and imperfect editions, in which the sermons of his earlier years were placed side by side with those he delivered in maturer life. Even in men of talent there is a period of formation and of growth. As Bossuet expresses it in his first sermon on the Nativity of the B.V. Mary:—

Neither art, nor nature, nor God Himself produce all at once their greatest works. They advance by degrees. One sketches before one paints; one prepares a plan before building; masterpieces are preceded by trial efforts; nature acts in like manner; and they who study its secrets, know that there are works in which it plays, so to speak, or rather exercises its hand, in order to produce something more finished.²³

So it was with Bossuet. The first efforts of his eloquence, as, for instance, his sermon on St. Gorgonius, were not perfect. But his genius quickly ripened; and from the time of his appearance in the pulpits of Paris, in 1659, to his last discourse in 1702, his talent knew no waning.

²² *Etudes critiques*, 6 série, p. 204.

²³ Exordium of the 1st sermon on the Nativity of B.V. Mary.

Critics, such as M. Brunetière,²⁴ distinguish three styles or periods in the preaching of Bossuet. The first is didactic and theological ; the second, philosophical and moral ; and the third homiletic. The first style characterises the sermons of his earlier years. They are less skilful in construction and are replete with dissertations. The masterpiece of this manner is the panegyric of St. Paul a discourse full of splendid eloquence, preached in Paris for the opening of the Hospital General in 1657. In the second style the plan of the discourse is more original and the language more easy. The preacher was now addressing the cultured audiences of the capital, and he endeavours to make them understand that, apart from the other motives for belief, of all philosophies there is none which so fully explains and satisfies the nature of man as religion. The third style characterises the sermons preached after his promotion to the see of Meaux. It is homiletic and full of the language and spirit of the Gospel.

In the structure of his discourses, Bossuet follows, to a great extent, the custom of the period. It was then the usage to introduce a discourse by two exordiums, one more general, ending at the *Ave Maria* ; and the other leading up to the statement of the subject and its divisions. To this usage, inartistic though it was, Bossuet conformed. In the plan of his discourses he does not confine himself to developing three ideas juxtaposed. His divisions, if in appearance less methodical than those of other preachers of the period, were always logical, giving expression to the natural development of the subject in hand. His sermons, if diligently studied, cannot fail to be useful to preachers. He treats of a wide range of subjects, of death and judgment and penance and prayer and almsgiving, and the Passion of Our Lord, of the festivals of the B.V. Mary, St. Joseph, and the saints. Whoever desires to find noble thoughts nobly expressed on charity and almsgiving, on Our Lord and the Blessed Virgin, on the mysteries of religion, will

²⁴ Brunetière, *Etudes critiques sur l'histoire de la littérature Française*. Sixième série

find them in Bossuet. If the subject is great, as the career of St. Paul, he is full of majesty ; if it treats of suffering, as the compassion of Mary, he is full of tenderness and sympathy. One learns from him how to speak to the great of their duty with a firmness which is never wanting in respect. He often preached in the presence of royalty, and in the of kings he held aloft the standard of duty. He prayed to God to assist him in a function so difficult and so delicate :—

O God [he cried out²⁵] give efficacy to my words. Thou seest, O God, the place in which I speak ; Thou knowest what I ought to say ; give me words of wisdom. Give me words of efficacy and power. Give me prudence, give me circumspection, give me simplicity.

In a private letter to Louis XIV., in 1675, he did not shrink from reminding that monarch of a promise he had made to approach the Sacraments at Pentecost. Referring to Mme. de Montespan, he said : ‘ How difficult it is to withdraw from so unhappy and disastrous an engagement. But, Sire, it is necessary, otherwise there is no hope of salvation.’²⁶ In public discourses he spoke no less firmly. In a sermon in presence of the King, delivered on Easter day, he concludes as follows :—

Sire, who knows better than you, how to secure a victory ? . . . In the war which Christians have to wage there is neither peace nor truce. For, if the world sometimes ceases to attack us from without, we ourselves, by our continual combats, never cease to expose our salvation to danger. The enemy is always at the gates, and the least relaxation, the least turning back, the least looking back to the past, may cause all our victories to vanish in a moment, and place us in greater danger than before. After triumph we must arm anew. Put on, Sire, the armour of which St. Paul speaks,²⁷ faith, prayer, zeal, humility, fervour. It is only thus you can secure victory amid the temptations and infirmities of this life. Arbiter of the world, superior even to fortune if fortune were a reality, here is the only occasion in which you need not be ashamed to fear. For you there is only one enemy to be dreaded, yourself, Sire, yourself; your victories, that unlimited power so necessary for the govern-

²⁵ ‘ Sermon sur la predication evangelique.’

²⁶ Bausset, *Vie de Bossuet*, liv. v.

²⁷ Ephes. vi. ii.

ment of the state, so dangerous for the government of yourself. That is the only enemy you have to fear. He who is all powerful is not powerful enough. He who is all powerful ordinarily turns his power against himself. When the world grants us every thing it is only too difficult to refuse oneself anything. But it is a great glory and perfect virtue, to be able, like you, to set limits to oneself, to remain within the limits of law, when the law itself seems to give way. To live within the rule, which subjects every creature to God, it is necessary, Sire, to descend at times from the throne. The example of Jesus Christ shows with sufficient clearness, that he who descends is he who ascends. 'He who descended,' says St. Paul, 'to the depths of the earth is He who ascended to the highest heavens.' However great one is, it is necessary to descend with him; to descend to humble oneself, to descend to obey, to descend to compassionate and to hearken more nearly to the voice of misery and bring it the solace worthy of so great a power. Thus it was that Jesus Christ descended. He who thus descends soon ascends again. Sire, this is the elevation I wish you. Thus your greatness will be eternal, your kingdom will never fail. We shall see you always a King, always crowned, always victorious in this world and in the next, through the grace and blessing of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.²⁸

What rank, then, shall we assign to Bossuet? The testimony of contemporaries, the judgment of posterity, and the intrinsic excellence of the sermons themselves, entitle us to regard Bossuet as ranking, with St. Chrysostom and St. Augustine, amongst the greatest preachers the Church has ever seen.

PATRICK BOYLE, C.M.

[To be continued.]

THE ORIGIN OF THE SCAPULAR—III

(From Original Sources.)

THE SABBATINE INDULGENCE

THE questions we have submitted to examination in the preceding articles, though not devoid of difficulty and obscurity, were simple and easy compared with the one we are now about to investigate. Although we can by no means assume that *absolute* proof has been given concerning the promise of Our Lady attached to the Carmelite habit, still we think that the chain of evidence of the fourteenth century, notwithstanding its incompleteness, is sufficiently strong to support the tradition, of the existence of which we obtain a glimpse at least at the beginning, in the middle and at the end of that century through the writings of Swanyngton, Sibert, William de Coventry, and Johannes Grossi, in addition to other evidential incidents. From the beginning of the fifteenth century to the present time there is no interruption of evidence whatever. The fact itself seems never to have been questioned until about 1640 when the Order was able to produce the most important document, namely, the narrative of St. Simon Stock's companion and secretary. It is, perhaps, regrettable that scepticism should not have been raised at an earlier date because it might then have resulted in the preservation of documents which are now entirely lost. However that may be, we submit that the evidence in hand is sufficient to strengthen and uphold the existing tradition. Taken by itself it might not be considered indisputable, and the documents in hand might appear too isolated, but tradition *plus* written evidence cannot easily be disputed.

With regard to the Sabbatine Indulgence the facts are widely different, for although there does exist a tradition, it goes no farther back than about the year 1480, that is to say it begins nearly two centuries after the date of the

alleged miraculous event. Such a state of things might well deter a more learned student from dealing with the matter at all, and if we venture upon it, it is only with the impression of throwing some light upon the difficulties that surround it. If we succeed in this we shall be convinced of having done as much as possible until some further discovery be made (of which there is little hope) that will have a positive bearing upon the matter and change its whole aspect.

In dealing with the Sabbatine Indulgence we have thought it better for our purpose to begin with the second part of the history which is indisputable, and reserve the first part for the end.

Arnold Bostius, for many years Prior of Ghent, and one of the most prominent men of his time, wrote several works on the history of the Carmelites, namely, in 1475 a book on the illustrious writers of the Order, in 1479 one on the Patronage of Our Lady, and in 1490 a work entitled, *Speculum Historiale*, an abridgment of which is printed in the first volume of the *Speculum Carmelitanum* by P. Daniel a Virgine Maria. Bostius was in correspondence with the leading men of his Order. As early as 1475 he exchanged letters with Blessed John Baptist Spagnuoli (Mantuanus), whom he exhorted to continue his literary work. In 1497 and the following year he wrote a number of letters (still extant) to his intimate friend, John Oudewater (better known by his Latin name, de Aquaveteri and its Greek equivalent, Paleonydor), then sub-prior at Frankfort, from which we obtain an idea of the extent of his correspondence, and, what is more, of his critical faculty; for, when Paleonydor's *Fasciculus Tripartitus* appeared (1497), he frankly criticised some of the statements therein contained. 'There are many things in your book,' he says, 'which do not please me. You have inserted matters which in my opinion should have been omitted *ex certa scientia*.' After having dwelt for some time on one of them which does not concern us here, he continues :—

'You also seem to adhere a great deal too much to Brother Nicholaus Simonis, who, without any foundation whatever,

considers all the ancient monks and nuns as Carmelites. Had I but seen your manuscript I should have advised you to omit such things, but now my corrections come too late.

This criticism, which might with equal truth be addressed to some more recent writers, proves that Bostius was no blind adherent of time-honoured opinions which, however well meant, are often sadly deficient in solidity. Bostius died on the 4th of April, 1499, at a ripe old age and in high repute for sanctity.

In his work on the Patronage of Our Lady¹ written in 1479, he professedly dealt with all the favours bestowed by her upon the Carmelite Order, dwelling particularly on the vision of St. Simon Stock of which he gives a detailed account. But he says not a word about the Sabbatine Indulgence: a sure proof that he had not yet heard of it. This is all the more surprising since even then he was in correspondence with the leading men of the Order. When, in 1497, he prepared a work on St. Joachim in order to promote devotion to this great saint and pave the way towards the introduction of his feast (which was accomplished at the General Chapter of 1498), he wrote right and left on the project and in return received suggestions from various quarters. There is no reason why he should have made any secret about the *Patronage*, and his silence in that work on the Sabbatine privilege, implies that not only he but also his friends, were ignorant of the subject.

Balduin Leersius, of the convent of Arras, who died in 1483, wrote (probably shortly before his death) a book entitled *Collection of Examples and Miracles*,² in which we find the following passage:—

CHAPTER VI.—How the Blessed Virgin appearing to Pope John XXII. commanded him to grant the Carmelites privileges and to defend them from their adversaries even as she had promised to set him free from his enemies.

Pope John XXII. being in a state of the greatest anxiety and sorely tried from external sources, had recourse to the

¹ A complete copy is in MS. Selden, 41, *supra* (Oxford) and a slightly abridged edition in Daniel, *Speculum Carmelitanum*, vol. i., p. 375 *sqq.*

² Edited by Daniel, *loc. cit.*, i., 364.

glorious Virgin Mary, Mother of God. One day previous to his election to the Papacy whilst devoutly occupied in beseeching her assistance she appeared to him wearing the Carmelite habit, and speaking to him thus said: 'O John! John! Vicar of my beloved Son, as I am about to deliver thee from thy adversary and through my prayers obtain for thee the place of Vicar of my Son upon earth, see that thou upon whom such a grace will be conferred at my intercession, make some return to my Order and to those brethren who are mine. Confirm their rule which was begun by Elias and Eliseus on Mount Carmel, put into form by my servant, Albert the Patriarch and ratified by Innocent, thy predecessor and Vicar of my Son, for the remission of their sins.³ Grant also to this Order on my behalf and in my name, the privilege that whosoever enters it and adheres faithfully to its Rule shall enjoy eternal life and be free from penalty and sin. And I, the Mother of Grace, will, if any of them should go to Purgatory, descend thereto at once (*subito*) after their death and release and bring to the holy mount of eternal life, as many as I may find there.' Whereupon, adding other things, she disappeared.

As soon as he was established on his throne, the Pope discharged to the best of his power every one of these commands. He bestowed favours upon the Order in every sense raising it to an honourable position besides granting it privileges and other Apostolical blessings. From the numerous Bulls given by him to the Order, it will be seen that not one of his predecessors was so lavish in their privileges as he. The account of this revelation and apparition is said to be contained in a Bull with seal appended, in England, and in the convent at Genoa there is an authentic copy more explicit than the above account.

Bostius, in his *Speculum Historiale*, written in 1490, copied this paragraph almost verbally, without adding a word of explanation about his silence on the subject in 1479.⁴

A few years later appeared Paleonydor's *Fasciculus Tripartitus*⁵ already mentioned. In the eleventh chapter of the third part he speaks as follows:—

The most glorious Mother of God, the Virgin Mary, perpetual patron and most tender Mother of the Carmelites, con-

³ Honorius, confirming the Rule in 1226, enjoined it 'in remissionem peccatorum.' These words do not occur in the Bull of confirmation of Innocent IV.

⁴ Daniel, *loc. cit.*, i., 289.

⁵ There is a copy at the British Museum, and also a fragment from a Cottonian MS. See Daniel, *loc. cit.*, i., 262.

tinued to glorify Jonathan (that is the Dove), I mean the Order of Carmel which is distinguished alike by candour and a wise simplicity, and mindful of Elias and the olden days and her faithful servants, appeared to the Lord John XXII. previous to his election, saying: 'I have been sensible of thy devotion towards me, and now as I am about to free thee from thy adversary and raise thee to the supreme dignity, thou oughtest to grant something in return to my brethren, the sons of Elias. Establish, then, on a solid basis⁶ their Rule begun by Elias and Eliseus on Mount Carmel, and given them in writing by my servant Albert. Also at my Son's request and mine, bestow upon them the privilege that whosoever enters this Order shall be freed from sin and its punishment, and obtain eternal salvation,' etc.

This apparation is said to be in a Bull with seal appended, containing the Indulgence, and preserved in England, an authentic copy of the same being in the convent of Genoa. This John XXII., obeying the Divine commands, placed our Order under the protection of the Apostolic See, etc.

It would be useless to adduce further evidence as to the promulgation of the Sabbatine Indulgence from this time forward.

The General Chapter held at Pentecost, 1517, in Siena, empowered the General to impose a special tax on the various provinces to defray the expenses of a Bull confirming this Indulgence,⁷ but for some reason of other no such confirmation appears to have been obtained. The acts of the next Chapter (1524) are silent about the projected taxation, and there are no traces of such a Bull either in the official collection of the Order or in the Vatican archives. But in 1528, Clement VII. granted a Brief by which the Bull of John XXII. was expressly confirmed. The terms are verbally taken from the original Sabbatine Bull (of which more anon) and the Pontiff declares that by his Apostolic authority he approves and renews the same, and commands it to remain in full vigour. He also prescribed that within the space of a year this Brief should be

⁶ This is again an allusion to the decree of the Council of 1274, where the Carmelites are allowed 'in solido statu permanere.'

⁷ 'Item commiserunt Revmo. Patri Generali quod taxet religionem pro expedienda bulla pro die sabbati et aliis indulgentiis secundum quod erit conveniens.'

replaced by a proper Bull, but this term having been allowed to elapse, the Bull of confirmation was not issued till 7th August, 1530. In the preface the Pope says that he has been approached by the General of the Order with a request to confirm all the privileges and indulgences granted by former pontiffs, because the Order being extremely poor, it was hoped that the knowledge of these favours would induce the faithful to contribute towards its maintenance. Among the privileges thus confirmed, the Sabbatine Indulgence occupies the first place, the words being again taken from the Bull of John XXII.⁸ The next General Chapter, held at Padua on Pentecost, 1532, being anxious to complete the fabric of the church and convent of S. Maria in Transpontina in Rome, decreed as follows :—

Likewise we order and decide that each provincial shall labour faithfully and sincerely for the publication of the Bull recently issued by our most Holy Father Clement VII., confirming our privileges and indults and granting us new ones in addition. And that whatever alms may be obtained between the first day of publication and one year afterwards, inclusive, shall be divided into two equal parts, whereof one shall be handed over to the fabric of our convent in the Transpontina ; the other half shall belong to the convent where the Bull has been published and executed, after deduction of the actual cost. Nor shall anyone publish it otherwise than according to the form to be delivered.⁹

Further confirmations were given by Paul III., St. Pius V., Gregory XIII., Paul V., and many other Popes.

It goes without saying that from time to time there arose disputes concerning this privilege. The most serious

⁸ See the *Bullarium* and also Daniel, *loc. cit.*, ii., 550.

⁹ 'Item ordinamus et decernimus quod unusquisque provincialis fideliter et sincere laborabit circa publicationem bullae confirmationis privilegiorum et indultorum de novo concessorum per S. D. N. papam Clementem VII. Et quidquid elemosynarum habitum fuerit a primo die publicationis usque ad terminum unius anni completi dividetur in duas partes quarum una cedit fabricae conventus nostrae Transpontini. Reliqua vero pars cedit conventui ubi publicabitur et executioni demandabitur. Deductis tamen prius solis expensis laborantium a principali summa. Nec aliquis publicabit nisi juxta formam tradendam.' It is hardly necessary to remind the reader that the Council of Trent, having forbidden to ask for alms on the strength of indulgences, by decree of 4th December, 1563 (the final sitting), the Order derives no material benefit whatever either from the Confraternity or the Sabbatine Indulgence.

attack upon it was made at Lisbon in 1609. Among the reasons brought forward to induce the King of Spain (Portugal being then under the Spanish crown) to prohibit its publication was a complaint made by the royal exchequer that the extra day of abstinence observed by those desirous of gaining the Sabbatine Indulgence, deprived the crown of taxes to the amount of 30,000 scudi per annum. The more important question, however, was of course the theological and historical one, and this was submitted to the Holy Office in Rome. Various circumstances retarded the final decision, which was only given on the 11th of February, 1613.

During the proceedings of the Congregation it happened that one day being the Vigil of the feast of Our Lady of Mount Carmel, one of the Cardinals belonging to the Congregation of Inquisition happening to enter the church of the Discalced Carmelites of La Scala, picked up a breviary, where he found in the lessons of the feast, approved by Cardinal Bellarmine, the following passage relative to the subject in question :—

Not only in this life, but also in the next (since her power and mercy are everywhere great) does the Blessed Virgin favour her chosen Order, for there exists a pious belief that she will without delay console, and bring to the heavenly land, those sons of hers who, having belonged to the Society of the Scapular while on earth, are now in Purgatory, if they have practised some abstinence, recited the prayers prescribed, and observed chastity according to their state of life. For so many and such great privileges bestowed upon it, the Order instituted the annual celebration of the Commemoration of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

This text greatly influenced the deliberations, and in due time there appeared the following decree of the Sacred Congregation :—

It is lawful for the Carmelite fathers to preach that Christians may piously believe in the help promised to the souls of the brethren and members of the Confraternity of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Mount Carmel, namely, that the Blessed Virgin will assist by her continual intercession, suffrages and merits and also by her special protection, particularly on the Saturday

after their death (which day has been consecrated to her by the Church), the souls of such brothers and members of the Confraternity who depart this life in charity and who while on earth have worn the habit, observed chastity according to their state of life, recited the Little Office (or, if unable to do so, have kept the fasts of the Church), and have abstained from the use of meat on Wednesdays and Saturdays, unless Christmas fell on one of these days.¹⁰

All objections that have been offered to the belief in the Sabbatine Indulgence from 1613 to the present day, have found their solution in this decree, so that we may dispense with a detailed relation.

We must now return to the end of the fifteenth century when, as we have seen, the Sabbatine Indulgence was first mentioned.

Nothing was known of it in 1479 when Bostius wrote on the Patronage, but two or three years later, Leersius was able to give an account not only of the fact itself, but also of the documents referring to it. There can be little doubt that both Bostius, in his *Speculum*, and Paleonydor quoted the same source as Leersius, if they did not derive their version directly from his. The question then arises: Whence came Leersius' information?

Some years previously a large work had been published under the title of *Mare Magnum*, being a collection of all the Papal indults and privileges arranged according to subject matters. Its author was Friar John Maria Polutianus de Novarola, belonging to the reform of Mantua. In 1490 he appeared as Father Vicar of the convent of Novarola, and his death is supposed to have taken place in 1505. Besides the *Mare Magnum*, he published the *Constitutions* of Blessed John Soreth, a Life of St. Albert, and two or three editions of the Breviary according to the rules of Mantua. The *Mare Magnum* was submitted to and approved by the Pope, and embodied in a Bull dated 28th November, 1476,¹¹ but being in many respects incomplete, two additional Bulls

¹⁰ Daniel, *loc. cit.*, 568 sqq.

¹¹ *Vide Bullarium*, i., 320 sqq. There is a complete copy in the Lambeth Library MS., 61, fol. 119 follg., and a defective one at the British Museum, Reg. 10, A. 6.

were issued in the following year containing the confirmation of numerous indulgences and exemptions.¹² The cost of all this was very heavy for so poor an Order as were the Carmelites, for the bill came to 1,850 scudi (*aurei de camera*) and necessitated a special taxation authorised by the General Chapter held in 1478 at Brescia :—

Taxae extraordinariae pro impetratione Maris magni privilegiorum, indulgentiarum, revocationis calixtinae exceptionis a molestia inquisitorum contra observantes.

The English province being one of the most numerous, paid 148 ducats, Ireland thirty, and Scotland twenty. Had the Sabbatine Bull been known to Father Polutianus de Novarola or his collaborators, it would certainly have been included in one of these three expensive Bulls. Such was apparently not the case, and yet the publication of the *Mare Magnum* led indirectly to the discovery of this famous document, for the General Chapter of 1478 decreed as follows : ‘ Provinciales habent requirere omnia privilegia et transumpta mandare generali aut procuratori generali.’¹³

This decision of 1478, and the mention three or four years later of a Bull said to be in England with an authentic copy at Genoa, form too striking a coincidence to be wholly disconnected. It may be fairly questioned whether the discovery of the Bull really took place in England, for Leersius only says that it is reported to be preserved in England : ‘ *dicitur fore in Bulla plumbea in Anglia.*’ Evidently, then, neither he himself saw it nor did his informant speak from a personal knowledge of it ; but the case is different with regard to the authentic copy, for there he is quite positive : ‘ *et in conventu Januensi est ejus instrumentum authenticum et magis amplum quam hic ponitur.*’

Our conclusion, therefore, is that this authenticated copy of Genoa was the real source whence Leersius and his successors derived their information. It would be superfluous to enquire into the history of the English document ; what-

¹² 1st April, 1477, *Bull.*, i., 346 ; 23rd August, *loc. cit.*, 352.

¹³ A similar injunction had been made by the General Chapter of 1430, held at Nantes, as a necessary consequence of the schism which had for forty years divided the Order, as well as the Church.

ever its nature and contents may have been, it certainly disappeared together with the rest of the archives at the suppression of the religious houses. But it is regrettable that we possess no transcript of the Genoese parchment. When in the middle of the seventeenth century a search was made for it, a copy of a Bull was indeed found, but, as we shall see from the sequence, this was quite a different document. In our opinion the London document was no Bull at all, and neither was its copy at Genoa. What has become of the archives of Genoa? No one knows, and there seems little ground for hope that much of them is preserved.

The Bull found at Genoa, about 1664, is one out of some sixteen copies of a document purporting to be an official transcript made at Majorca in 1421 of a Bull granted by Alexander V. in 1409, confirming the original Sabbatine Bull of John XXII. which is embodied in it. Among the various copies there is one of Genoa dated 1430, another of Messina dated 1443, and others of later dates. The very existence of these early copies tells against their alleged dates, for it is inconceivable that they should have formed part and parcel of the various archives without becoming known to many members of the Order, and if so, how can it be explained that until 1480 the Order knew nothing of so great a privilege? Although the printing press could not have helped much towards its circulation, and correspondence may have been a luxury, there was, perhaps, more intercourse between the various provinces then than at the present time; for the General Chapters held at intervals of from three to six years, brought all the leading men together. Frequently there were as many as five hundred, nay, a thousand Carmelites to be found on such occasions,¹⁴ and it may be imagined that even if the Chapter had no opportunity of officially dealing with such matters,

¹⁴ Thus, in 1393, at Albi (during the schism, when only half the provinces were represented!), 500; in 1462, at Brussels, over 1,000; in 1498, at Nemours, over 400. Of course, a fraction of these were lay-brothers and attendants; but the great bulk of the assistants were composed of graduates and students, who held scholastic disputations, while the capitulars were deliberating on the affairs of the Order.

there was ample room for private intercourse and exchange of news, and surely the Sabbatine privilege was not of so trivial a nature as to be passed over in silence or to be kept a deep secret. Moreover, an examination of this document of Majorca shows clearly that the date assigned, 1421, is hopelessly incorrect. It consists of three parts, namely, the recital by the notary of the legal formalities connected with the copying of the original, the Bull of Alexander and that of John XXII. The former is to the effect that having diligently inspected a privilege granted by John XXII. 'to the General and the Brethren of the Order, and to our Beloved in Christ, the daughters and sisters, and the confratres of the Confraternity of the Carmelites,' he inserts the text of the said privilege so that it may acquire greater strength. This Bull is dated Rome, St. Mary Majors, 7th December, the first year of our pontificate. The Bull of John XXII. is dated Avignon, 3rd March, the sixth year of our pontificate. And if we inquire how these Bulls came to Majorca, the notary gives the explanation that they were presented to him by the venerable 'Frater Ilde Alphonsus de Theramo de Regno Angliae, Prior conventus Captunensis Ordinis S. Mariae de Monte Carmelo.' His own deed is dated on the year of the Incarnation, 1421, 2nd January, 15th Indiction, the sixth year of Alphonsus, King of Aragon, etc.

Before examining the contents of the Bull of John XXII., it is necessary to consider these chronological details. To begin with Alphonsus: he ascended the throne on 2nd April, 1416, consequently his sixth year corresponds to 2nd April, 1421—1st April, 1422, whereas the indiction for the year 1421 was 12, and for 1422 13. It is also surprising that a notary at Majorca should have used common style. The name of the Frater de Theramo presents greater difficulty. If he really were an Englishman his Christian name cannot have been Alphonsus, nor his surname Theramo. The former is, we think, unexampled in the fifteenth century and for a long time afterwards,¹⁵ while the latter, although

¹⁵ One of the rare instances, if not the only one, of an Englishman

it occurs frequently in Italian deeds of that period, is decidedly un-English. The nearest approach to it is Trevans; indeed one of that name, Richard, became a Carmelite, and was ordained in 1380 and the following year at Winchester, whence he probably proceeded, like the majority of those who had frequented the *studium* there, to Coventry for further education. But it by no means follows that 'Ilde Alphonsus de Theramo' had anything to do with Richard Trevans, although the historians of the Order have identified the 'conventus Captunensis' with Coventry. Considering the corrupt state of the document anything may be possible, and we shall suggest another solution which will give this Father Theramo soul and body.

The most serious objection to the authenticity of Alexander's Bull is its being dated from St. Mary Major at Rome. Alexander V. never was in Rome. Elected during the Council of Pisa, he went as far as Bologna, where he died after a reign of less than a year. No modern historian would have the courage to defend the explanation offered by former writers that he may have visited Rome without anybody knowing it, or that Rome should be taken in the allegorical sense according to the axiom *Ubi Petrus ibi ecclesia*. All these considerations are too damaging for the Bull of Alexander V. to be accepted as genuine, but here again Bale has probably preserved the true version. In two places in his note-books he gives the text of the Sabbatine Bull;¹⁶ once in the form which is now universally accepted, the other time in a version more closely resembling the text quoted by Leersius. He does not say where he has found it, but appends the following notice:—

Hanc confirmavit Alexander in primo [scored through and replaced by *sexto*] anno sui pontificatus datum in Avinione [scored through and replaced by *Roma*] 3 die Martii pontificatus nostri anno sexto. Ipse autem Johannes papa XXII. hoc confirmavit in Avinione anno primo sui pontificatus et Alexander

bearing the Christian name, Alphonsus, was a son of Edward I., who became Earl of Chester, but predeceased his father. One feels tempted to quote Dickens: 'If ever an Alphonse carried plain Bill in his face and figure,' etc

¹⁶ Bodley, 73, fol. 185a; Harley, 1,819, fol. 61b.

praenominatus in Roma confirmavit anno sexto ut dictum est et maledictionem dederunt omnipotentis Dei contravenientibus.

Here the dates of the Majorca Bull are inverted ; John's Bull receives the date 7th December, 1316, and Alexander's 3rd March, 1498, for it is evident that the sixth year of Alexander can only refer to Alexander VI. The document inspected by him is, then, none other than the one described by Leersius as the authenticated copy of John XXII.'s Bull.¹⁷ This at once explains many of the bewildering peculiarities of this document. For if there had been a confirmation by Alexander V. in 1409, it would be surprising that Leersius and his followers should not have mentioned it, and still more astonishing that the *Mare Magnum* should be silent about the Bull. Not only is the difficulty about the various dates fully explained by our theory, but the mysterious Alphonsus de Theramo turns out to be a well-known historical personage. Negotiations between the Order and the Roman Court were carried on by the Procurator-General, or, to use his official title, the Procurator Curiensis, or Procurator Conventus Curiensis, which office was held in 1498 by Friar Petrus Terasse. There was good reason for seeking a Papal approbation of the Sabbatine privilege in 1498. It will be remembered that Leersius' work was written between 1480 and 1483, and Bostius' in 1491, but neither of these can have enjoyed a very large circulation since they remained manuscript. Paleonydor's *Fasciculus*, which also alludes to the Sabbatine Bull, was printed in 1497, and it is certainly not a mere

¹⁷ We have endeavoured to trace Alexander VI.'s Bull at the Vatican archives, but without success—due, perhaps, to want of time. Two explanations are possible, namely, that confirmation was only given by word of mouth, which would account for the steps taken in 1517, 1528, and 1530 to obtain a confirmation, and also that the Vatican registers are by no means so complete as one would expect. Mr. W. H. Bliss, in his *Calendar of Papal Registers*, says truly : 'The system of registration in the Papal Chancery was not, however, nearly so perfect as that in the Chancery of the English kings, and there are still extant in the Public Record Office, in the British Museum, and elsewhere, many original Bulls, of which no mention can be found in the *Regesta*' (Vol. I., Preface). There are likewise many Bulls of undoubted authenticity preserved in our archives which are wanting in the Vatican registers. Whether the one in question belongs to that category is a matter for speculation.

coincidence that we should hear of a Papal approbation in the following year.

It must be acknowledged that there still remain some obscure points, but on the whole we believe that our view will bear investigation. The copyist, whoever he was, appears to have been absolutely incompetent, for no man with the most elementary knowledge of paleography would transcribe the word *apla* (with the sign of contraction) *amplam*, but *apostolicam*, and he may likewise have read the contracted form for *Procurator Conventus Curiensis : Prior Conventus Captunensis*. To this gross ignorance we are further indebted for the singularly corrupt text of the Bull that has come down to us. Daniel has endeavoured, but with indifferent result, to compare all the known copies and by striking an average, to obtain a reliable reading. We shall content ourselves with presenting the text such as it is. One thing, however, we cannot attempt to explain, namely, how the transcriber came to insert the two Bulls in an obviously misdated deed. To think of forgery is almost doing him too much honour ; it may be a case of mere stupidity.

If our view is, as we think, correct, it follows that the confirmation of the Sabbatine Bull by Alexander VI. leaves the question very much where it was, and that Leersius' account remains the earliest evidence in our possession.

The following is as literal a translation as its corrupt text allows of that famous document round which an animated discussion has been turning for four centuries :—

[John, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to all and each of the Faithful in Christ, etc. As in the highest court of paradise a sweet soft melody of angels is heard, arising from the harmonious vision of Jesus united to His Eternal Father and saying : I and the Father are One, and : he that seeth Me seeth the Father, and the choir of angels cease not to sing : Holy, Holy, Holy ; so does the synod pour forth incessantly its praises to the Blessed Virgin, crying : Virgin, Virgin, Virgin, be Thou our mirror and our pattern. She is invested with the office of grace, as Holy Church sings : Mary full of grace, and Mother of Mercy ; so that mountain may be taken to represent the Order of Carmel extolling with song and praising the Mother of grace

saying : Hail, Queen, Mother of Mercy and our Help. Thus, while I was praying on bended knee, the Virgin of Carmel appeared to me saying these words]¹⁸ O John, John, Vicar of my beloved Son, even as I shall liberate thee from thy adversary and bestow upon thee the Papal dignity which by my supplications I have obtained for thee from my dearest Son, so grant thou to my beloved and holy Order of Carmel grace and apostolic confirmation. Whosoever maketh profession in the Order founded on Mount Carmel by Elias and Eliseus, and observes inviolate the rule laid down by my servant, the Patriarch Albert, and approved by my beloved son, Innocent the Vicar of my Son (for the Vicar of my Son ought to consent on earth to that which my Son hath decreed in heaven), namely, that he who shall persevere in holy obedience, poverty and chastity, or who shall enter the Order of my Brethren, shall be saved ; and if others for the sake of devotion enter the holy Order, wearing in sign thereof the habit (*habitus signum ferentes*), and calling themselves *confratres* and *consorores* of the same, they shall be freed and absolved from a third part of their sins on the day when they enter it, provided they promise chastity if in widowhood, virginity if single, and if married inviolate troth of the laws of matrimony as Holy Church commandeth. The professed brethren of the said Order shall be loosed from guilt and punishment, and on the day when after this life they hasten to purgatory, I, the glorious Mother will descend (*Sabbato post eorum obitum* : on the Saturday after their death ; or *subito* : at once¹⁹) and will set free as many as I shall find there, and lead them to the holy mountain of life eternal. However, these *confratres* and *consorores* are bound to recite the Canonical Hours according to the injunction of the Rule given by Albert. Those who do not know them should keep the fast on the days set apart by Holy Church, unless there be an impediment through some necessity ; on Wednesday and Saturday they should abstain from flesh meat, except on the Nativity of my Son. After this, the holy Vision disappeared. [This holy indulgence, therefore, I accept, authorise and confirm upon earth, even as Jesus Christ through the merits of His Virgin Mother, hath graciously granted in heaven. To no man, therefore, etc.]²⁰

Two things are clear at first sight, namely, that the text is far from correct, the scribe having evidently had great difficulty in reading the paper before him, and secondly

¹⁸ The beginning and end, placed within brackets, are omitted in Bale's MS.

¹⁹ Although the Bull has *Sabbato*, the context shows clearly that *subito* should be read, as Leersius, Bostius, and Bale have it.

²⁰ Daniel, *loc. cit.*, i., 545. The collated version *ibidem*, 549.

that, whatever the nature of John XXII.'s document may have been, it certainly was no Bull. The technical forms at the beginning and end must have been added when it was embodied in the Bull of confirmation. 'We do not profess to know whether Popes at the time of John XXII. were in the habit of writing private letters, or whether this is a fragment of autobiography or a confidential communication, but whatever it was, those who thought there existed in London a Bull in due form with seal appended, must have been mistaken. This does not dispense us, however, from facing the more important question as to whether the document has any claim to authenticity. Villiers de St. Etienne, perhaps the most scholarly historian the Carmelite Order has produced, leaves the matter undecided.²¹ For our part we venture, after mature reflection, to uphold its claim. External evidence not assisting us in this investigation, we must rely on internal proofs.

The first of these, the general credibility of the Promise of Our Lady, will be examined in our final article; here, we can only point to those arguments which flow from the wording of our document.

We have already shown that Leersius, in his account of the Sabbatine Bull, confounds the confirmation of the rule under Innocent IV. with that of Honorious III., whilst Paleonydor mixes it up with the approbation of the Order by the second Council of Lyons; here we find no such confusion. In the Bull of Pope Alexander, mention is made of the beloved daughters the Carmelite Sisters. As we have seen in a previous article, these were instituted about the middle of the fifteenth century, accordingly there is no such allusion to them here. Again, a document of the end of the fifteenth century would unquestionably have spoken of the scapular as the specific part of the habit to be worn by the *confratres*, whereas our Bull still keeps to the old way of considering the habit *signum habitus* as the *vehiculum* of Our Lady's Promise, without any distinction of its various parts. We lay much stress on this point, because

²¹ *Bibliotheca Carmelitana*, i., 51 sqq.

a forger would unquestionably have blundered here. And, finally, we may draw the attention of the reader to the simple and unobtrusive way in which the rule inchoated by Elias and Eliseus on Mount Carmel is spoken of. As time went on, this shibboleth became more and more pronounced, and a late writer could never have resisted the temptation of improving upon the text. He would, at the very least, have added a few words to put this sore point in its proper light for the benefit of sceptics ; it is sufficient to cast a glance at contemporary authors to perceive the full weight of this argument.

Our conclusion, then, is that this document is of much earlier date than Alexander's Bull, and there is no reason why it should not come from Pope John XXII. The exact date supplied by Bale from some unknown source lends additional weight to this.

OUR LADY'S PROMISES

Perhaps the chief objection brought against the scapular tradition is that it begets presumption in the heart and mind of the faithful, who are in danger of attaching undue importance to what, after all, is only a form of devotion. It will be convenient to speak separately of the promise attached to the Scapular, and the Sabbatine promise. The objection brought forward to the former is of very old standing, since Sibert de Beka at the beginning of the fourteenth century had already inserted a clause into the words of Our Lady : ' Whosoever dies in it, *if only he is worthy*, shall not suffer eternal fire.' Other authors have thought best to make the promise dependent upon a pious death : ' Whosoever dies *piously*.' This version has received the approbation of the Church in the lessons for the feast of Our Lady of Mount Carmel, and Theodor Stratius, General of the Calced Carmelites, in a circular of about the year 1640, forbade the members of his Order to speak and preach of the scapular without some such explanation.

In our humble opinion all this does violence to the words of Our Lady. Whosoever dies piously or is worthy of eternal life, whether he wear the scapular or not, will go to heaven.

For such a truism we require no special revelation. We take the promise in its literal sense, and maintain that no one who dies with the scapular shall be lost. Since all those and only those who die in a state of grace go to heaven, the question naturally arises: How does the scapular help those who have not been in the state of grace to become reconciled with God ere it be too late? The answer is, that Our Lady will obtain for them the grace of perfect contrition, or of the reception of the sacraments. And since God does not bestow so great a grace without at least some co-operation on the part of the sinner, a further question arises: Is the wearing of the scapular adequate to this end? We think it is. It is a devotion; probably the easiest devotion, but still a devotion, and consequently not without a supernatural element. It therefore requires an actual grace with the voluntary co-operation of the sinner, and then the door is open for sanctifying grace, and all the more widely the more numerous the impulses of actual grace given.

We are told that there is danger that people while relying upon the scapular will neglect their religious duties during life, and trust that in the end everything will be all right. For our part we do not believe that Catholics are really so ignorant of the elements of their catechism. Our own experience in the confessional, and by the bedside of the sick and dying, tells a different tale; neither have we ever heard of a case of such gross superstition. Should there have been such cases of presumption, it must be admitted that there have also been cases of presumptuous trust in the last sacraments. The scapular may break, or be lost, or laid aside; the priest may not come in time before the dying man loses consciousness; these accidents are subject to Divine permission and prove with equal force that God will not be mocked. We have frequently been in a position of studying the downward road of a soul, when sin, especially of a certain kind, becomes habitual; the sacraments are neglected, the precepts of the Church systematically transgressed, and yet perhaps for some time the sinner, through force of habit, may keep to

the scapular. But sooner or later even this is put aside, either because it has become unfit to wear, or through a natural (or supernatural) aversion of the sinner to anything connected with the Immaculate Virgin. This last step marks the vanishing of twilight and the beginning of the darkness of night.

On the other hand, it frequently happens that a sinner, after years spent in the mire of vice, begins to be ashamed of himself, and though perhaps he may not have at once the grace of receiving the sacraments, he resumes some little devotion, as saying from time to time a *Hail Mary*, or, as most commonly happens, resuming the long neglected scapular. It is the very least thing he can do, but by doing it he already emerges from the lowest level, and commences the ascent to something better. His progress may be distressingly slow, but still there is some progress and he is fairly on the road to the state of grace. Such cases are by no means isolated. When the apparently hardened sinner in reply to remonstrance, stammers: 'But I wear the scapular,' he does not mean that he thinks himself saved thereby, but that he is not so entirely immersed in sin as to be, so to say, beyond the reach of grace. Such has been our experience in hundreds of cases, whereas we have never heard of an instance of blind trust in the mechanical power of the scapular as though it were a talisman. Moreover, every treatise on this devotion is full of examples of persons who, after a notoriously bad life, made also a bad death, but only after having violently torn off and flung away the scapular.

As to the Sabbatine promise, we have already expressed our conviction that the words of Our Lady really were: 'I shall descend into Purgatory *subito*, at once (not *Sabbato*), after their death.' There is not the same measure of time in the other world as in ours. Even if that were so, we know that a soul having a long account to settle, may make up for the greater brevity of time by increased intensity of suffering, as has been beautifully brought out by Cardinal Newman in the *Dream of Gerontius*. On the score of theology there can surely be no objection to the promise; and as to the conditions, they are certainly not so trivial as to

lessen the solemnity of the doctrine of Purgatory. The faithful practice of the virtue of chastity in thought, word, and deed, according to the state of life, is not so universal a habit as to be a matter of little moment. The recitation of the Divine Office;²² the obligation of keeping the fasts of the Church, even when there would otherwise be a legitimate reason for dispensation; the abstinence on Wednesdays and Saturdays besides the Fridays not merely for a short period, but as a lifelong practice; all this is certainly worthy of an indulgence of very considerable extent.

Just as a forger at the end of the fifteenth century would have been at pains to give the alleged Bull a wording more in harmony with ecclesiastical style, so would he undoubtedly have made the promise dependent upon easier conditions. This is one more reason, and surely not the least, why we should unhesitatingly admit the full claim of the Bull.

CONCLUSION

In writing these articles we have set ourself the task of dealing with the question from a purely historical point of view. Having no reliable history of the Order to refer our readers to, we were sometimes obliged to give prominence to facts or theories which concern our subject only in a secondary way. But we have set aside all these considerations which belong rather to the domain of ascetics, such as the many advantages to be derived from this devotion, contenting ourself with those things that are apt to throw some light upon the matter. Whether or not we have succeeded in elucidating so obscure a question, we must leave to the judgment of our readers. We have made no secret of the weak points of our history—some may even think that we have dwelt too much upon them.

For the sake of clearness it may be useful to sum up the various points we have tried to establish:—

1. The Carmelites entered England in 1241 and after the approbation and partial mitigation of their rule in

²² The promise distinctly speaks of the canonical office, but the decree of the Congregation of Inquisition under Paul V. leaves the alternative of the Little Office (to be said in Latin) (Daniel, i., 496).

1247, began to spread rapidly. After 1256 they met with opposition on the part of the secular clergy whereby many friars were discouraged, while others, frightened by the austerity of the rule, sought to shake off its yoke.

2. Having exhausted ordinary means, St. Simon Stock was favoured with an apparition of the Blessed Virgin, who promised success to a deputation to the Pope and, in order to encourage the wavering members of the Order, and to raise its prestige, assured eternal salvation to those who live and die in the habit.

3. A miraculous event taught St. Simon Stock that this promise held good, not alone in the case of those who wear the habit on account of their religious profession, but also of those who don it through devotion.

4. The Pope powerfully protected the Order which spread with astonishing rapidity, numerous grandees donning the habit.

5. The substitution of the scapular for the full habit was due to the manner in which the habit was blessed and handed to the recipient at the ceremony of profession.

6. The Confraternity of the Scapular has grown out of the institution of the *confratres* attached to the various convents, who were granted a participation in the merits and good works of the religious.

7. The feast of Our Lady of Mount Carmel was instituted in thanksgiving for certain graces not directly connected with the scapular, but in its oldest form it bore officially the name : Feast of the Confratres.

8. The so-called Sabbatine Bull cannot with certainty be traced further back than the year 1480, but interior evidence, in the absence of external proofs, is in favour of the promise having really been made by Our Lady to Pope John XXII. The promise appears to insure not so much release from Purgatory on the first Saturday following death, but rather *a most speedy release*.

9. There is nothing either in the scapular devotion or in the Sabbatine promise, that is not strictly in harmony with sound theological principles.

BENEDICT ZIMMERMAN, O.C.D.

Notes and Queries

THEOLOGY

JUBILEE OF THE IMMACULATE CONCEPTION

THE Encyclical Letter of His Holiness, Pius X., promulgating a Jubilee in honour of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin, will be found amongst the documents of the present number of the I. E. RECORD. Many questions which have reference to the present Jubilee as well as to the Jubilee of the Holy Year were discussed at length by Dr. Mannix in the I. E. RECORD of March, April, and May, 1901. We may specially mention questions concerning the intention, Confession, and Communion, which are necessary for gaining the indulgence of the Jubilee. We refer our readers to Dr. Mannix's articles for a detailed discussion on these points. In the present number of the I. E. RECORD it will be useful to note some points which specially regard this Jubilee.

1. The Jubilee will last for three months, not necessarily continuous, to be definitely fixed by the Ordinary for each diocese, to be completed before the 8th December, 1904. No individual can forestall the Ordinary with regard to the time during which the Jubilee can be gained. The Jubilee Confession and Communion, however, can be made in a diocese where the Jubilee has not yet been promulgated or has ceased, by the inhabitants of a diocese where the Jubilee has been promulgated and has not ceased. Moreover, the prescribed works can be performed by *peregrini* in a diocese where the Jubilee is open, although it has not yet been promulgated or has ceased in their own dioceses. *Vagi* can perform the prescribed works in any place where the Jubilee is open.

2. Special facilities are allowed to travellers—*navigantes atque iter agentes*—by means of which they, immediately on their return home, can gain the Jubilee by performing the prescribed works, although the ordinary time of Jubilee has ceased.

3. The present Jubilee can be gained only once, and can be applied to the souls in Purgatory.

4. The prescribed works are Confession, Communion, fast, visits to churches, and prayers for specified intentions of the Pope. Actually approved confessors have received power to commute the prescribed works in case of necessity for other pious works of equal value. They can dispense with Communion in the case of those who will not receive their first Communion before the close of the Jubilee. Two questions of importance arise in connection with this power of commutation and dispensation:—
(a) Can confessors exercise this power outside the Confessional? Benedict XIV. laid down in the Constitution *Inter Praeteritos*, § 63, that confessors cannot use their special faculties outside the Confessional. The rules of Benedict hold for other Jubilees, unless in so far as they are revoked.¹ Now, no general revocation in this particular matter has taken place. In the Jubilee of 1865 confessors were allowed to commute the prescribed works outside Confession, but in the Jubilee of 1886 this power was refused to confessors. In the Encyclical Letter of the present Jubilee there is no mention of power to commute the prescribed works outside Confession. Until, then, special permission be given by the Roman Congregations—and, so far as we know, it has not yet been given—confessors cannot exercise their power of commutation outside the Confessional. What we have here said expressly about the power of commuting the prescribed works holds equally with reference to the other special faculties granted to confessors by the Jubilee Encyclical. (b) Can actually approved confessors commute all the prescribed works? They can certainly commute the visits and the fast, and can dispense from Communion those who will not receive their first Communion before the end of the Jubilee. There is special difficulty, however, with regard to Confession, Communion, and the prescribed prayers. Benedict XIV. stated in the Constitution *Inter Praeteritos*, § 53, that Jubilee

¹ S. C. Indul., 15th March, 1852.

confessors have not the power of commuting Confession, Communion, and the prescribed prayers which are separable from the visits. The rules of this Constitution remain in force until they are revoked. No general revocation has yet been made with regard to commutation of Confession, Communion, or the prescribed prayers. Neither does the Encyclical give any indication of such a revocation for the present Jubilee. So we are compelled to hold that confessors cannot commute these works. There are some theologians, however, who maintain that power is now given to make this commutation. Bonquillon held this view in his commentary on the Jubilee of 1886. The safest course to adopt in practice is to abstain from attempting to make a commutation of Confession, Communion, and the prayers as long as they can possibly be performed. If it be quite impossible to perform any of them a confessor may commute them *in quantum possit*.

5. Other indulgences are not suspended during the time of the present Jubilee.

6. VISITS.—(a) Three devotional visits to a church are necessary for gaining the present Jubilee. The three visits need not be made on the same day.² It is not necessary to make them in the same church, or in the same parish, or even in the same diocese. They can be made wholly or partially in any church where the Jubilee is open.³ (b) The churches to be visited are the cathedral church if there be one in the place, the parochial church if there be no cathedral church in the place, or the principal church if there be no parochial church in the place. (c) Under the designation of 'principal church' may be included oratories which are open to the public if Mass be usually said there.⁴ Chapels of colleges, monasteries, and convents, which are not open to the public, cannot serve for the Jubilee visits of the faithful. It is certain, too, that such chapels will not serve for the Jubilee visits of those who belong to those colleges, monasteries, and convents. Hence, those who live in colleges, etc., the chapels

² S. C. Poen., 15th Jan., 1886.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

of which are not open to the public, must make their Jubilee visits to the cathedral, parochial, or principal churches. If they are prevented by rule from going to these churches they must obtain a commutation of their visits from their confessors. The most suitable works which confessors can substitute are visits to their private chapels. (d) Regulars cannot make their Jubilee visits to their own churches unless in those cases where their churches come under the title 'parochial or principal churches.' They must make their visits to the churches which the ordinary faithful of the place must visit. (e) What is meant by a 'place' when the Encyclical Letter speaks of cathedral, parochial, or principal church of a place? It is clear from the Encyclical itself that different dioceses and different parishes are different 'places.' Within the same parish there can also be different places. This is also clear from the Encyclical. We think that, in this case, 'place' must be taken in the canonical sense which is attached to the word in connection with the canonical cause of dispensation known as *angustia loci*, and in connection with the erection of Confraternities. In this sense a place may be defined⁵ with Putzer as 'agglomeratio habitantium ab aliis agglomerationibus uno saltem milliario italico distans.' An Italian mile is equivalent to 1,628 yards of our measurement. It must be borne in mind, however, that this definition is at most a general explanation, for it has been decided that places which are nearer to one another may, on account of difficulty of communication, be different 'places' in the canonical sense.⁶ In cases of difficulty it is advisable to consult the Ordinary. (f) The visits must be devotional and not already obligatory. Hence a visit made through curiosity will not suffice. It will be necessary to leave and re-enter the church. Hence, also, a visit made to the church for the purpose of hearing an obligatory Sunday Mass will not suffice. If a person enter the church some time before Mass,

⁵ Putzer, *Facultates Apostolicæ*. p. 327.

⁶ Feije, p. 647.

for the purpose of making the Jubilee visit it will not be necessary to leave the church again before the obligatory Mass. (g) Vocal prayers, not already obligatory, must be said for the intentions of the Pope. It is not necessary, though it is better, to know these intentions explicitly. The Pater and Ave repeated five times will, according to all theologians, suffice. (h) Special provision has been made according to which confessors can substitute other sensible pious works for vocal prayers in the case of deaf mutes. There seems to be no sufficient reason for commuting, in their case, the internal acts of prayer for the intentions of the Holy Father.⁷

7. FAST.—(a) The Jubilee fast is a black fast. The Encyclical makes this clear—*esurialibus tantum cibis utentes. Cibus esuriales* exclude even *lacticinia*.⁸ The collation and frustulum are allowed. (b) Those who are free from the obligation of fasting by age, infirmity, labour or even dispensation, are still bound to the Jubilee fast if they wish to gain the Jubilee indulgence. They can obtain a commutation of the fast from their confessors if there be a grave cause. A grave cause, in this connection, means such a cause as will excuse from the observance of an ecclesiastical law binding *sub gravi*. Hence, a cause which merely suffices for a dispensation will not suffice for a commutation. (c) A black fast of *one* day is prescribed. (d) Those performing the Jubilee in Lent can select for their Jubilee fast any day of Lent, except those days not included in the Lenten Indult. Those days are Good Friday, and, in many dioceses, Spy Wednesday. (e) Outside Lent any day may, we think, be taken for the Jubilee fast—even Quarter Tense. This seems clear from the Encyclical which excepts throughout the whole time of the Jubilee only the days of Lent not contained in the Lenten Indult.

⁷ S.C. Ind., 15th March, 1852.

⁸ S. C. Poen., 4th March, 1879; 2nd April, 1881; 15th Jan., 1886.

POWER OF CURATES IN IRELAND TO ASSIST VALIDLY AT
MARRIAGES

REV. DEAR SIR,—In this diocese a Curate has the power of assisting at marriages in the parish to which he is appointed, independently, *quoad validitatem*, of any delegation from the Parish Priest. He is recognised as a *deputatus ad universitatem causarum*, and is, I presume, a *parochus*, in the sense of the Council of Trent. This being the case I wish to know :—(1) Can such a Curate assist at the marriage of his parishioners in another diocese without special delegation from his Parish Priest or Bishop.—For example, can he go up to Dublin and validly assist at their marriage there? (2) Can he delegate another Priest to marry them in his own or in a different parish? (3) Is assistance at marriage an act of jurisdiction on the part of the Priest, and if so, what kind?

An answer to the above questions in an early number of the I. E. RECORD—with a few words, if convenient, on the right of Curates in general to assist at marriages in this country—will, I am sure, be highly appreciated by your readers, and especially by your humble correspondent, SACERDOS.

Before we reply to the questions of our correspondent a few words about the power of Irish Curates to assist validly at marriages will not be out of place. Curates, as such, in Ireland have not power to validly assist at marriages. They do not receive such power from the common law of the Church, because the common law does not command Bishops to appoint assistant Priests with power to assist validly at marriages of parishioners. As far as the common law goes, a Bishop may appoint an assistant Priest with power to perform validly all parochial duties, or only some parochial duties. Neither do Curates in Ireland receive the power of validly assisting at marriages from the Maynooth Statutes. Though these Statutes state that Curates participate in the pastoral office,¹ and are bound *in solidum* with the Parish Priest to perform all the duties of the pastoral office,² this must be understood to refer to all those duties which Diocesan laws declare to belong in common to Parish Priests and their

¹ n. 219.

² n. 215.

Curates. That this is the true interpretation of the Statutes is clear not only from custom, but also from the statement of the Council itself, which lays down with regard to Curates :—‘ Eorum jura et munera definiri debent ab Episcopis in Synodis Dioecesanis.’³ Hence, we must look to the regulations of each diocese for a solution of this question.

Even if the Bishops of particular dioceses state, in appointing Curates, that they appoint them with power to administer all the Sacraments, this does not *of itself* give Curates a right to assist validly at marriages. This is a special power which the Holy See does not recognise as contained in the power to administer all the Sacraments. This seems clear from a reply of the S. C. Inq., dated 7th September, 1898 :—

An facultati generali administrandi omnia sacramenta, quae ordinem episcopalem non requirunt, includatur facultas assistendi omnibus matrimoniis fidelium dioeceseos? *Resp.* :— Negative, nisi agatur de vice-parochis, qui ex consuetudine dioecesis habitualiter delegati censeantur pro propria paroecia.

If it be said that the question proposed for solution referred to all the marriages of the faithful of the diocese, and not to the marriages of the faithful of a particular parish to which a Priest is sent, we reply that the words of the Sac. Cong. make it clear that the power of assisting at marriages of the faithful of a particular parish is not contained in the general faculty of conferring all Sacraments, unless there be a diocesan custom which interprets this general faculty in this favourable sense. There is no such custom or law generally existing in Ireland. In some special cases a custom or law of this kind does exist, so that no express mention of matrimonial power is required. We refer to the case of Priests who are appointed administrators of vacant parishes or of parishes of which the Parish Priests are incapacitated from performing the duties of their office. Outside such cases there is not any general law or custom in Ireland which interprets the faculty of conferring all the Sacraments in this wide sense. Hence, the laws and

legitimate customs of each diocese must be consulted for a knowledge of the powers of Curates in matrimonial affairs. We know several dioceses in which Curates do not receive power to assist validly at marriages independently of the Parish Priest. We know several other dioceses in which Curates do receive this power.

Even when Curates do receive this power in any diocese it is understood to be independent of the Parish Priest only as to validity. It is not independent of the Parish Priest as to its lawful use. Exceptional circumstances, of course, may make it advisable for a Bishop to appoint a Curate who is independent of the Parish Priest both as to the valid and lawful use of power to assist at marriages. Such exceptional circumstances only rarely exist, and are not to be presumed. Bishops who have given Parish Priests the principal care of souls in their parishes do not wish Curates to be ordinarily independent as to the lawful use of the power to assist at marriages.

We think it well to point out, too, that our correspondent is in error when he presumes that a Curate who is delegated *ad universitatem causarum* in matrimonial cases is a *parochus* in the sense of the Council of Trent. Gasparri⁴ holds that Administrators of vacant parishes and of parishes the Parish Priests of which are incapacitated by age, infirmity, or similar causes, from performing their parochial duties, are *parochi* in the sense of the Council of Trent, since they are at least *delegati ad universam curam animarum*. This opinion, though favoured by some, is not held by canonists generally, nor can it be easily reconciled with recent decisions of the Roman Congregations,⁵ or with the usual theological notions of ordinary and delegated power. But even Gasparri does not hold that an assistant Priest, who is delegated not *ad universam curam animarum*, but only *ad universitatem causarum* in matrimonial matters, is a *parochus* in the Tridentine sense. He is only a delegate of the Ordinary or of the Parish Priest. This is an important distinction because of the different interpretation

⁴ *De Matr.*, n. 909, 910.

⁵ *v.g.*, S.C.C. 12th Sept., 1874; S.C. Inq., 7th Sept., 1898.

which must be given to the powers of a Priest who acts *proprio nomine*, and of a Priest who acts *nomine Episcopi vel Parochi*.

We are now in a position to answer the questions of our correspondent. (1) A Curate who is delegated *ad universitatem causarum* to assist at marriages can, unless he be specially restricted by the delegating superior, validly assist at the marriages of parishioners outside the parish.⁶ He can validly assist at the marriage of *vagi* only in the parish. (2.) He can sub-delegate another Priest to assist validly at the marriages of parishioners in or outside the parish, unless he be specially restricted by the delegating superior. He can give this sub-delegation, however, only in particular cases.⁷ He cannot sub-delegate another Priest to assist validly at the marriages of *vagi* outside the parish. He can sub-delegate another Priest to assist at their marriages in the parish in particular cases. The Ordinary can, however, give a delegate the power of giving general sub-delegation. A special grant is necessary for this. It is not presumed to exist until its existence be proved. This wide power of sub-delegation is given to administrators of vacant parishes.⁸ (3.) Assistance at marriage is not, strictly speaking, an act of jurisdiction, although in many ways it follows the rules laid down for interpretation of jurisdiction. Hence, a Parish Priest who has been deprived of all jurisdiction, can validly assist at marriages so long as he retains his title. Assistance at marriage is merely the presence of a duly authorised witness, required for the validity of marriages where the Tridentine law binds.⁹ From this it is clear that such phrases as 'jurisdiction,' 'delegation,' 'sub-delegation,' when used in connection with assistance at marriage, must be taken in a wide sense.

J. M. HARTY.

⁶ Feije, n. 297, 10°.

⁸ S.C.C., 12th Sept., 1874.

⁷ Feije, n. 297. 8°.

⁹ Feije, n. 285.

LITURGY

BLESSING OF THE BAPTISMAL FONT ON HOLY SATURDAY

REV. DEAR SIR,—Permit me to invite your opinion with reference to a practice widely prevalent in connection with the blessing of the Font on Holy Saturday:—The Oils on the occasion are taken from the small oil stocks by dipping the thumb and index finger into the Oils, when the crosses are made with one or both on the surface of the water. Does this satisfy the Rubric which speaks of an *infusion*? O’Kane states that the practice has a certain approval in the English Ritual. Is there a similar approval for the practice in Ireland?

SACERDOS.

We have seen no reference in any of the classical Liturgists to the practice described by our respected correspondent, and approvingly mentioned by O’Kane.¹ They evidently did not contemplate the case where a scarcity of Holy Oils would occur on Holy Saturday above all the days of the year, and it is only this circumstance that can justify the custom. O’Kane says² that there is no reason why every parish church having a font should not be provided with a proper supply of Oils for all emergencies, and we quite agree with him—as far at least as this country is concerned. In addition to replenishing his oil stocks each priest can easily take away in small bottles, or other vessels provided for the purpose, a supply of Holy Oils required for the blessing of the Baptismal Font. But the unforeseen will sometimes happen in spite of every precaution. Supposing then a priest finds himself without the necessary supply, may he act in the manner suggested? We think he may. For the substantial requirement of the Rubric will be complied with, and the symbolical significance of the rite, intended in the mixing of the Oils and water, will be realised though, perhaps, somewhat imperfectly. ‘Fit haec commixtio, quia fideles populi per aquam significati, in Baptismo uniuntur et incorporantur Christo per Chrisma

¹ Rubrics of Rom. Rit., n. 556.

² *Ibid.*, n. 265.

et Oleum figurato.³ As, however, this method scarcely fulfils the directions of the Rubric, unless in a strained and forced manner, and as it does not, moreover, fully bring out the beautiful symbolism implied in the ceremony, we would restrict its adoption to cases of recognised necessity. Therefore, to come to the point of the question raised, we cannot see any justification for its general application. The English Ritual, too, in its note, would seem to approve of it only subject to similar limitations.

In view of their possible opportuneness, we may here call attention to some matters in connection with the blessing of the Baptismal Font that are occasionally overlooked.

1. This blessing should be carried out on every Holy Saturday, and repeated on the Vigil of Pentecost, in every church which has *de jure* a Baptismal Font.⁴ A Parish Priest having charge of two or more churches possessing Fonts may, according to De Herdt,⁵ either delegate another priest to bless the Fonts in the *succursal* chapels, or have some of the water consecrated by himself transferred to them.

2. In the blessing performed on Holy Saturday and the Vigil of Pentecost, the form given in the Roman Missal must be used whether the occasion is solemn or private. The Ritual form is only to be used *extra haec tempora*.

3. The Fonts should be thoroughly cleansed and dried some days before Holy Saturday, so that all unpleasant odours from the corruption of Oils or water shall have time to disappear.⁶

4. Should it happen that the newly-consecrated Oils have not been provided for Holy Saturday, then the solemn blessing may be proceeded with up to that part of the ceremony where the *infusio* takes place. It is then interrupted for the time being. As soon as the Oils are obtained the remainder of the ceremony is performed privately. Here it is presumed that there is no immediate need of the baptismal water, pending the arrival of the fresh Oils. Where such a necessity exists, and where baptism has to

³ Quarti, *De bened. Eccles.*, Tom ii., sec. 7, par. 2.

⁴ S.R.C. Decr., n. 4005 (nov. ed.)

⁵ *Sac. Lit. Prax.*, T. iii., n. 54.

⁶ O'Loan, *Ceremonies of some Ecclesiastical Functions*, p. 301.

be administered on, or immediately after, Holy Saturday, the old Oils may be used, and the water thus consecrated is preserved until the Vigil of Pentecost.⁷

5. Asked whether it is not enough to bless the Baptismal Font once a year only, namely, on Holy Saturday, the Sacred Congregation of Rites replied⁸:—‘*Aquam baptismalem in Parochiis esse benedicendam in Sabbatis Paschal et Pentecostes, non obstante quacumque contraria consuetudine, quae omnino eliminari debet.*’

6. The faithful are often very eager to procure a small quantity of the water thus solemnly blessed on Holy Saturday. As the Font may not be able to contain a sufficiency for all purposes, the following plan, suggested by the Congregation of Rites,⁹ may be adopted. A large vessel filled with water is placed near the Font. Over this is performed that part of the ceremony up to the infusion of the Oils exclusive. The Font is then filled from the larger vessel, the ceremony completed, and the water remaining in the larger vessel, with which no Oils have been mixed, is reserved for the use of the people.

7. The symbolism of the ceremony of blessing the Baptismal Font is very striking. The Tract compares the desire of unregenerated mankind for the living waters of life eternal to the longing of the stag for the limpid fountains. In the prayers God is invoked to remove from the elements of corporeal creation the corruption of sin, with which they were cursed at the fall, and make them not only harmless and pure, but also useful for the services of man. The breathing on the water signifies the ease with which the demons are expelled by the priest by means of the Cross from which the graces of Baptism are derived. The immersion of the Pascal candle—which typifies Our Lord upon whom the Holy Spirit visibly descended at His Baptism—and its immediate elevation represent the effects of the Sacrament of Regeneration. Then the three-fold repetition of many of the actions has of course, reference to the Most Holy and Undivided Trinity.

P. MORRISROE.

⁷ S.R.C. Decr., n.n. 2773, 3092, 3^e 79.

⁹ S. R. C. Decr., n. 3524.

⁸ 13 April, 1874.

DOCUMENTS

ENCYCLICAL LETTER OF HIS HOLINESS POPE PIUS X. ON THE JUBILEE OF THE IMMACULATE CONCEPTION

SANCTISSIMI DOMINI NOSTRI DIVINA PROVIDENTIA

PII PAPAE X.

LITTERAE ENCYCLICAE

AD PATRIARCHAS PRIMATES ARCHIEPISCOPOS EPISCOPOS ALIOSQUE
LOCORVM ORDINARIOS PACEM ET COMMVNIONEM CUM APOS-
TOLICA SEDE HABENTES

VENERABILIBVS FRATRIBUS PATRIARCHIS PRIMATIBVS ARCHIEPIS-
COPIS EPISCOPIS ALIISQUE LOCORVM ORDINARIIS PACEM ET
COMMVNIONEM CVM APOSTOLICA SEDE HABENTIBVS

PIVS PP. X.

VENERABILES FRATRES

SALVTEM ET APOSTOLICAM BENEDICTIONEM

Ad diem illum laetissimum, brevi mensium intervallo, aetas nos referet, quo, ante decem quinquennia, Pius IX decessor Noster, sanctissimae memoriae pontifex, amplissima septus purpuratorum patrum atque antistitum sacrorum corona, magisterii inerrantis auctoritate, edixit ac promulgavit esse a Deo revelatum beatissimam virginem Mariam, in primo instanti suae Conceptionis, ab omni originalis culpae labe fuisse immunem. Promulgationem illam quo animo per omnium terrarum orbem fideles, quibus iucunditatis publicae et gratulationis argumentis exceperint nemo est qui ignoret ; ut plane, post hominum memoriam, nulla voluntatis significatio data sit tum in augustam Dei Matrem tum in Jesu Christi Vicarium, quae vel pateret latius, vel communiore concordia exhiberetur. Iam quid spe bona nos prohibet, Venerabiles Fratres, dimidio quamvis saeculo interiecto, fore ut, renovata immaculatae Virginis recordatione, laetitiae illius sanctae veluti imago vocis in animis nostris resultet et fidei atque amoris in Dei Matrem augustam praeclara longinqui temporis spectacula iterentur ? Equidem ut hoc aveamus ardens pietas facit, quam Nos in Virginem beatissimam, summa cum beneficentiae eius gratia, per omne tempus fovimus : ut vero

futurum certo expectemus facit catholicorum omnium studium, promptum illud semper ac paratissimum ad amoris atque honoris testimonia iterum iterumque magnae Dei Matri adhibenda. Attamen id etiam non diffitebimur, desiderium hoc Nostrum inde vel maxime commoveri quod, arcano quodam instinctu, praecipere posse Nobis videmur, expectationes illas magnas brevi esse explendas, in quas et Pius decessor et universi sacrorum antistites, ex asserto solemniter immaculato Deiparae Conceptu, non sane temere, fuerunt adducti.

Quas enimvero ad hunc diem non evasisse, haud pauci sunt qui querantur, ac Ieremiae verba subinde usurpent : *Expectavimus pacem, et non erat bonum : tempus medelae, et ecce formido.* Ast quis eiusmodi *modicae fidei* non reprehendat, qui Dei opera vel introspicere vel expendere ex veritate negligunt ? Ecquis enim occulta gratiarum munera numerando percenseat, quae Deus Ecclesiae, conciliatrice Virgine, hoc toto tempore impertiit ? Quae si praeterire quis malit, quid de vaticana synodo existimandum tanta temporis opportunitate habita ; quid de inerranti pontificum magisterio tam apte ad mox erupturos errores adserto ; quid demum de novo et inaudito pietatis aestu, quo ad Christi Vicarium, colendum coram, fideles ex omni genere omnique parte iam diu confluunt ? An non miranda Numinis providentia in uno alteroque Decessore Nostro, Pio videlicet ac Leone, qui, turbulentissima tempestate, eâ, quae nulli contigit, pontificatus usurâ, Ecclesiam sanctissime administrarunt ? Ad haec, vix fere Pius Mariam ab origine labis nesciam fide catholica credendam indixerat, quum in oppido Lourdes mira ipsa Virgine ostenta fieri coepta : exinde molitione ingenti et opere magnifico Deiparae Immaculatae excitatae aedes ; ad quas, quae quotidie, divina exorante Matre, patrantur prodigia, illustra sunt argumenta ad praesentium hominum incredibilitatem profligandam. Tot igitur tantorumque beneficiorum testes, quae, Virgine benigne implorante, contulit Deus quinquagenis annis mox elabendis ; quidni speremus *propriorem esse salutem nostram quam cum credimus ?* eo vel magis, quod divinae Providentiae hoc esse experiedon novimus ut extrema malorum a liberatione non admodum dissociantur. *Prope est ut veniat tempus eius, et dies eius non elongabuntur, Miserebitur enim Dominus Iacob, et eliget adhuc de Israël*² ut plane spes sit nos etiam brevi tempore

¹ Ier. viii. 15

² Isai. xiv. 1.

inclamaturos : *Contrivit Dominus baculum impiorum. Conquievit et siluit omnis terra, gavisata est et exultavit.*³

Anniversarius tamen dies, quinquagesimus ab adserto intaminato Deiparae conceptu, cur singularem in christiano populo ardorem animi excitare debeat, ratio nobis extat potissimum, Venerabiles Fratres, in eo, quod superioribus Litteris encyclicis proposuimus, *instaurare* videlicet *omnia in Christo*. Nam cui exploratum non sit nullum, praeterquam per Mariam, esse certius et expeditius iter ad universos cum Christo iungendos, perque illum perfectam filiorum adoptionem assequendam ut simus sancti et immaculati in conspectu Dei ? Profecto, si vere Mariae dictum : *Beata quae credidisti, quoniam perficientur ea, quae dicta sunt tibi a Domino*⁴ ut nempe Dei Filium conciperet pareretque ; si idcirco illum excepit utero, qui Veritas naturâ est, ut *novo ordine, nova nativitate generatus . . . invisibilis in suis, visibilis fieret in nostris*⁵ : quum Dei Filius, factus homo, *auctor sit et consummator fidei nostrae* ; opus est omnino sanctissimam eius Matrem mysteriorum divinorum participem ac veluti custodem agnoscere, in qua, tamquam in fundamento post Christum nobilissimo, fidei saeculorum omnium extruitur aedificatio.

Quid enim ? an non potuisset Deus restitutorem humani generis ac fidei conditorem aliâ, quam per Virginem, viâ imperituri nobis ? Quia tamen aeterni providentiae Numinis visum est ut Deum-Hominem per Mariam haberemus, quae illum, Spiritu Sancto foecunda, suo gestavit utero ; nobis nil plane superest, nisi quod de Mariae manibus Christum recipiamus. Hinc porro in Scripturis sanctis, quotiescumque *de futura in nobis gratia prophetatur* ; toties fere Servator hominum cum sanctissima eius Matre coniungitur. Emitteretur agnus dominatur terrae, sed de petra deserti : flos ascendet, attamen de radice Iesse. Mariam utique, serpentis caput conterentem, prospiciebat Adam, obortasque maledicto lacrymas tenuit. Eam cogitavit Noë, arca sospita inclusus ; Abraham nati nece prohibitus ; Iacob scalam videns perque illam ascendentes et descendentes angelos ; Moses miratus rubum, qui ardebat et non comburebatur ; David exsiliens et psallens dum adduceret arcam Dei ; Elias nubeculam intuitus ascendentem de mari. Quid multa ? Finem legis, imaginum atque oraculorum veritatem in Maria denique post Christum reperimus.

³ Isai. xiv. 5 et 7.

⁵ S. Leo M. Serm. 2. de Nativ. Domini, c. 2.

⁴ Luc. i. 45.

Per Virginem autem, atque adeo per illam maxime, aditum fieri nobis ad Christi notitiam adipiscendam, nemo profecto dubitabit qui etiam reputet, unam eam fuisse ex omnibus, quacum Iesus, ut filium cum matre decet, domestico triginta annorum usu intimaque consuetudine coniunctus fuit. Ortus miranda mysteria, nec non Christi pueritiae, atque illud in primis assumptionis humanae naturae, quod fidei initium ac fundamentum est, cuinam latius patuere quam Matri? Quae quidem non ea modo *conservabat conferens in corde suo* quae Bethlehem acta, quaeve Hierosolymis in templo Domini; sed Christi consiliorum particeps occultarumque voluntatum, vitam ipsam Filii vixisse dicenda est. Nemo itaque penitus ut illa Christum novit; nemo illâ aptior dux et magister ad Christum noscendum.

Hinc porro, quod iam innuimus, nullus etiam hac Virgine efficacior ad homines cum Christo iungendos. Si enim, ex Christi sententia, *haec est autem vita aeterna: Ut cognoscant te, solum Deum verum, et quem misisti Iesum Christum*⁶; per Mariam vitalem Christi notitiam adipiscentes, per Mariam pariter vitam illam facilius assequimur, cuius fons et initium Christus.

Quot vero quantisque de caussis Mater sanctissima haec nobis praeclara munera largiri studeat, si paullisper spectemus; quanta profecto ad spem nostram accessio fiet!

An non Christi mater Maria? nostra igitur et mater est. Nam statuere hoc sibi quisque debet, Iesum, qui Verbum est caro factum, humani etiam generis servatorem esse. Iam, qua Deus Homo, concretum Ille, ut ceteri homines, corpus nactus est: qua vero nostri generis restitutor, *spiritalē* quoddam corpus atque, ut aiunt, *mysticum*, quod societas eorum est, qui Christo credunt. *Multi unum corpus sumus in Christo*.⁷ Atqui aeternum Dei Filium non ideo tantum concepit Virgo ut fieret homo, humanam ex ea assumens naturam; verum etiam ut, per naturam ex ea assumptam, mortalium fieret sospitator. Quamobrem Angelus pastoribus dixit: *Natus est vobis hodie Salvator, qui est Christus Dominus*.⁸ In uno igitur eodemque alvo castissimae Matris et carnem Christus sibi assumpsit et *spiritalē* simul corpus adiunxit, ex iis nempe coagmentatum *qui credituri erant in eum*. Ita ut Salvatorem habens Maria in utero, illos etiam dici queat gessisse omnes, quorum vitam continebat vita Salvatoris. Universi ergo, quotquot cum Christo iungimur, quique,

⁶ Ioann. xvii. 3.

⁷ Rom. xii. 5.

⁸ Luc. ii. 11.

ut ait Apostolus, *membra sumus corporis eius, de carne eius et de ossibus eius*,⁹ de Mariae utero egressi sumus, tamquam corporis instar cohaerentis cum capite. Unde, spiritali quidem ratione ac mystica, et Mariae filii nos dicimur, et ipsa nostrum omnium mater est. *Mater quidem spiritu . . . sed plane mater membrorum Christi, quod nos sumus*.¹⁰ Si igitur Virgo beatissima Dei simul atque hominum parens est, ecquis dubitet eam omni ope adniti ut Christus, *caput corporis ecclesiae*,¹¹ in nos sua membra, quae eius sunt munera infundat, idque cumprimis ut eum noscamus et *ut vivamus per eum*?¹²

Ad haec, Deipararæ sanctissimæ non hoc tantum in laude ponendum est quod *nascituro ex humanis membris Unigenito Deo carnis suae materiam* ministravit,¹³ qua nimirum saluti hominum compararetur hostia; verum etiam officium eiusdem hostiae custodiendae nutriendaeque, atque adeo, stato tempore, sistendae ad aram. Hinc Matris et Filii nunquam dissociata consuetudo vitae et laborum, ut aequè in utrumque caderent Prophetæ verba: *Defecit in dolore vita mea, et anni mei in gemitibus*.¹⁴ Quum vero extremum Filii tempus advenit, *stabat iuxta crucem Iesu Mater eius*, non in immani tantum occupata spectaculo, sed plane gaudens quod *Unigenitus suus pro salute generis humani offerretur, et tantum etiam compassa est, ut, si fieri potuisset, omnia tormenta quae Filius pertulit, ipsa multo libentius sustineret*.¹⁵ Ex hac autem Mariam inter et Christum communione dolorum ac voluntatis, *promeruit illa ut reparatrix perditionis orbis dignissime fieret*,¹⁶ atque ideo universorum munerum dispensatrix quae nobis Iesus nece et sanguine comparavit.

Equidem non diffitemur horum erogationem munerum privato proprioque iure esse Christi; siquidem et illaeius unius morte nobis sunt parta, et Ipse pro potestate mediator Dei atque hominum est. Attamen, pro ea, quam diximus, dolorum atque aerumnarum Matris cum Filio communione, hoc Virgini augustae datum est, ut sit *totius terrarum orbis potentissima apud unigenitum Filium suum mediatrix et conciliatrix*.¹⁷ Fons igitur Christus est, et *de plenitudine eius nos omnes accepimus*¹⁸; *ex quo totum corpus compactum, et connexum per omnem iuncturam*

⁹ Ephes. v. 30.

¹¹ Coloss. i. 18.

¹³ S. Bed. Ven., L. iv. in Luc. xi.

¹⁵ S. Bonav. I. Sent. d. 48, ad Litt. dub. 4.

¹⁶ Eadmeri Mon. De Excellentia Virg. Mariae, c. 9.

¹⁷ Pius IX. in Bull. Ineffabilis.

¹⁰ S. Aug., L. de S. Virginitate, c. 6.

¹² I Ioann. iv. 9.

¹⁴ Ps. xxx. 11.

¹⁸ Ioann. i. 16.

*subministrationis . . . augmentum corporis facit in aedificationem sui in caritate.*¹⁹ Maria vero, ut apte Bernardus notat, *aqueductus* est²⁰; aut etiam collum, per quod corpus cum capite iungitur itemque caput in corpus vim et virtutem exerit. *Nam ipsa est collum Capitis nostri, per quod omnia spiritualia dona corpori eius mystico communicantur.*²¹ Patet itaque abesse profecto plurimum ut nos Deiparae supernaturalis gratiae efficiendae vim tribuamus, quae Dei unius est. Ea tamen, quoniam universis sanctitate sanctitate praestat coniunctioneque cum Christo, atque a Christo ascita in humanae salutis opus, *de congruo*, ut aiunt, promeret nobis quae Christus *de condigno* promeruit, estque princeps largiendarum gratiarum ministra. *Sedet Ille ad dexteram maiestatis in excelsis*²²; Maria vero adstat regina a dextris eius, *tutissimum cunctorum periclitantium per-fugium et fidissima auxiliatrix, ut nihil sit timendum nihilque desperandum ipsa duce, ipsa auspice, ipsa propitia, ipsa protegente.*²³

His positis, ut ad propositum redeamus, cui Nos non iure recteque affirmasse videbimur, Mariam, quae a Nazarethana domo ad *Calvariae locum* assiduam se Iesu comitem dedit, eiusque arcana cordis ut nemo alius novit, ac thesauros promeritorum eius materno veluti iure administrat, maximo certissimoque esse adiumento ad Christi notitiam atque amorem? Nimium scilicet haec comprobantur ex dolenda eorum ratione, qui, aut daemonis astu aut falsis opinionibus, adiutricem Virginem praeterire se posse autumant! Miseri atque infelices, praetexunt se Mariam negligere, honorem ut Christo habeant: ignorant tamen non *inveniri puerum nisi cum Maria matre eius*.

Quae cum ita sint, huc Nos, Venerabiles Fratres, spectare primum volumus, quae modo ubique apparantur sollemnia Mariae sanctae ab origine immacolatae. Nullus equidem honot Mariae optabilior, nullus iucundior quam ut noscamus rite er amemus Iesum. Sint igitur fidelium celebritates in templis, sint festi apparatus, sint laetitiae civitatum; quae res omnes non mediocres usus afferunt ad pietatem fovendam. Verum-tamen nisi his voluntas animi accedat, formas habebimus, quae speciem tantum offerant relligionis. Has Virgo quum videat,

¹⁹ Ephes. iv. 16.

²⁰ Serm. de temp., in Nativ. B. V., de *Aqueductu*, n. 4.

²¹ S. Bernardin. Sen.: Quadrag. de *Evangelio aeterno*, Serm. x, a. 3, c. 3.

²² Hebr. i. 3.

²³ Pius IX. in Bull. *Ineffabilis*.

iusta reprehensione Christi verbis in nos utetur : *Populus hic labiis me honorat : cor autem eorum longe est a me.*²⁴

Nam ea demum est germana adversus Deiparentem religio, quae profuat animo ; nihilque actio corporis habet aestimationis in hac re atque utilitatis, si sit ab actione animi seiugata. Quae quidem actio eo unice pertineat necesse est, ut divini Mariae Filii mandatis pernitus obtemperemus. Nam si amor verus is tantum est, qui valeat ad voluntates iungendas ; nostram plane atque Matris sanctissimae parem esse voluntatem oportet, scilicet Domino Christo servire. Quae enim Virgo prudentissima, ad Carnae nuptias, ministris aiebat, eadem nobis loquitur : *Quodcumque dixerit vobis facite.*²⁵ Verbum vero Christi est : *S. autem vis ad vitam ingredi serva mandata.*²⁶ Quapropter hoc quisque persuasum habeat : si pietas, quam in Virginem beatissimam quis profitetur, non eum a peccando retinet, vel pravos emendandi mores consilium non indit, fucatam esse pietatem ac fallacem, utpote quae proprio nativoque careat fructu.

Quae si cui forte confirmatione egere videantur, hauriri ea commode potest ex ipso *dogmate* immaculati conceptus Deiparae. Nam, ut catholicam *traditionem* praetermittamus, quae, aequae ac Scripturae sacrae, fons veritatis est ; unde persuasio illa de immaculata Mariae Virginis Conceptione visa est, quovis tempore, adeo cum christiano sensu congruere, ut fidelium animis insita atque innata haberi posset ? *Horremus*, sic rei causam egregie explicavit Dionysius Carthusianus, *horremus enim mulierem, quae caput serpentis erat contritura, quandoque ab eo contritam, atque diaboli filiam fuisse matrem Domini fateri.*²⁷ Nequibat scilicet in christianae plebis intelligentiam id cadere, quod Christi caro, sancta, impolluta atque innocens, in Virginis utero de carne assumpta esset, cui vel vestigio temporis, labes fuisset illata. Cur ita vero, nisi quod peccatum et Deus per infinitam oppositionem separantur ? Hinc sane catholicae ubique gentes persuasum habuere, Dei Filium, antequam, naturâ hominum assumptâ, *lavaret nos a peccatis nostris in sanguine suo*, debuisset, in primo instanti suae conceptionis, singulari gratia ac privilegio, ab omni originalis culpae labe praeservare immunem Virginem Matrem. Quoniam igitur peccatum omne usque adeo horret Deus, ut futuram Filii sui Matrem non cuiusvis modo maculae voluerit expertem, quae voluntate suscipitur ; sed, munere sin-

²⁴ Matth. xv. 8.

²⁶ Matt. xix. 17.

²⁵ Ioann. ii. 5.

²⁷ 3. Sent. d. 3. q. 1.

gularissimo, intuitu meritorum Christi, illius etiam, qua omnes Adae filii, mala veluti haereditate, notamur: ecquis ambigat, primum hoc cuique officium proponi, qui Mariam obsequio demereri aveat, ut vitiosas corruptasque consuetudines emendet, et quibus in vetitum nititur, domitas habeat cupiditates?

Quod si praeterea quis velit, velle autem nullus non debet, ut sua in Virginem religio iusta sit omnique ex parte absoluta; ulterius profecto opus est progredi, atque ad imitationem exempli eius omni ope contendere. Divina lex est ut, qui aeternae beatitudinis potiri cupiunt, formam patientiae et sanctitatis Christi, imitando, in se exprimant. *Nam quos praescivit, et praedestinavit conformes fieri imaginis Filii sui, ut sit ipse primogenitus in multis fratribus.*²⁸ At quoniam ea fere est infirmitas nostra, ut tanti exemplaris amplitudine facile deterreamur; providentis Dei numine, aliud nobis est exemplar propositum, quod, quum Christo sit proximum, quantum humanae licet naturae, tum aptius congruat cum exiguitate nostra. Eiusmodi autem nullum est praeter Deiparam. *Talis enim fuit Maria, ait ad rem sanctus Ambrosius, ut eius unius vita omnium sit disciplina.* Ex quo recte ab eodem conficitur: *Sit igitur vobis tamquam in imagine descripta virginitas, vita Mariae, de qua, velut speculo, refulget species castitatis et forma virtutis.*²⁹

Quamvis autem deceat filios Matris sanctissimae nullam praeterire laudem quin imitentur; illas tamen Eiusdem virtutes ipsos fideles assequi prae ceteris desideramus, quae principes sunt ac veluti nervi atque artus christianae sapientiae: fidem inquirimus, spem et caritatem in Deum atque homines. Quarum quidem virtutem fulgore etsi nulla, in Virgine, vitae pars caruit; maxime tamen eo tempore enituit, quum nato emorienti adstitit. Agitur in crucem Iesus, eique in maledictis obicitur *quia filium Dei se fecit.*³⁰ Ast illa, divinitatem in eo constantissime agnoscit et colit. Demortuum sepulchro infert, nec tamen dubitat revicturum. Caritas porro, qua in Deum flagrat, participem *passionum Christi* sociamque efficit; cumque eo, sui veluti doloris oblita, veniam interfectoris precatur, quamvis hi obfirmate inclamant: *Sanguis eius super nos, et super filios nostros.*³¹

Sed ne immaculati Virginis conceptus, qui Nobis caussa scribendi est, contemplationem deseruisse videamur, quam is magna atque propria importat adiumenta ad has ipsas retinen-

²⁸ Rom. viii. 29.

³⁰ Ioann. xix. 7.

²⁹ De Virginib., l. 2, c. 2.

³¹ Matth. xxvii. 25.

das virtutes riteque colendas ! Et revera, quaenam osores fidei initia ponunt tantos quoquoersus errores spargendi, quibus apud multos fides ipsa nutat ? Negant nimirum hominem peccato lapsum suoque de gradu aliquando deiectum. Hinc originalem labem commentitiis rebus accensent, quaeque inde evenerunt damna ; corruptam videlicet originem humanae gentis, universamque ex eo progeniem hominum vitiata ; atque adeo mortalibus invectum malum impositamque reparatoris necessitudinem His autem positis, pronum est intelligere nullum amplius Christo esse locum, neque ecclesiae, neque gratiae, neque ordini cuiquam qui naturam praetergrediatur ; uno verbo, tota fidei aedificatio penitus labefactatur. Atqui credant gentes ac profiteantur Mariam Virginem, primo suae conceptionis momento, omni labe fuisse immunem ; iam etiam originalem noxam, hominum reparationem per Christum, evangelium, ecclesiam, ipsam denique perpetiendi legem admittant necesse est ; quibus omnibus, *rationalismi* et *materialismi* quidquid est radicitus evellitur atque excutitur, manetque christianae sapientiae laus custodiendae tuendaeque veritatis. Ad haec, commune hoc fidei hostibus vitium est, nostra praesertim aetate, ad fidem eandem facilius eradendam animis, ut auctoritatis Ecclesiae, quin et cuiusvis in hominibus potestatis, reverentiam et obedientiam abiiciant abiiciendamque inclament. Hinc *anarchismi* exordia ; quo nihil rerum ordini, tum qui ex natura est tum qui supra naturam, infestius ac pestilentius. Iamvero hanc quoque pestem publicae pariter et christianae rei funestissimam, immaculati Deiparae concepulus delet dogma ; quo nempe cogimur eam Ecclesiae tribuere potestatem cui non voluntatem animi tantum, sed mentem etiam subiici necesse est : siquidem ex huiusmodi subiectione rationis christiana plebs Deiparam concinit : *Tota pulchra es, Maria, et macula originalis non est in te.*³² Sic porro rursum conficitur Virgini augustae hoc dari merito ab Ecclesia, *cunctas haereses solam interemisse in universo mundo.*

Quod si fides, ut inquit Apostolus, nihil est aliud nisi *sperandarum substantia rerum* ;³³ facile quisque dabit immaculata Virginis conceptione confirmari simul fidem, simul ad spem nos erigi. Eo sane vel magis quia Virgo ipsa expers primaevae labis fuit quod Christi mater futura erat ; Christi autem mater fuit, ut nobis aeternorum bonorum spes redintegraretur.

³² Grad. Miss. in festo Imm., Concept.

³³ Hebr. xi. 1

Iam ut caritatem in Deum tacitam nunc relinquamus, ecquis Immaculatae Virginis contemplatione illud sancte custodiendum, quod Iesus per antonomasiam suum dixit, scilicet ut diligamus invicem sicut ipse dilexit nos? *Signum magnum*, sic apostolus Ioannes demissum sibi divinitus visum enarrat, *signum magnum apparuit in caelo: Mulier amicta sole, et luna sub pedibus eius, et in capite eius corona stellarum duodecim*.³⁴ Nullus autem ignorat, mulierum illam, Virginem Mariam significasse, quae caput nostrum integra peperit. Sequitur porro Apostolus: *Et in utero habens, clamabat parturiens, et cruciabatur ut pariat*.³⁵ Vedit igitur Ioannes sanctissimam Dei Matrem aeterna iam beatitate fruentem, et tamen ex arcano quodam partu laborantem. Quoniam autem partu? Nostrum plane, qui exilio adhuc detenti, ad perfectam Dei caritatem sempiternamque felicitatem gignendi adhuc sumus. Parentis vero labor studium atque amorem indicat, quo Virgo, in caelesti sede, vigilat assiduaque prece contendit ut electorum numerus expleatur.

Eandem hanc caritatem ut omnes nitantur assequi quotquot ubique christiano nomine censentur vehementer optamus occasione hac praesertim arrepta immaculati Deiparae conceptus solemnitus celebrandi. Quam modo acriter efferateque Christus impetitur atque ab eo condita religio sanctissima! quam idcirco praesens multis periculum iniicitur, ne, gliscentibus erroribus ducti, a fide desciscant! *Itaque qui se existimat stare, videat ne cadat*.³⁶ Simul vero prece et obsecratione humili utantur omnes ad Deum, conciliatrice Deipara, ut qui a vero aberraverint resipiscant. Experiendo quippe novimus eiusmodi precem, quae caritate funditur et Virginis sanctae imploratione fulcitur, irritam fuisse numquam. Equidem oppugnari Ecclesiam neque in posterum unquam cessabitur: *Nam oportet et haereses esse, ut et qui probati sunt, manifesti fiant in vobis*.³⁷ Sed nec Virgo ipsa cessabit nostris adesse rebus ut difficillimis, pugnamque prosequi iam inde a conceptu pugnatam, ut quotidie iterare liceat illud: *Hodie contritum est ab ea caput serpentis antiqui*.³⁸

Utque caelestium gratiarum munera, solito abundantius, nos iuvent ad imitationem beatissimae Virginis cum honoribus coniungendam, quos illi ampliores hunc totum annum tribuimus; atque ita propositum facilius assequamur instaurandi omnia in

³⁴ Apoc. xii. 1.

³⁶ 1 Cor. x. 12.

³⁸ Off. Imm. Conc. in II Vesp. ad *Magnif.*

³⁵ Apoc. xii. 2.

³⁷ 1 Cor. xi. 19.

Christo : exemplo Decessorum usi quum Pontificatum inirent, indulgentiam extra ordinem, instar Iubilaei, orbi catholico impertiri decrevimus.

Quamobrem de omnipotentis Dei misericordia, ac beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli auctoritate confisi, ex illa ligandi atque solvendi potestate, quam Nobis Dominus, licet indignis, contulit ; universis et singulis utriusque sexus christifidelibus in alma Urbe Nostra degentibus vel ad eam advententibus, qui unam e quatuor Basilicis patriarchalibus, a Dominica prima Quadragesimae, nempe a die xxi februarii, usque ad diem ii iunii inclusive, qui erit solemnitas sanctissimi Corporis Christi, ter visitaverint ; ibique per aliquod temporis spatium pro catholicae Ecclesiae atque huius Apostolicae Sedis libertate et exaltatione, pro extirpatione haeresum omniumque errantium conversione, pro christianorum Principum concordia ac totius fidelis populi pace et unitate, iuxtaque mentem Nostram pias ad Deum preces effuderint ; ac semel, intra praefatum tempus, esurialibus tantum cibus utentes ieiunaverint, praeter dies in quadragesimali indulto non comprehensos ; et, peccata sua confessi, sanctissimum Eucharistiae sacramentum susceperint ; ceteris vero ubicumque, extra praedictam Urbem degentibus, qui ecclesiam cathedralem, si sit eo loci, vel parochialem aut, si parochialis desit, principalem, supra dicto tempore vel per tres menses etiam non continuos, Ordinariorum arbitrio, pro pro fidelium commodo, praecise designandos, ante tamen diem viii mensis decembris, ter visitaverint ; aliquae recensita opera devote peregerint : plenissimam omnium peccatorum suorum indulgentiam concedimus et impertimus ; annuentes insuper ut eiusmodi indulgentia, semel tantum lucranda, animabus, quae Deo caritate coniunctae ex hac vita migraverint, per modum suffragii applicari possit et valeat.

Concedimus praeterea ut navigantes atque iter agentes, quum primum ad sua domicilia se receperint, operibus supra notatis peractis, eandem indulgentiam possint consequi.

Confessarius autem, actu approbatus a propriis Ordinariis potestatem facimus ut praedicta opera, a Nobis iniuncta, in alia pietatis opera commutare valeant in favorem Regularium utriusque sexus, nec non aliorum quorumcumque qui ea praestare nequiverint, cum facultate etiam dispensandi super Communionem cum pueris, qui ad eandem suspiciendam nondum fuerint admissi.

Insuper omnibus et singulis christifidelibus tam laicis quam ecclesiasticis sive saecularibus sive regularibus cuiusvis ordinis et instituti, etiam specialiter nominandi, licentiam concedimus et facultatem ut sibi, ad hunc effectum, eligere possint quemcumque presbyterum tam regularem quam saecularem, ex actu approbatis (qua facultate uti possint etiam moniales, novitiae aliaeque mulieres intra claustra degentes, dummodo confessarius approbatis sit pro monialibus) qui eosdem vel easdem, infra dictum temporis spatium, ad confessionem apud ipsum peragendam accedentes, cum animo praesens iubilaeum assequendi, nec non reliqua opera ad illud lucrandum necessaria adimplendi hac vice et in foro conscientiae dumtaxat, ab excommunicationis, suspensionis aliisque ecclesiasticis sententiis et censuris, a iure vel ab homine quavis de causa latis seu inflictis, etiam Ordinariis locorum et Nobis seu Sedi Apostolicae, etiam in casibus cuicumque ac Summo Pontifici et Sedi Apostolicae *speciali licet modo* reservatis, nec non ab omnibus peccatis et excessibus etiam iisdem Ordinariis ac Nobis et Sedi Apostolicae reservatis, iniuncta prius poenitentia salutari aliisque de iure iniungendis, et si de haeresi agatur, abiuratis antea et retractatis erroribus, prout de iure, absolvere; nec non vota quaecumque etiam iurata et Sedi Apostolicae reservata (castitatis, religionis, et obligationis, quae a tertio acceptata fuerit, exceptis) in alia pia et salutaria opera commutare et cum poenitentibus eiusmodi in sacris ordinibus constituis etiam regularibus, super occulta irregularitate ad exercitium eorundem ordinum et ad superiorum assequutionem, ab censurarum violationem dumtaxat, contracta, dispensare possit et valeat. Non intendimus autem per praesentes super alia quavis irregularitate sive ex delicto sive ex defectu, vel publica vel occulta aut nota aliave incapacitate aut inhabilitate quoquomodo contracta dispensare; neque etiam derogare Constitutioni cum apposis declarationibus editae a fel. rec. Benedicto XIV, quae incipit '*Sacramentum poenitentiae*;' neque demum easdem praesentes litteras iis, qui a Nobis et Apostolica Sede, vel an aliquo Praelato, seu Iudice ecclesiastico nominatim excommunicati, suspensi, interdicti seu alias in sententias et censuras incidisse declarati, vel publice denunciati fuerint, nisi intra praedictum tempus satisfecerint, et cum partibus, ubi opus fuerit, concordaverint, ullo modo suffragari posse et debere.

Ad haec libet adiicere, velle Nos et concedere, integrum

cuicumque, hoc etiam Iubilaei tempore, permanere privilegium lucrandi quasvis indulgentias, plenariis non exceptis, quae a Nobis vel a Decessoribus Nostris concessae fuerint.

Finem vero, Venerabiles Fratres, scribendi facimus, spem magnam iterum testantes, qua plane ducimur, fore ut, ex hoc Iubilaei munere extraordinario, auspice Virgine Immaculata a Nobis Concesso, quamplurimi, qui misere a Iesu Christo seiuncti sunt, ad eum revertantur, atque in christiano populo virtutum amor pietatisque ardor refloreat. Quinquaginta abhinc annos, quum Pius decessor beatissimam Christi Matrem ab origine labis nesciam fide catholica tenendam edixit, incredibilis, ut diximus, caelestium gratiarum copia effundi in hasce terras visa est; et, aucta in Virginem Deiparam spe, ad veterem populorum religionem magna ubique accessio est allata. Quidnam vero ampliora in posterum expectare prohibet? In funesta sane incidimus tempora; ut prophetae verbis conqueri possimus iure: *Non est enim veritas, et non est misericordia, et non est scientia Dei in terra. Maledictum, et mendacium, et homicidium, et furtum, et adulterium inundaverunt.*³⁹ Attamen, in hoc quas malorum diluvio, iridis instar Virgo clementissima versatur ante oculos, faciendae pacis Deum inter et homines quasi arbitrai *Arcum meum ponam in nubibus, et erit signum foederis inter me et inter terram.*⁴⁰ Saeviat licet procella et caelum atra nocte occupetur; nemo animi incertus esto. Mariae adspectu placabitur Deus et parcet. *Eritque arcus in nubibus, et videbo illum, et recordabor foederis sempiterni.*⁴¹ *Et non erunt ultra aquae deluvii ad delendum universam carnem.*⁴² Profecto si Mariae, ut par est, confidimus, praesertim modo quum immaculatum eius conceptum alacriore studio celebrabimus; nunc quoque illam sentiemus esse Virginem potentissimam, quae serpentis caput virgineo pede contrivit.⁴³

Horum munerum auspicem, Venerabiles Fratres, vobis populisque vestris apostolicam benedictionem amantissime in Domino impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum, die 11 Ferbuarii MCMIV, Pontificatus Nostri anno primo.

PIVS PP. X.

³⁹ Os. iv. 1-2.

⁴¹ Gen. ix. 16.

⁴³ Off. Imm. Conc. B, M, V.

⁴⁰ Gen. ix. 13.

⁴² Ib. 15.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

THE PRINCIPLES OF MORAL SCIENCE. An Essay by the Rev. Walter McDonald, D.D. Dublin : Browne and Nolan, Ltd., 1903.

DR. McDONALD'S object, he tells us, has been 'to explain and defend a definite system of Moral Science, that, namely, which has been taught for centuries in the Catholic schools.' He has done something, we conceive, much more useful : he has subjected that system to an outspoken critical examination for which we can find no parallel in any other work on Moral Science. It is the criticism of a friend, but of a friend who is quick to observe deficiencies and to point them out. Not, indeed, that Dr. McDonald is critical only ; a considerable portion of his book is given up, as he says, to an explanation and defence of commonly received opinions, and a further portion to the exposition of certain interesting opinions of his own ; and the whole book is deserving of most careful study.

With not a few of Dr. McDonald's opinions we are disposed to disagree ; and his reasoning does not always appear to us to be entirely convincing. But we have no doubt whatever as to the great value of the essay he has published. Very many of the points which he discusses have been subjects of controversy since men first busied themselves with Moral Science, and are likely to be still controverted so long as men are interested in such questions. In not a few the speculative view which men hold is of no vital consequence : it will not affect the practical conduct of their lives. But it is important that educated Catholics, members of the clergy more especially, should think out these problems, and think them out for themselves. It is not enough to accept blindly traditional arguments and traditional opinions, where the authority on which they rest is a purely human one. It is well to scrutinize the opinions and weigh the arguments apart from the long years and great names which appear to sanction them. And a chief merit—we had almost said the chief merit, of Dr. McDonald's book is this : it will teach its readers to think—to think seriously, to think

independently, and yet to think reverently. We heartily recommend the essay.

A. F.

A MANUAL OF MYSTICAL THEOLOGY ; or, the Extraordinary Graces of the Supernatural Life Explained. By the Rev. Arthur Divine, Passionist, Author of *Convent Life* ; *A Manual of Ascetical Theology*, etc. London : R. & T. Washbourne, 4, Paternoster-row ; New York Benziger Bros. Price 7s. 6d. net.

THE author of this work is not unknown to our readers. Already he has written many religious works whose merit it has been our pleasure from time to time to bring under the notice of the public in the pages of this periodical. The book before us is a companion volume to *A Manual of Ascetical Theology*, published some few years ago, and it brings to a close the series of valuable works on Moral, Dogmatic, Ascetical, and Mystical Theology, to which the author's literary activity has been for some time past steadily devoted. We feel that no small service has been done in bringing within the compass of the ordinary man, unacquainted with Latin, the principles of Catholic Theology in its various branches.

The following is the plan of the present volume. It is divided into four parts. In the first of these, the meaning of Mystical Theology is explained, the nature of contemplation, its divisions, objects, causes, and fruits. Here the author describes the functions of the different faculties of the soul in the performance of the contemplative act, indicates the supernatural helps which the soul receives from God during the process, and notes that the resulting effects are, chiefly, humility, and human and Divine charity. Part II. treats of the preparation required for Contemplation, and in this connection the subjects of prayer, vocal and mental, mortification, active and passive mortification of the spirit and senses, are exhaustively dealt with. In the Third Part we are introduced into the depths of Mysticism. The various degrees of Contemplation are discussed from the initial stage, or prayer of recollection, to that exalted state—reached only by the privileged few—which consists in a permanent consciousness of God's presence in the soul and of His intimate and absorbing union with it in the firm bonds of ardent love. Following Scramelli, the author divides the various degrees of

Contemplation into ten, and in his explanation of the secret mysteries or *arcana*, of these stages, he lays St. Teresa, St. John of the Cross, and other Mystics, under contribution. The last Part deals with certain Mystical phenomena which, though usually associated with the contemplative act, are not necessarily connected with it. Persons, linked to God by the ties of a deep love, sometimes are favoured with supernatural manifestations of Divine predilection. These take the form, generally, of visions, locutions, prophecies, private revelations, and miracles. A good deal of interesting information is given by the author in the discussion of these matters. For instance, the character and form of Scripture and later Church-history apparitions are examined, and the tests are given whereby the real may be discerned from the fictitious, the true from the false. In the light of what is said in this connection some accurate ideas may be gathered regarding the strange things we sometimes read of in the lives of the saints. For while many of these wonderful incidents do not exceed the bounds of possibility or probability, we are to be careful about accepting any, unless their authenticity is established on unimpeachable evidence. As an example, take the revelation said to have been made to Margaret Mary Alacoque about the final perseverance of those who make the Nine Fridays. The author, assuming the genuineness of the promise, rightly states that its acceptance in the literal sense would seriously conflict with the truths of Revelation, and hence maintains that it is to be understood not literally, but qualifiedly and hypothetically.

This brief and imperfect analysis of the work will help our readers to form some idea of its scope and contents. It is an attempt to synthesize the principles governing the higher life of the Mystic into a science, and we believe the author has succeeded in his purpose. For, after reading his book, Mysticism becomes simple of understanding, and the roads to it straight and easy. We are sure the work will be helpful for those aspiring after the higher life by its more difficult way of Contemplation. It will even be useful for those working out their salvation on a lower plane. Between the Mystic and the ordinary Christian the difference is only one of degree. For if, as the author of the *Psychology of the Saints* says, 'Mysticism is the love of God,' then every man who loves God is more or less of a Mystic, the difference being that while the life of the

common Christian is sometimes warped by worldly cares and concerns from its upward course, the life of the saint is altogether 'wrapped up and permeated with the love of God.'

The publishers have turned out the book in excellent style. The type is clear and readable, and the binding firm and durable.

P. M.

SCHRIFTEN UND EINRICHTUNGEN ZUR BILDUNG DER
GEISTLICHEN. Marcus Siebengartner. Freiburg i/B.

It is strange that, although the Church has always guarded most jealously the education of those who are to be her ministers, yet, if we except Theiner's book, published while still a young man, there was no reliable scientific history of clerical education.

To-day, when the relative merits of the seminary and the university, as regards the training of clerics, is being so earnestly, at times so warmly, discussed on the Continent, the work of Dr. Siebengarten is exceedingly opportune.

In the first portion of his book the author gives a clear sketch of clerical education from the Apostolic age down through the cathedral and cloister schools, the Middle Age universities, and the seminaries of the post-Tridentine period. In the second part he presents his readers with a series of documents bearing on the same question—St. Gregory's account of Origen's attitude towards his clerical pupils, Raban Maur on the education of the clergy, capitularies of Charlemagne on the same subject, the statutes of the Middle Age schools and universities, the rules laid down for seminaries by St. Charles Borromeo, the Regulations of St. Sulpice, and the Statutes of Maynooth. It is a pity that in this portion of his work the author should have thought it necessary to present his documents in a German translation. We earnestly recommend the book to those who are interested in clerical education, as well as to the wider circle of those who wish to study closely the educational life of the Middle Ages.

J. MACC.

THE FRIARS, AND HOW THEY CAME TO ENGLAND. By
Father Cuthbert, O.S.F.C. Sands & Co. 1903.

OUTSIDE as well as inside the Church at present we find a

wonderful revival of interest in the life and works of St. Francis. We suppose it is because the circumstances of to-day resemble in so many points those of the age of St. Francis, and that a little more of his spirit infused into business life would do much to soften the bitter conflicts between capital and labour.

Father Cuthbert's book will be found useful and interesting. It consists of an Essay of 139 pages on the Friars, which serves as an Introduction to a translation of Ecclestone's 'Chronicle on the Coming of the Franciscans to England,' the latter occupying only 109 pages.

We have read the Introductory Essay and the Chronicle with the greatest interest, and we are convinced that the author's exposition of the spirit of St. Francis and his followers will come as a revelation to those who have been accustomed to follow less sympathetic writers.

But we do most emphatically protest against the author's calling his opening essay introductory. It is nothing of the kind. An introduction to such a work as Ecclestone's Chronicle should have given an account of the MSS., the reasons for rejecting or accepting certain passages, an account of the writer, as well as a sketch of the state of England when the Friars came. The author barely touches on these matters, and hence should have avoided titles which are likely to be misleading. The essay on the Friars, however, taken by itself, well deserves perusal. It shows St. Francis as he should be shown—the humble servant of his Master and the friend of the poor. The same spirit characterises the Franciscans till the present day.

J. MACC.

THE SQUIRE'S GRAND-DAUGHTERS. By Lady Gilbert.
London : Burns and Oates. Price 5s.

M. DUNOIS, suffering from the errors of a wayward and misguided youth, finds, when he comes unexpectedly into possession of a vast English estate, his connection with the Anarchists inconvenient and oppressive. The struggle between the helpless old man and the ruthless agents of the society is sensational and pathetic. Still more pathetic is the self-sacrifice of his English grand-daughter, Marigold, when she learns the terrible secret of his past, and the more awful secret of the murderous errand which he is now compelled to undertake. Marigold and the

volatile little worldling, Fifine, the French grand-daughter, are finely contrasted. Lance Dangerfield, Marigold's *fiancé*, and the absent-minded but amiable old naturalist, Dr. Meadows, are very interesting sketches. The noblest character after Marigold is, undoubtedly, Sir Harley Winthrop. The villain of the plot is Colonel de Vedrasse.

The ultimate release of old Dunois by apoplexy, just in time to escape the fiendish clutches of this villain, and the complete vindication of his innocence of the murder of the Russian prince, leads to a solution of all difficulties. The plot is conceived with much skill, the characters well drawn, and the consummation, as the end of all novels ought to be, is happy.

SALVAGE FROM THE WRECK. By Father Gallwey, S.J.
New Edition. London : Art and Book Co.

THE first edition of this well-known collection of Father Gallwey's funeral discourses was published in 1889. In this edition there are added the discourse preached at the funeral of Mrs. Theodore Galton, and the sermons delivered at the centenaries of Stonyhurst and New Hall. There are sixteen discourses in all, beginning with that preached on Sir Charles Temple in 1865, and including those on Lady Georgiana Fullerton, and Prince Louis Napoleon. The object of the author is 'to chronicle the good deeds and words of those we live with, that the good seed may not be wasted.'

THE SHAKESPEARE ENIGMA. By Rev. W. A. Sutton, S.J.
Dublin : Sealy, Bryers, and Walker. Price 3s. 6d.

THIS is a reprint in one volume of the essays already contributed to the *New Ireland Review* by Father Sutton, on the authorship of the plays which ordinary persons are wont to attribute to Shakespeare. Everybody knows that Father Sutton combats the vulgar opinion, and firmly believes he has to demolish but the baseless fabric of superstitious veneration in which the name of Shakespeare is held by an unthinking multitude, and the obstinacy of another set who refuse to assent to reason, because such assent would require them 'to unlearn and recant much that they had learnt and announced with much pain and earnestness.' Father Sutton is convinced that his book contains evidence perfectly competent to exclude all reasonable doubt,

and 'to produce moral certitude, conviction without fear of being mistaken,' that Bacon is the author of these plays.

Father Sutton's book will be found very useful and interesting by all who desire an epitome of the literature and arguments of the Baconians. The author has no sympathy with the 'nostrums' of a certain offshoot of the Baconian school. His is a plain unvarnished tale, 'completely independent' (barring a few) 'of anagrams, cryptograms, ciphers of all sorts,' which some using have turned to their own destruction 'on account of too much zeal in that direction.' Father Sutton objects to the intolerance displayed by the protagonists of the traditional belief; presumably strength of conviction gives him a charter to brand an adversary as 'the maintainer of this vulgar, wanton, wilful, persistent error.'

The book errs, we think, in being too assertive, and in style it is possibly too adjectival. Nearly everyone is "illustrious." As we do not think respect for persons ought affect the value of argument, we fear the author attributes too much to personality when he says that 'with regard to this particular truth, that Bacon is really and truly Shakspeare, this book of Judge Webb will undoubtedly do signal service, both immediate and permanent, and that both on account of its intrinsic worth, and on account of its distinguished author.'

POEMS OF JAMES CLARENCE MANGAN. Centenary Edition.

Edited by D. J. O'Donoghue. Dublin: O'Donoghue and Co.; Gill and Son. London: A. H. Bullen.

THIS is the best collection yet published of the poems of Ireland's sweetest singer. It contains about two hundred of Mangan's poems, seventy of which have now been collected for the first time. Mr. O'Donoghue has laboriously searched every one of the many hiding-places of Mangan's poetry, sifted his discoveries, and given us in the present volume the best and most characteristic effusions of poor Mangan's genius.

The book is divided into seven parts. Part I. contains more than thirty versions, more or less free, from the Irish; Part II. Original Poems relating to Ireland; Part III. Original Poems, Personal and Miscellaneous; Part IV. Oriental Versions and Perversions; Part V. Oversettings from the German; Part VI. Versions from the Castilian, Spanish, Welsh; Part VII. Extravaganzas.

The volume contains John Mitchel's splendid Introduction to Mangan's poems, and Mr. O'Donoghue's Preface and very valuable notes on the sources from which he collected the poems.

Mr. O'Donoghue tells us that he discovered in all more than eight hundred poems by Mangan, and he believes that his tale is exhaustive. No one can speak with such authority on this subject as Mangan's biographer. He thinks the present collection comprises practically all that the poet's admirers will deem worthy of his genius. Yet we could wish that a complete collection, even though it extended to several volumes, were printed. While the poems are still to be found, it is a pity that they do not receive an abiding form.

We are grateful for the labours and research of Mr. O'Donoghue in giving us the present exquisite collection, and we wish the volume a hearty God-speed to the hearth of every Irish homestead.

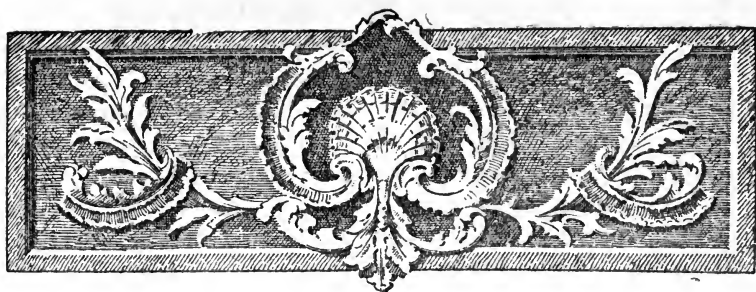
DAS ROSENKRANZGEBET. Fr. Schmitz, S.J. Herder, 1903.

FATHER SCHMITZ is to be congratulated on his contribution to the history of the Rosary. He tells us that he derived his information in great part from MSS. and books belonging to Denmark, where before the Reformation there were numerous houses of the Dominican Order. He is right in accepting the traditional origin of the devotion, the tradition being so well founded. His account of the Rosary as practised in the fifteenth century is careful and exact. We may note, in conclusion, that he perceives the truth of what has been so often said before, viz. :—that the mysteries we use are substantially those used by Alan Roche, who says that in his time they were the traditional ones.

J. M.

ALTAR-STONES

[In the diocese of Dublin Altar-stones can be obtained from the Sisters of Charity, Upper Gardiner-street. Outside of Dublin we do not know what special arrangements are made; but it is evident that what is so easy in Dublin cannot be impossible elsewhere.—ED. I. E. RECORD.]



DR. McDONALD'S 'PRINCIPLES OF MORAL SCIENCE'

THIS book deserves a welcome as an honest attempt to grapple with the difficulties of moral science. How great those difficulties are is generally recognised, and by none more fully and freely than by those who have tried to overcome them. Modern theories in history and science have directed renewed attention to the fundamental problems of ethics, and it is fitting that readers who are interested in the subject should be able to study the Catholic answer to those problems in the mother tongue. Students of theology, too, will benefit by being able to consult an English author, who goes over the ground rendered so familiar to them by our Latin text-books. There are many such works published in other modern languages, but as yet the English language is singularly deficient in them.

These, however, were not the reasons that induced Dr. McDonald to publish his essay. He tells us in his preface that while it is his main object to explain and defend the traditional system of morals which has been taught for centuries in the Catholic schools, yet he claims to have arrived at some important conclusions which are not to be found elsewhere. 'If it were otherwise,' he says, 'I should not have thought of writing or publishing.'

In the course of teaching moral theology, he noticed a considerable difference between the general principles

formulated in the treatises on Human Acts, Laws, and Conscience, and the special conclusions arrived at afterwards when treating of the particular virtues. These special conclusions he regards as the true rules of moral conduct, and as furnishing the material for that wider synthesis which forms the substance of the earlier and fundamental treatises. Hence these special conclusions should furnish a test for the validity and accuracy of the general principles laid down in the treatises on Human Acts, Law, and Conscience.

I quite agree. A general principle of morals which breaks down when applied to particular cases does not deserve to rank as a principle. It makes a pretence of being a rule of conduct, while in practice it furnishes no guide to conduct at all. If, then, the contention be true, that some of the general principles of the fundamental treatises of moral theology as found in our text-books do not harmonise with the doctrine on special virtues, all moralists will welcome the demonstration of its truth, and will be thankful for an accurate and plain statement of the general principles which should be substituted in place of the old.

No theologian would pretend that the common doctrine found in our text-books on the fundamental treatises of moral theology has reached its final, definitive, and perfect stage. Progress is still possible, and no doubt progress will be made in the method of presenting the doctrine, in the enunciation and ordering of the principles, and in other ways. And if we are to advance, some one must attempt the task, some one must act as pioneer of the way. This is another reason why this book deserves a welcome. But if the advance is to be on secure lines, it is no less necessary that the critic should be on the look out, and should perform his task honestly and fearlessly.

This is what I propose to do in this article. For the great bulk of the book, inasmuch as it presents in a good English dress the common doctrine of the Catholic schools, I have nothing but praise and a sincere welcome to offer. It is with two or three of those special conclusions at which

Dr. McDonald has arrived, and which he says are not to be found elsewhere, that I propose to deal. I may say frankly at the outset that I do not agree with them ; and so I find my place among those many students of morals, who, as he tells us in his Preface, the author foresaw would question and deny the success of his attempt in the direction of novelty.

In the remarks which I have to make I shall strive to be as impersonal as possible ; I shall look at the doctrines criticised from the purely objective point of view, and I am sure Dr. McDonald will not resent the friendly and honest criticism of a fellow-worker in a field of knowledge, as difficult as it is interesting.

A good practical test of the morality of an action is the effect which it produces. Adultery, theft, selfishness are seen to be morally wrong because of the evil consequences which they produce. What, however, is to be said of the moral quality of an action which produces both good and bad effects ? The administration of chloroform renders the subject insensible to pain, but it also deprives him of the use of reason for the time being ; craniotomy preserves the mother but it kills the child. How are we to judge of the morality of such actions as these which produce effects of opposite moral quality ? Dr. McDonald discusses and rejects the test which is commonly given in our text-books of moral theology. He translates the principle as formulated by Father Lehmkuhl thus :—

It is lawful to perform an action which produces two effects, one good, the other bad,—provided (1) the action, viewed in itself is good or at least indifferent ; (2) the agent does not intend the evil effect, but only the good (it is well to add in some cases : and provided there is no danger of subsequent evil consent or intention) ; (3) the good effect is produced as immediately as—that is, not by means of—the bad ; (4) and there is a sufficiently weighty reason for permitting the evil effect. (Page 149.)

He then proceeds to criticise the principle in this manner :—

There is not one of these four conditions that does not present difficulties to my mind. Let us take them in order :—

(1) 'The action'—that is, as I understand it, the external action—'viewed in itself, must be good or at least indifferent.' But is not the whole question at issue this : how is one to know whether this action is good in itself, when its effects are good as well as evil ? You tell me that it is to be considered lawful—which is the same as good—if, among other things, it is good in itself ; and I do not see how this makes me a whit the wiser. (Page 149.)

Dr. McDonald misunderstands the principle which he impugns. The whole question at issue is, of course, the morality of the action which produces both good and bad effects. We wish to know whether the administration of chloroform, for instance, is a good action ; whether craniotomy is lawful ; whether, to take a third example given by Dr. McDonald, it is lawful to walk in the fields in summer time for the sake of exercise and relaxation, in spite of the fact that at each step we crush the life out of many lowly forms of sentient being. The principle tells us that such actions will be morally good if certain conditions are verified. The first is that the action viewed in itself, that is, apart from its effects, must not be bad. This is not the whole question at issue, as Dr. McDonald asserts that it is ; the question at issue is, whether the action remains good, even though it produce an evil effect. We can examine the morality of the action apart from its evil effect, and this is what the principle tells us to do. Thus, in the last instance quoted from Dr. McDonald, it is possible to walk in the fields without destroying sentient life at all, or at least we may conceive of its being done ; the question is, whether it remains a lawful action in summer time, when it cannot ordinarily be done without destroying animal or insect life. The action of walking in the fields, even in summer time, is ethically good, or at least indifferent, viewed in itself, apart from consequences, and thus it satisfies the first condition laid down in the principle. This is a distinct step towards the solution of the question concerning the morality of walking in the fields in summer time ; when we have got thus far, we are something more than a whit the wiser. For, if the question were whether

I may tell a lie to save another's life, or in other words, whether a lie is lawful when it produces a good effect in spite of its also producing a bad one, the question would at once be settled in the negative by the application of our principle; the first condition would not be satisfied, because to lie is bad in itself.

Dr. McDonald proceeds :—

(2) 'The agent must not intend the evil effect, but only the good.' But, according to the doctrine laid down in the last chapter, the question of intention or subsequent consent does not arise. We want to test whether a certain external action, regarded in itself, is morally good or bad; and I think I have shown that external acts, as such, do not depend for their morality on any concomitant or subsequent act of the will. (Page 149.)

Dr. McDonald misunderstands the second condition as seriously as he misunderstood the first. We are not concerned here with the mere external action regarded in itself. We want to know whether it is lawful to walk in the fields in summer time. The action is regarded as a complete human act, therefore as a voluntary act, as one issuing from free will, therefore as necessarily informed by a certain intention, an intention which may be good or bad. To walk in the fields in order wantonly to destroy sentient life is a bad action, because informed by a vicious intention; to walk in the fields for recreation, or to till them, is good. With a view to settling whether in a concrete case walking in the fields is a good and lawful action, the principle lays down the condition that the intention must not be bad. This has nothing to do with the disputed question whether the intention can change the nature of the external act.

The third condition is: 'The good effect must be produced as immediately as—that is—not by means of the bad.'

Criticising this condition Dr. McDonald asks: 'Is this universally true?' I answer, Yes, if in the circumstances the evil effect remains evil, for we must not do evil that good may come of it. To amputate a diseased leg in

order to save life is not evil, and so the example does not show that the condition laid down is false, though the Doctor seems to think that it does. And though he here implies that when chloroform is administered, the good effect is obtained through the evil, he does not prove it ; and even if that were proved, he would still have to show that to produce unconsciousness by administering chloroform when there is good reason for it, is evil. Dr. McDonald refers us to another work of his for a criticism of the terminology of the fourth condition, and then briefly subjoins :

The ' weighty reason ' required is the good effect which must also be produced by the action. . . . Now it is not much addition to one's sum of knowledge to be told that an action is wrong which does not produce any but an evil effect ; nor does it help much to be informed further that the good effect produced must bear some proportion to the evil. (Page 150.)

I shall have something to say to this further on.

After his polemic against the principle of a double effect, Dr. McDonald inquires whether the distinction between direct and indirect causality may not serve as a basis for the test which ought really to be applied in all cases of mixed results. He rejects this suggestion, but in his discussion on this point he falsifies the meaning of the distinction as commonly used by theologians, and confounds it with the distinction between *per se* and *per accidens*. When theologians treat of the lawfulness of direct and indirect killing, the distinction does not merely refer to the direct or indirect causality of the external act ; it has special reference to the intention.¹ Dr. McDonald, indeed, rules the question of intention out of court, but such is not the practice of moral theologians when they discuss the questions with which the Doctor is here occupied, and inasmuch as those questions are concerned with human acts, acts necessarily informed by some intention, not with the merely physical

¹ ' *Directe* id dicitur intendi in quavis actione, quod *primario* et *ratione sui* intenditur. Correlativum habet *indirecte*, quod dicitur de illo, quod tantum *ratione alterius* intenditur et quasi *per accidens*. . . . In moralibus *directe* intendit homicidium, qui illud mandat ; *indirecte*, qui illius aliquam causam ponit, ut ebrietatem, ex qua illud sequatur.'—*Lexicon Scholasticorum Verborum*.

external acts of the body, as he seems to suppose, it is difficult to see the reason for abstracting from the intention.

Finally, the Doctor proposes a principle of his own in substitution for the principle of a double effect. He states it thus :—

An external action is to be considered morally good, even though it should produce a bad as well as a good effect, provided (1) it does not subordinate a being which by nature is not to be subordinated ; and (2) the good effect produced is sufficient to compensate for the bad. (Page 158.)

The chief reason why Dr. McDonald wrote his book was, it will be remembered, to remedy a defect in other authors. As he says, just before the statement of his new principle :—

I am convinced that when they come to practical work our theologians retain their sound common sense and forget or neglect the general principle which they were at such pains to establish at an earlier period, when treating of what I may call the metaphysics of moral science. (Page 157.)

Unless I am very much mistaken this procedure will be necessary in the case of Dr. McDonald's own principle. In fact, he himself virtually acknowledges as much. On two conditions, he says, an external action will be morally good, even though it produces a bad as well as a good effect ; first, it must not subordinate a being which by nature is not to be subordinated. But which are those beings which by nature are not to be subordinated ? Unless this is known, it will not be possible to apply the general principle. It will only be a general rule of conduct in so far as it enables us to decide the morality of particular cases. However, Dr. McDonald confesses that there is no general rule that can be given.

It is reasonable to ask [he says] how one is to decide whether and how far any being is by nature subservient to another. I know of no general rule that may be applied ; one has to go through the different essences in nature, examine their circumstances, compare them, and then decide whether and how far they are independent or subservient. (Page 163.)

To go through the different essences in nature, examine

their circumstances, and compare them, is the work of a theologian, and not an easy task even for him ; so that there will be no slight difficulty in discovering whether the first condition is verified in a particular case.

The second condition is, that the good effect produced should be sufficient to compensate for the bad. Now this seems identical with one of the conditions ordinarily required by theologians in the common statement of the principle of a double effect. 'There must be a sufficiently weighty reason for permitting the evil effect,' says Father Lehmkuhl, quoted above. Dr. McDonald would seem to have forgotten his criticism of that condition in the former connection : 'Nor does it help much,' he wrote, 'to be informed that the good effect produced must bear some proportion to the evil' (page 150). If it did not help much there, I cannot see how it can help much here. Furthermore, he confesses that here also no general rule can be given for deciding whether the good effect is sufficient to compensate for the bad (page 165). The circumstances must be balanced in particular cases, certain allowances have to be made ; what those allowances are is a question which the writer on ethics has to face when he comes to treat of the separate virtues ; in doing this he must draw liberally on the light supplied by other practical sciences. The work, evidently, is not child's play ; in any case the result will not help us much.

I am afraid practical moralists will not find Dr. McDonald's principle of much use. It is as difficult to decide whether the conditions laid down are verified, as to decide the moral quality of the external action.

Moreover, unless I seriously misunderstand the Doctor's meaning, the principle is inadequately formulated. As laid down it would allow actions to be done which are certainly wrong. For example : I am in poverty, and I have the opportunity of relieving my wants and those of my family by stealing £5 from a wealthy neighbour. This action produces a good and a bad effect ; it relieves my want, though to be sure it also deprives my neighbour of a sum which he will hardly miss. The action will be lawful,

according to Dr. McDonald, on condition that it does not subordinate a being which by nature is not to be subordinated, and if the good effect is sufficient to compensate for the bad. Both these conditions would seem to be verified by my action. I subordinate money to human wants, as by nature it should be subordinated; the good effect is out of all proportion to the bad. The money in my hands goes to feed my family, in the hands of its owner it would go to feed his dogs.

I must confess I do not see why this is not a legitimate application of Dr. McDonald's principle; it is with the purpose of excluding such applications of the principle of a double effect that theologians require, as a first condition, that the action in itself should be good, or at least indifferent; but Dr. McDonald rejects that condition as involving the whole question at issue.

Besides the principle of a double effect, Dr. McDonald adversely criticises the common doctrine about penal laws. However, his chief objections to that doctrine are not new; they appear to me to have been abundantly answered by such classical writers on Law as Suarez and Laymann. Besides, I should very much doubt whether the Doctor's rather strict views on this point are at all general in the land of potheen. It will be more interesting to pass on to his criticism of the fundamental principle of Probabilism and Equiprobabilism alike, the principle that doubtful laws do not bind the conscience.

This principle is capable of being understood in several ways. All theologians hold that doubtful laws bind in some sense. Thus, in a case of practical doubt as to the existence of a law I am bound to make due inquiry, and I am not at liberty to act until I can, directly or reflexly, form a certain conscience on the question. Dr. McDonald strives to show that there is no general law which obliges one in doubt to acquire certainty as to the rightness of his action before he proceeds to act. (Page 199, *sqq.*) But surely the law which forbids us to act with a doubtful conscience binds us to do this. *Quod non est ex fide peccatum est.* If I doubt whether it be a day of abstinence or not, and eat meat

without taking any pains to form a certain conscience, I commit a sin, and that whether it be a day of abstinence or not. For the very fact of my eating meat in spite of my being doubtful whether it is not forbidden by the Church shows that I am prepared to break the law of the Church about abstinence, and this is a sinful disposition, which is exterminated by my eating meat, which act therefore is a sin, whether there be a prohibition to eat meat on that day or not. This explains why it is always a sin to eat meat with a doubtful conscience, even when the doubtful law does not exist. How would Dr. McDonald explain this on his assumption that doubtful laws bind directly and of their own force? A law which does not exist cannot bind. Dr. McDonald's argument, therefore, seems destitute of force. The fact that the sin committed by one who acts in doubt is of the same species as would be the sin committed against the doubtful law if it existed, does not show that a doubtful law binds the conscience; it only proves that there is a general law which prescribes that we must form a certain conscience before we act.

Moreover, a doubtful law may in a certain sense be said to bind after due inquiry has been made, and the doubt cannot be directly solved. If, after forming my conscience in this case I act against the law which really exists, I commit a material sin, but I am excused from formal guilt. All theologians, I think, also admit this. The doubtful law is said in such cases to bind imperfectly, *in actu primo*, not perfectly and *in actu secundo*. Dr. McDonald hardly seems to admit the validity of this distinction as applied to the obligation of law, and almost violently attacks the defenders of probabilism, who use it in the exposition of their system. His remarks, however, show that he has misunderstood its history and meaning.

I do not know [he writes] when or by whom this distinction between first and second act was introduced into treatises on the binding force of laws. St. Alphonsus took it, apparently, from Cardinal Gotti; and the curious in such matters may inquire whether the learned Cardinal is responsible for first transferring the terms in question from the treatises on actuality and

activity, where they were found originally and where they serve some purpose, to treatises on law and its obligation, where they are almost without meaning. (Page 206.)

But surely treatises on law and its obligation are treatises on actuality and activity. This appeared so evident to Suarez that he took it for granted at the beginning of his great treatise on Laws.²

There can be no objection, then, to using the distinction, *in actu primo* and *in actu secundo*, of the different phases in which we may consider the obligation of laws. Such classical authors as Suarez and Sylvius used it in this sense long before Gotti wrote. The very term *obligation* is derived from physical activity, as St. Thomas explains in a celebrated passage :—

Ita se habet imperium alicujus gubernantis ad ligandum in rebus voluntariis illo modo ligationis qui voluntati accidere potest, sicut se habet actio corporalis ad ligandum res corporales necessitate coactionis. Actio autem corporalis agentis nunquam inducit necessitatem in rem aliam nisi per contactum coactionis ipsius ad rem in quam agit, unde nec ex imperio alicujus regis vel domini ligatur aliquis, nisi imperium attingat ipsum cui imperatur ; attingit autem ipsum per scientiam. Unde nullus ligatur per præceptum aliquod nisi mediante scientia illius præcepti ; et ideo ille qui non est capax notitiæ, præcepto non ligatur ; nec aliquis ignorans præceptum Dei, ligatur ad præceptum faciendum, nisi quatenus tenetur scire præceptum. Si autem non teneatur scire, nec sciat, nullo modo ex præcepto ligatur. Sicut autem in corporalibus agens corporale non agit nisi per contactum, ita in spiritualibus præceptum non ligat nisi per scientiam.³

It is difficult, then, to see what ground Dr. McDonald has for objecting to a distinction which is in accord with the nature of things, and which has been consecrated by the usage of centuries in the schools. His subsequent remarks, however, show that he has seriously misunderstood the meaning in which the distinction is used.

Now, when those theologians [he writes] who defend probabilism by calling in aid this distinction between first and second

² Lib. I., c. iv., n. 3.

³ *De Veritate*, q. 17, a. 3.

act,—when they say that a law which has been promulgated, indeed, but is not yet known for certain to a particular subject, binds only in first act, what do they mean? What can they mean? The first act of the law began to be, as we have seen, when the legislator's jurisdiction began; and all the laws which it is possible for him to make, even though he has and never had the least intention of making them, bind in first act by the very existence of this power. That is the only philosophical meaning attaching to the term 'first act,'—a power to operate, as distinguished from an operation. (Page 207.)

There is a certain note of triumph about this, and it would be unfair to leave the reader to suppose that Dr. McDonald is unaware that the usage of theologians is against him. The facts are against him as well. We are here concerned not with the jurisdiction of the legislator, but with the obligation, binding force, activity, of the law. The jurisdiction of the law-giver is in first act while it remains *in habitu*; it comes into second act when it is used to make a law. The law just made but not yet in force is in first act; when it comes into operation, when it begins to bind, it is in second act. This may be illustrated and at the same time proved by a brief quotation from Sylvius:—

Controversia [utrum lex naturalis obliget omnes homines generaliter, etiam pueros et amentes] tolli posse videtur, dicendo quod ea lex omnes omnino aequaliter obliget, scil. obligatione saltem imperfecta et in actu primo: quamvis non omnes obliget obligatione perfecta et in actu secundo.⁴

We have learnt from St. Thomas, quoted above, that a law binds perfectly and fully only through the knowledge of the subject. A law is a rule framed to direct the actions of rational beings, who are guided by reason and will; in order then to guide them the rule must be known. A law is also a rule given to a community of men, not to an individual, so that in order to bind, it must be authoritatively brought to the knowledge of the community as such, or in other words, it must be promulgated. *Leges tunc instituuntur cum promulgantur*. Laws then do not exist in

⁴ In I^{am} II^{ae} q. 94, a. 4.

their full and perfect being until they are by promulgation brought to the certain knowledge of the community. This is the teaching of St. Thomas, and, I think, of all theologians. Yet it is a truth which is sometimes ignored or forgotten by Dr. McDonald. Thus, on page 196, we read :—

Moral theologians argue as if a law could not exist objectively whenever there is reasonable doubt as to this objective existence ; either because, in that case, it could not have been sufficiently promulgated ; or because laws can bind only those who have knowledge of their existence. These arguments, however, are so feeble that I can hardly regard them as being intended to prove,—what, nevertheless, is the only thing they could be conceived to prove,—that the existence of law, objectively considered, is affected by doubt in the mind of the subject.

When moral theologians use these arguments to show that a doubtful law does not impose a perfect obligation, they are not dealing with a merely negative doubt, nor with the merely subjective doubt of some particular individual ; they mean a positive doubt resting on solid grounds, a doubt resting on an objectively probable opinion, which makes it objectively doubtful whether the law has been promulgated. For if it had been promulgated there could not be such ignorance of its existence among the community. In such circumstances the law has not been sufficiently brought to the knowledge of the community, and so it is wanting in one of its essential elements. This is what St. Alphonsus and other theologians mean when they say that a law which is not promulgated does not bind, or is no law ; and, that a doubtful law is not sufficiently promulgated. If Dr. McDonald had always borne this in mind, he would not have written such passages as the following :—

Of themselves, therefore, doubts in the mind of those who are subject to a law, prove absolutely nothing as against the existence of the law ; and instead of laying down the principle, doubtful laws do not bind, we should say, It is doubtful whether laws bind in cases of doubt. A doubtful law binds or does not bind according to the truth or falsehood of either of the opinions about its existence or its meaning. (Page 197.)

Nor is it a question of subjective responsibility or freedom therefrom, as the Doctor seems to suppose :—

The question of responsibility is thus raised : when and why is one responsible for an act which is out of order materially ? Is it necessary that one should be subjectively certain of the material deordination ? Or may a man be held responsible even though he is merely in doubt subjectively ? The advocates of probabilism commonly maintain that there can be no responsibility as long as subjectively the agent merely doubts of the objective deordination. Is this proved ? Is it true ? (Page 198.)

Probabilists maintain that a probable opinion against a law does not merely affect individual responsibility, it affects the objective binding force of the law. However, I never came across a probabilist who maintained what Dr. McDonald says they commonly do maintain. This will be clear from what has been already said, and it is not necessary to comment on the three or four pages of argument with which the Doctor proves the falsity of a thesis which no probabilist, that I know of, would defend.

In spite of his objections to the maxim : Doubtful laws do not bind—Dr. McDonald allows that sometimes it is true. A doubtful law does not bind, he says, ‘ whenever observance of such a law is the greater of two or more evils or dangers of which one has to be faced or accepted.’ (Page 205.)

There is, of course, a well-known principle of moral theology which prescribes that in case of a perplexed conscience, when we must choose one of two evils, there is an obligation to choose the less. Dr. McDonald goes further than this and seems to propose the principle as the one universal solvent of all cases of doubtful conscience. He writes :—

Doubtful laws are to be observed whenever the evil or the danger to be apprehended from not observing them, is considered greater than any that would result from observance. This, accordingly, of all the principles yet proposed for the resolution of practical doubts, is the only one that a scientific moralist can harmonize with the other principles of his science. (Page 205.)

Further on he gives us an algebraic formula for the principle :—

When once you have become convinced that in cases of doubt the golden rule is to follow the course which is apprehended as least dangerous, the next question to be considered is, how quantities of danger are to be measured and compared so as to find out which is the least. It seems to me that they may be measured according to the following general rule : The quantity of the evil that is feared, multiplied by the probability that it will occur,—probability being regarded as a fraction of the unit certainty,—is equal to the amount of danger in any given case. The formula may be stated algebraically thus : $D = lp$; where D means the danger, l the loss or evil, and p the probability that this loss will be incurred. (Page 210.)

It seems to me that there is no probability that this golden rule will be adopted by moralists for other cases of doubt than those so-called cases of perplexity, in which there is no choice but the less of two moral evils. In one class of cases it would be immoral to apply it. I cannot do better than take an instance given by Dr. McDonald himself :—

Take, for instance, the case of a trades-union rule which is probably inordinate. It is a serious loss to the artizans concerned if the rule should be in order objectively whilst they are not allowed to act on it ; and it may also be a serious loss to employers if the men are allowed to act on a rule which, objectively, is a violation of employers' rights. In this case the dangers are capable of being compared, just as if the question in doubt were one merely of fact. (Page 213.)

Let l be the loss to the artizans and p the probability that it will occur, while l' represents the loss to the employers and p' the probability that it will occur. Then by the formula, if

$$lp > l'p'$$

the artizans may act on the trades-union rule, which is probably unjust. And so, according to this doctrine, I may do something which is probably unjust to my neighbour in order to avoid a greater money loss to myself. Does Dr. McDonald mean this ? Is it sound morality ?

In many other cases of doubt, the rule cannot be applied

for want of definiteness in the elements of the case, or because the two evils or losses are incommensurable, or too dependent on subjective considerations. I doubt, for example, whether I have said my Breviary. In such cases Dr. McDonald tells us, if I understand him rightly, to estimate the relation of the loss accruing from enforcing a law which does not exist, to that which is caused by not enforcing a law which does exist. The loss accruing from enforcing a law which does not exist in this case is about an hour of my time ; but, on the other hand, by saying my Breviary again I gain merit. On the other side of the account by not enforcing a law which does exist I lose spiritual merit, but I gain an hour of time. Dr. McDonald seems to suppose that there is always loss to somebody, the Church or the lawgiver perhaps, when a doubtful law is not enforced. This I fail to see. When an adverse custom makes the obligation of a law first of all doubtful, and then removes it altogether, is it not for the public good in the circumstances ? Putting this aside, how can the loss of merit be measured in this case ? On one supposition I gain merit for saying my Breviary twice in the day, on the other I lose what I should have gained by saying it once. Then, what is the relation between the value of merit and of time ? And what value shall I give to my time ? It is worth more in the morning when I am fresh ; less after dinner ; it has probably a middle value in the evening up to, say, six o'clock, when it rapidly increases till bed-time. But how measure all this quantitatively for the purposes of the formula ?

Then there is the difficulty of assessing the probabilities. Dr. McDonald takes it for granted that a probabilist will assess them differently from an equiprobabilist. Here, then, we are landed in all the dangers of subjectivism. In short, Dr. McDonald's great principle had better be confined to the class of cases for which it is suitable, and for which it is commonly employed by theologians. If we attempt to apply it to other cases, we shall find that it is no fixed guide, but a very weathercock which will point in any direction towards which the impulse of passion drives us.

The foregoing strictures on the special conclusions arrived at by Dr. McDonald in his book suggest a question with regard to his fundamental assumption, that the general principles as stated in our text-books on Human Acts, etc., are not in keeping with the particular conclusions formulated in the treatises on the special virtues. Is this true?

It seems to me that it is only true in a very qualified and immaterial sense. The general principles necessarily abstract from special features and particular circumstances, which have to be considered and allowed for, when the general principles are applied to concrete cases. This is no more than has to be done in other sciences. When we apply the truths of pure mathematics to physical science, corrections and allowances have to be made continually. The infinite complications of nature are too complex for our abstract theories. In some such sense it may be said that the intricacies of human acts cannot be expressed in a simple formula. And yet, just as no one would deny the truth and the value of pure mechanics, because the truths it teaches have to be applied with caution and with necessary corrections when we come to applied mechanics, so the truth and the value of the general principles of morality should not be impugned because in their application we have to allow for special circumstances. This is done by theologians, who frequently apply a general principle tacitly, without quoting it in so many words, just as the mathematician uses the multiplication table, or the logician the principle of contradiction. If Dr. McDonald will give due attention to these considerations, I shall be surprised if the inconsistency which he has noticed in our text-books will not disappear.

T. SLATER, S.J.

THE CENTENARY OF BOSSUET—II

BOSSUET'S SERMONS

III.

IN the foregoing portion of this paper (I. E. RECORD, April, 1904), we have sketched the career and studied the rank which belongs to Bossuet as a preacher. But, however interesting it is to inquire what rank Bossuet holds amongst preachers it is no less interesting and more instructive to consider what was the preparation he made for preaching, and what were his principles with regard to the office and end of preaching. Two things are necessary for success in preaching, namely, aptitude and diligence ; and in both Bossuet was pre-eminent. By nature he was formed for eloquence. While he was still a student at the College of Navarre, an incident occurred which shows his aptitude for public speaking. One evening, at the Hotel de Rambouillet, the Marquis de Feuquières mentioned the young Bossuet, and stated in presence of a large company that if the young student were given a subject and shut up in a room without books, he would be ready after a few minutes' reflexion to deliver a discourse upon it. Madame and Mdlle. de Rambouillet wished to test the truth of the statement. A carriage was despatched to the College of Navarre to fetch the young Bossuet. On his arrival a subject was named, and he was given a few minutes for preparation, at the end of which he delivered a discourse on the General Judgment which delighted and astonished his audience. Voiture, a celebrated literary man of the period, was present, and at the conclusion of the discourse he remarked that he had never heard anyone preach so early or so late.¹ The preacher was aged sixteen, and the hour was eleven at night. During his studies

¹ 'Qu'il n'avait jamais ouï precher, ni si tot ni si tard.'—Bausset, *Histoire de Bossuet*, liv. i.

Bossuet gave many other proofs of his talent for oratory by the manner in which he acquitted himself in delivering academic addresses. But he had the wisdom to know that the best talents require cultivation. Therefore he made long and careful preparation before he undertook the duty of preaching. According to Bousset himself, in his letter to Cardinal de Bouillon, two things are indispensable in preparation for preaching:—*former le style, et apprendre les choses*,² ‘to form one’s style, and to lay up a store of knowledge.’ By the study of the great classic models, and especially by the study of Cicero, he formed his style. He was not unacquainted with the best writers of his time, but not to these did he attribute the formation of his style. ‘I have read,’ he says to Cardinal de Bouillon, ‘French authors but little. Whatever I possess in respect to style I have derived from Latin authors, and to some extent from Greek writers, such as Plato, Isocrates, and Demosthenes.’

But what he considered more important than style was a fund of knowledge. Cicero requires that an orator be a man possessing *multarum rerum scientiam*. Bossuet judged that a preacher required wide and varied knowledge. ‘For fulness is needed to produce abundance, and abundance to produce variety, and without abundance and variety it is impossible to please.’ The first kind of knowledge necessary for a preacher is that of the Holy Scripture. ‘A man preaches more or less efficiently according as he is more or less versed in the Holy Scripture.’³ Bossuet acted on this principle, and he made the Scriptures his life-long study. He carried a copy of the Bible with him on his journeys. He made it a rule that in all his residences—at Paris, at Court, and in the country—there should always be a Bible and a Concordance on his desk. ‘I could not live without it,’ he used to say. He read the sacred text again and again; and made notes of the reflexions

² Letter to Cardinal de Bouillon, 1670:—‘Sur le style et la lecture des Ecrivains et des Pères de l’Eglise pour former, un orateur.’ See Anatole Floquet, *Etudes sur la vie de Bossuet*, vol. ii., p. 516. Paris: 1855.

³ St. Augustine, *de Doctrina Christiana*, lib. iv.

which occurred to him as he read, as well as of the passages which might be useful in the preparation of his sermons. In the letter already mentioned we have, from himself, an interesting account of his method of reading the Sacred Scriptures :—

The plan I have followed in reading them is to note, in the first place, the striking passages which are easily understood, without being concerned about those which are obscure. By this means one's mind becomes filled with the whole substance of the Scripture. St. Augustine very justly remarks that the obscure passages contain no other truths than are contained in those which are clear. The reasons he gives are beautiful, but too long to repeat. The clear passages are the most beautiful, and if I had to train a young man I would make him read them so often that he would know them by heart. In this way he would come to know the most beautiful passages ; and then he would proceed to those which are difficult. As regards the Old Testament, I have never done anything else than read the version according to the Hebrew and compare it with the Vulgate, and catch the genius and form of expression of the sacred text. Vatable alone furnishes all that in his translation and notes. When difficulties occur which are not explained, I would advise to pass on, for a man may be very learned without knowing everything, and in that Book one never knows everything. Moreover, I have learned by experience that by persisting in the effort to understand the obscure passages one wastes time which should be devoted to reflexion on what is clear, for it is this reflexion which forms the intellect and nurtures piety.

Next after the study of the Scriptures he made a diligent study of the Fathers of the Church. During the six years of his residence at Metz he devoted to study all the time not required for the fulfilment of his duty as canon. He read assiduously the writings of the Greek and Latin Fathers, and made a large collection of extracts for future use, which in his manuscripts he entitled *Reflexions Morales*. The Abbé Delmont, in a learned work entitled *Bossuet et les Saints Pères*, has made a critical examination of the writings of Bossuet, and has shown, what indeed must be evident to all who read his sermons, how deeply versed he was in the works of the Fathers. The erudite Origen, the grave Tertullian, the sweet St. Gregory of Nazianzen, the eloquent Chrysostom, the divine Augustine, St. Athanasius, St.

Ambrose, St. Jerome, and St. Gregory, all contribute their share to enrich the flood of Bossuet's eloquence.

But, perhaps, the best evidence of the attention he bestowed on the study of the Fathers is to be found in the letter to Cardinal de Bouillon, from which so much has already been quoted:—

As to the Fathers [he writes], I should like to combine St. Augustine and St. Chrysostom. The one elevates the mind to great and subtle thoughts, the other brings it down to the level of the people. The former, if studied by himself, would produce a style too abstract, and the latter a style too simple and too popular. Not but each has his defects; but in authors we ordinarily take their leading characteristic. In St. Augustine is to be found the whole doctrine; in St. Chrysostom exhortation, rebuke, strength, the method of treating examples from Scripture and of developing every word and every circumstance. I should wish to read St. Augustine pretty much in the following order:—The treatises, *De Doctrina Christiana*, *De Catechizandis Rudibus*, *De Moribus Ecclesiae Catholicae*, *Encheiridion ad Laurentium*, *De Spiritu et Litera*, *De Vera Religione*, *De Civitate Dei* (the latter to have, as it were, an abridgment of his whole teaching). Add to these a few of his letters; for instance, that to Volusian, *Ad Honoratum*, *De Gratia Novi Testamenti*, and a few others; and the treatises *De Sermone Domini in Monte*, and *De Consensu Evangelistarum*.

With regard to St. Chrysostom, his work on St. Matthew, in my judgment, is his best. It is well translated into French, and in reading it one might, at the same time, collect matter and form one's style. However, when there is question of dogmatic proof, one should never trust translations. The homilies (of St. Chrysostom) on Genesis are excellent; on St. Paul admirable; those to the people of Antioch very eloquent; also some detached homilies on various texts and incidents.

I strongly recommend the *Pastoral* of St. Gregory, particularly the third part, which, if I mistake not, is most remarkable for admonitions to all classes of persons, and contains admirable moral lessons and the substance of the teaching of that great Pope.

These works serve to supply a body of doctrine; but, as custom requires that one should quote certain sentences, that is to say, *accuratius aut elegantius dictata*, Tertullian furnishes many such. But one should bear in mind that the beautiful passages are very well known. The best works of Tertullian are his *Apology*, *De Spectaculis*, *De Cultu Muliebri*, *De Velandis Virginitibus*, *De Poenitentia*, admirable; *Contra Marcionem*, *De Carne*

Christi, De Resurrectione Carnis. De Praescriptionibus is excellent. but for a different purpose.

In St. Cyprian one learns admirably the divine art of using the Scriptures, and of gaining authority by causing God to speak on all subjects, by making a serious and solid application of them. St. Augustine also teaches the same admirably, by the manner and the authority with which he uses the Scriptures in his polemical works, especially in his works against the Pelagians. What one should learn from that Father is not so much ideas and passages for quotation, as the manner of treating dogmatic and moral subjects, and the purest spirit of Christianity. For the rest the reading of the Fathers, such as I propose, is not so long as it appears. With a little time and perseverance it is incredible how much one can get through.

Clement of Alexandria will come in his turn, and it will be useful to read his *Pedagogue*; also certain select sermons of St. Gregory Nazianzen, an author well suited to elevate one's style.

Amongst the Fathers Bossuet's preference was for St. Chrysostom and St. Augustine. He had a small edition of St. Augustine's works containing the treatises on the Psalms, on the City of God, and against the Donatists. This he carried about with him wherever he went. Moreover, in each of his residences he had a complete edition of all St. Augustine's works. If asked to preach with but little time for preparation, he used but two books, the Bible and St. Augustine.

Thus did Bossuet form his style and collect a store of knowledge. But besides this general preparation he carefully prepared his sermons when it was his duty to preach. Before entering on a course of Lent or Advent sermons, he arranged the list of subjects to be treated, and made a collection of matter. Moreover, he wrote in full all the discourses which he preached during the years of his residence in Paris. The manuscripts still exist, and furnish evidence of his industry. Some of the earlier amongst them show how prevailing fashions sometimes influence even great minds. While he was at the College of Navarre, phonetic spelling was much in vogue amongst the students. Bossuet for a time adopted the phonetic method. In some of the earlier manuscript sermons, for instance, he writes: 'longtans' (*longtemps*), 'hureux'

(*heureux*), 'tans' (*temps*), 'pène' (*peine*), etc. In maturer years he abandoned, and as a member of the Academy he condemned, the phonetic system of writing. As he became more experienced in public speaking he sometimes contented himself with sketching the outline of his discourse, noting the texts of Scripture and the extracts from the Fathers which he purposed to make use of, or referring to the collection he had already made, viz., 'Extraits de l'Ecriture Sainte,' and 'Remarques Morales.' The latter method is that which he followed during the period of his residence at Meaux. But we can find no better testimony than that of Bossuet himself as to the diligence with which he prepared for preaching. At the close of his sermon on 'The Vain Excuses of Sinners,'⁴ he speaks as follows :—

St. Augustine, of old time, spoke thus to his audience from the pulpit : 'Consider, brethren, how painful and how laborious our life is ;' and having set before them his labours and his dangers, he continued : 'Console us in this world by living virtuously (*consolamini nos bene vivendo*).' Like that great man I also may say to you with modesty and simplicity of heart, that in truth our life is laborious. We wear out our minds in searching the Sacred Scriptures and ecclesiastical writers for what is useful for your salvation ; in selecting what is appropriate to you ; in adapting ourselves as far as possible to the capacity of all, for one must find bread for the strong, and milk for the children. But enough on the subject of our toil, we do not make it a matter of reproach to you. After all it is a duty ; and if labour is painful idleness is insupportable.

But diligent though his preparation was he did not rely on it alone for success. He knew that the grace which fertilizes the Divine word must come from above, and that he who desires to preach with fruit must be, as St. Augustine expresses it, *orator antequam dictor*,⁵ and must join prayer to preparation. Hence he added prayer to study. One day as he was about to preach, two of his attendants entered his room. They found him on his knees before a crucifix, rapt in reflexion, with the book of the Gospels open before

⁴ 'Sur les vaines excuses des pécheurs.'

⁵ *De Doctrina Christiana*, lib. iv., 15.

him. This, says the historian of his life, was his habitual practice before preaching. No wonder grace was on his lips !

But what was the motive which animated Bossuet to prepare so diligently for preaching ? What was the estimate he formed of the office and the scope of preaching ? Bossuet looked on the office of preaching as analogous to that of offering the Holy Sacrifice. To his mind the pulpit was as sacred as the altar. In his sermon on the Word of God,⁶ he expresses this noble idea :—

Christians [he says], in the temple of God there are two places, august and venerable, the pulpit and the altar. In the one petitions are offered to God, in the other His ordinances are proclaimed. In the one the sacred ministers speak to God on behalf of the people, in the other they speak to the people on behalf of God. In the one Jesus Christ is adored in His real body, in the other He makes Himself known in the truth of His doctrine. There is a close alliance betwixt these two sacred places ; and the works accomplished in them bear an admirable relation to each other. In both there is distributed to the children of God a heavenly nourishment. If you desire a parallel yet closer : in the one by the efficacy of the Holy Ghost and by the mystic words, on which we cannot think without trembling, the gifts offered are changed into the body of Christ ; in the other by the same spirit and by the power of the Divine word, the faithful should be interiorly changed and made the body and the members of Jesus Christ.

Such was Bossuet's idea of the dignity and sanctity of the preacher's office. His idea of the end of preaching was no less sublime :—

Christ [he says] did not establish preachers to be ministers of pleasure, of refinement, of public curiosity, but to strengthen the reign of truth : ' I am the Lord thy God who teach thee profitable things, that governs thee in the way that thou walkest. '

Great as were his powers of oratory his guiding principle was, *L'utilité des enfants de Dieu est la loi suprême de la chaire* — ' The utility of the children of God is the first law of

⁶ ' Sermon sur la parole de Dieu. '

⁷ *Isaias* xlviii. 17.

preaching.’⁸ A motto worthy to be engraved on every pulpit ! This was the principle which guided his own conduct, and this was the principle he impressed on his clergy :—

Speak [he said to them], speak simply and plainly to the people. Abandon yourselves to the impulse of Christian charity, and the Holy Ghost will inspire your words. It is not man who speaks or acts ; it is God who acts through him by His all-powerful grace.

He lamented that preachers did not preach sufficiently often on the mysteries of religion. ‘How can men,’ he said, ‘love Jesus Christ if they do not know Him.’⁹ He knew that efficiency in preaching depends in some measure on training. Hence he urged the superiors of his seminary to train up the young clergy with care in the practice of public speaking. To attain the end of preaching he did not rely on human eloquence. Like St. Paul he desired ‘to recommend himself to the conscience of men by the manifestation of truth.’¹⁰

The ear [he says] is flattered by harmony and arrangement of words ; the imagination is pleased by refinement of thought ; the intellect is swayed by probability of argument ; but the conscience seeks for truth. And as it is to the conscience preachers address themselves, they should not aim at brilliant and sparkling wit which pleases, nor at harmony which delights, nor at emotion which thrills ; they should seek the flash which pierces, the thunder which awes, the bolt which crushes hearts. Where shall they find these things if they do not make truth to shine ; and Jesus Christ Himself to speak ? The evangelical preacher is he who makes Jesus Christ Himself to speak, but he does not make Him use the language of men ; he fears to give a strange form to eternal truth. Therefore he derives all from the Scripture, he even adopts its sacred language not only to strengthen, but also to embellish his discourse.¹¹

Such was Bossuet’s career as a preacher and such his principles. According to Cicero,¹² :—

There is nothing more rare than a perfect orator. To be

⁸ Exord. : 3 Sermon on the Immaculate Conception.

⁹ Bausset, *Vie de Bossuet*, liv. vii.

¹⁰ 2 Cor. iv. 2.

¹¹ ‘Sermon sur la parole de Dieu,’ 1st point.

¹² *De Oratore*, lib i., c. 28.

a perfect orator (he adds), a man should possess the acuteness of the logician, the wisdom of the philosopher, the language almost of the poet, the memory of the lawyer, the voice of the tragedian, and the gesture of the actor.

A perfect preacher is no less rare, yet such a one was Bossuet. In him was united a majestic presence, a powerful and melodious voice, a flowing delivery, elevation of thought, grace of diction and strength of argument. All cannot reach the heights to which he attained. But for all his example and his principles are instructive and inspiring. The study of a great model exercises an elevating and refining influence even on those who cannot reproduce it. So it is with Bossuet. The history of his career shows also the excellence of classical and ecclesiastical studies. Leo XIII. holds him up as an illustration of it to the Bishops of France. In his *Letter on Clerical Studies*, 8th September, 1899, he writes :—

After having yielded to the exigencies of programmes what circumstances may require, the studies of aspirants to the priesthood must remain faithful to the traditional methods of past ages. It was by them that were formed the eminent men of whom the Church of France is so justly proud ; the Petaus, the Thomassins, the Mabillons, and many others, not to mention your Bossuet, styled the eagle of Meaux, because by elevation of thought and sublimity of expression his genius soars into the loftiest regions of science and Christian eloquence.¹³

Bossuet's high conception of the dignity and end of preaching has a lesson even for those unacquainted with the language in which he spoke. Like St. Augustine, who spent his life in preaching to the labourers and fishermen of Hippo, Bossuet employed the eloquence which had delighted the brilliant audiences of the capital, in instructing the inhabitants of a small provincial town. The two greatest orators of the Church did not think it beneath them to preach to the poor. To Bossuet it seemed that 'a single good thought suggested to a single soul'¹⁴ was a sufficient reward for a preacher's labour. To him the supreme law

¹³ Leo XIII., *Letter to the Bishops of France*, 8th September, 1899.

¹⁴ *Elevations sur les mystères*, 24 Semaine, No. 10.

of preaching was the utility of the faithful. His diligence, too, in the study of Holy Scripture and of the Fathers is not beyond imitation. Men sometimes speak of the 'decadence' and the 'decay of modern preaching.' The history of Bossuet's career indicates the remedy if the evil exists. To him as to others labour was painful, but to him idleness was insupportable. He sought inspiration at its source, in the Scriptures and in the Fathers. Therefore, 'the Lord filled him with the spirit of understanding, and he poured forth the words of his wisdom as showers.'¹⁵ What more salutary lesson can be learned from his centenary than to adopt his ideals and imitate his example?

PATRICK BOYLE, C.M.

¹⁵ Eccles. xxxix. 9.

TECHNICAL EDUCATION—SOME QUERIES AND REPLIES

THROUGHOUT the country there are many priests who are taking a deep interest in the spread of Technical Education. They consider this training on its own merits apart from what channel it may travel through and they go further and feel that in a great measure it depends on ourselves whether it is to be of the right sort or not. From such as these I receive many queries and as there may be a great number whose minds turn towards the same line of enquiry, I have asked the Editor of the I. E. RECORD to allow me a few pages which may enable me to answer many such querists at once.

A frequent question has been whether I can recommend any good book on Technical Education. As such a book does not exist, for the simple reason that it could not, of course I cannot name it. A little consideration of what this education is, will show that such matter could not be contained in any one book save a very large encyclopædia. The matter covers every profession, trade, or way of living in which scientific principles may be adopted, from that of the electrical engineer or the industrial chemist, down to the humble, but necessary, chimney sweep. The consequence is, that no one manual could embrace such a wide area. Anyone who would wish to study a course of Technical Education in this sense should read up the works of experts on every line of industry which would be almost an impossible task. But I think there is a little manual which meets the want in this particular case. Many an enquirer likes to know in a broad way the features of technology, the scientific facts or principles underlying agriculture and industries. To such I can recommend a handy manual, *Technology for Schools*, published by Blackie and Son. There are few books which, in a compass of just 200 pages, treat of so many subjects from this

particular view, and anyone who reads carefully through it, will lay a good foundation for future research on more extensive lines. As a correlated work of very great value and also small compass, I think no one should be without *Fields, Factories, and Workshops*, published by Sonnenschein & Co. There is material for a life-time's thought and work in the pages of this book.

I presume no Irish priest, interested in this movement, is without Coyne's *Ireland: Industrial and Agricultural*. This work, written by as true an Irishman as he was a Catholic may be called the 'Summa' in this particular line of thought. Lastly, there is nothing that wins so many adherents to the belief in scientific method as the study of these countries in which it has been given an honest trial. For such reading there is a first-class series published by Newnes, London, which sketches the Continental countries in a very interesting way. Swiss life in town and country, Danish and Belgian ditto,—each is treated in a capital little volume. With a modest library made up of the works above-mentioned a priest will be well equipped for his labours in the field of Irish economics.

Another query which crops up pretty frequently is as follows. It is well known that I am an ardent acolyte of the German school of Technical Education, and I am asked to give reasons for the faith that is in me. I am such for many reasons. The first is, because the Germans have on their side that success in practice which all consider to be the ultimate proof of the correctness of a theory. In somewhat over thirty years their system of technical training has made such a change in the industrial life of that country that it is only rivalled in swiftness, completeness and beneficence by what we read in fairy tales. Starting with a population mostly agricultural, Germany to-day is turned into a vast hive of industries where the farmers cannot supply the wants of the workers. Happy farmers! Three decades ago there was no dockyard of importance, now German production supplies some of the finest vessels afloat. During that time she has conquered industry after industry, and apace with all this there has been a

marvellous increase in the comforts of ordinary living. As an English writer said a few days ago : ' Excepting the period of the great industrial revolution in England in the latter half of the eighteenth century, nothing like the tremendous growth of towns in Germany within the last generation or so has ever been witnessed in Europe in modern times.' The wages of the workman have increased three and, in in cases, fourfold, and the German workman of to-day, with his retiring pension at 65, is the envy of his comrades the world over. We have nothing like the conditions that prevail in the first-class factories, with their libraries, recreation halls, theatres, hospitals, convalescent homes, seaside settlements, etc. And I am the more enamoured of the German methods because this magic change was begun by the people and wrought out to a successful issue by the people themselves. Those who have never travelled in that land and who have read little about it, at least, under this aspect, say that all was due to the Government. Well, even to-day, the Government only pays half the expenses of the Technical Education of the country. In the beginning nearly every technical school was started by private enterprise, and it was when successfully launched and working for some years that the State subsidy came. That feature in the history of this country may serve us for an object lesson in self-reliance. Another motive that biassed me in favour of the German system was the whole-hearted tribute paid to it by Americans. Over and over again some of the highest educational authorities there have admitted the supremacy of Germany in this respect. Quite lately, the *Indianapolis Journal*, speaking of the last Mosely Commission, said :—

The work of the Commission cannot but be of great value to educational work in England, and it is not unlikely that it will also be of much benefit to us; for, while we may compare favourably with the British in some points of our educational system, there are others in which we fall behind, while if the comparison is made to include the systems of Germany and France, we shall find that we have a great deal to learn.

As a priest, too, there is one feature about the German

progress that must commend itself to me, and, doubtless, will be appreciated by my clerical brethren. The great focus of industrial and technical progress is in the Catholic district of Germany. The more remarkable technical and commercial colleges, the greatest industries, are to be found in the Rhineland which, as everyone knows, is the most Catholic part of Germany. The exhibition of Dusseldorf, which was a purely local exhibition, was one of the most remarkable exhibitions that the world has ever seen. The machinery hall covered five acres. The main industrial hall covered seven. Yet it was an exhibition of the Catholic Rhineland products. and in Dusseldorf the Catholics are seven to one. An American machinery expert with whom I had a chat told me that he sold six of the high-grade machines in the Catholic districts for one that he sold in the Protestant. This little fact is an awkward one for those who ascribe industrial and economic short-sightedness to the influence of the Catholic Church.

Several clerical friends ask to what do I ascribe the successful results of the German training. Other countries, such as England, seem to be spending large sums of money and without much results. For instance, the upkeep of South Kensington is enormous, and its failure to achieve anything practical might be described by the same adjective. In Ireland we have had the Royal College of Science at work for years, and one would need a very powerful microscope to see any beneficial effects from that establishment as far as the commercial or industrial progress of Ireland is concerned. To my mind there are two distinguishing characteristics of German work. The first is that every student is trained to specialise. As you go through a technical college you see that the work is narrowed down to specific objects in every department. For example, the civil engineer attends the lectures of one expert for road-making, but he must go to another class-room and another teacher for bridge-making. In Charlottenberg—the Berlin Technical College—I counted six large class rooms devoted to the various stages of shipbuilding. In Zurich, which follows German

methods, there is a building as large as the whole Royal College of Science in Dublin, devoted to electro-chemistry. This building is quite distinct from the chemistry building and from the electricity department. In the engineering school, one large room contains about 500 models to illustrate the various kinds of cogged wheels that might be needed for different motions. This, then, is the first feature of the work of the German, that of specialisation.

The second characteristic is the practical bent that is given to his work. The student is not allowed to run off into abstruse speculation, every theory must shape towards some useful result. The industrial and scientific worlds are filled with problems, and towards these the student's mind is directed in the hope that some lucky day he may find a solution. There were dozens of chemists employed for nearly ten years in the great problem of the synthetic production of indigo. They discovered it at last and that discovery practically ruined the English indigo trade. I met with a curious illustration of the practical turn of the German mind in a laboratory in Vienna. My readers are all familiar with the little instrument called Crooke's radiometer. Its whirling vanes excited much curiosity, but it was little more than a scientific toy. The inventor used it to measure translucency, and his method was to count the number of vane-revolutions in a certain time. A German physicist got hold of it and put a little speck of iron on one of the vanes, thus making it respond to magnetic attraction. By adjusting a light at one side and a magnet at the other, both sliding on a graduated bar, he has made a most useful instrument for testing translucency of paper and other objects. This, then, is the all-pervading idea in German work, that science is to be the road to practical results. In these two ways, specialising and the practical tendency of their teaching, the Germans hold a supreme position. There is an excellent series of pamphlets on German Technical Education, principally by Dr. Rose of Stuttgart, and brought out in the Parliamentary papers. A list of these papers, and the price of each, can be had from Ponsonby's, Grafton-street, Dublin. It may seem to

some of my readers that a cheaper way of getting such papers would be through the local Member of Parliament, but this might not be a reliable method.

It has occurred to some friends of mine that a priest might, with great benefit to himself and others, visit some one of the great technical centres on the Continent, and it has been queried what technical college might one visit with advantage. To my mind there is no college which an Irish priest could inspect with more advantage than the Polytechnicum of Zurich. It is the finest technical college in Europe, a verdict which I have had from the lips of Germans themselves, and which was corroborated by students who had worked in other places. The only school that might compare with it would be that of Charlottenberg, near Berlin, but American students, who had spent time in both places, assured me that the Zurich college was superior.

Any Irishman pacing the magnificent halls of its many buildings must feel every stone cry out in favour of the enormous power of co-operation. The gallant Swiss, with a country half the size of Ireland, and treated by nature in a niggardly fashion, with a population half that of Ireland, joined hands, and instead of each canton, like an Irish county, frittering away its resources in individual effort, there was erected a magnificent central college, finer than anything wealthy England will have for decades to come. If the Irish counties would imitate the Swiss cantons in ten years time we would have little fear of English or any other competition. At Zurich, too, there are many most interesting trade schools,—schools of domestic economy, etc. Then, it is needless to say, that when our visitor has satiated himself with the cream of Technical Education he can turn to the brilliant scenes of nature for speedy relaxation. The place is easy of access, cost of travel small, living inexpensive, and everything to repay the traveller for his time and money. The commercial representative of Britain, T. C. Milligan, Esq., who may be found at the British Consulate General, is most courteous in giving any advice and enlightenment that visitors may need on local matters.

With regard to specific subjects the question arises, what books are to be recommended. As a kind of general direction there may be instanced Macmillans' series of Manuals for Beginners. Anything these publishers put their name to, is, as a rule, worthy of a place in a library, but this is particularly true of the series I mention. They have *Building Construction for Beginners*, *Mechanics*, *Hygiene*, *Botany*, etc., all making up a first class series. With regard to definite technical instruction, no one could do better than get the catalogue of Crosby, Lockwood and Co., and see their publications on the various crafts; or, if foreign work is in view, one may consult the catalogue of Nony et Cie, 63 Boulevard St. Germain, Paris. Scientific Agriculture is well treated in several books. The Americans have now the best work in this line, and hence it is books brought out by their best men that one should consult. Four publications, *Rural Wealth and Fertility*, *The Fertility of the Land*, *Irrigation and Drainage*, *The Farmstead*, are published by Macmillan, and should have a place on the book-shelf of 'the New Curate.' There are some things in these books that concern America only, but the bulk of the contents will suit any country and any people that want to make progress. My work would not be complete were there an omission of some publications dealing with the commerical side of life. The farmer, the artisan, and the shopkeepers are linked beyond the reach of any divorce, and we might as well pay all attention to the reservoir and none to the aqueducts as to neglect the merchant that distributes the wealth. Consequently, *Goodwin's Book-keeping*, published by Goodwin, 1215 Broadway, New York; *Modern Business Methods*, *Commercial Education at Home and Abroad*, the two latter published by Macmillan, will complete the economic book-shelf of my friends.

In conclusion, I avail myself of this opportunity to thank so many of my brother priests who, by encouraging words and interesting queries, make one feel that the furrow he ploughs is not as lonely as he may be inclined to think.

P. J. DOWLING, C.M.

BIBLIOTHECA ALPHONSIANA

THE Editor of the I. E. RECORD, some seven years ago, at the request of a young priest, gave a list of a hundred books with which to begin a library.¹ The article suggested to us a study the substance of which we venture to make public now.

Professor Candido M. Romano in his highly appreciated book on the works of St. Alphonsus,² says: 'The writings of the saint are an encyclopædia, all having one character and one scope, Truth, Holiness, Redemption, in one word GOD.' Monsignor Poirier considers 'the works of St. Alphonsus a repertory accessible to all intelligences, to the simple as well as the most enlightened: they are an armory useful at all times to the universal Church, and of which one may say, "mille clipei pendent ex ea, omnis armatura fortium."' The reading of the letters addressed to the Holy See on the occasion of the Doctorate of St. Alphonsus show how general was this opinion. The servant of God, Pius Bruno Lanteri, prophesied the world-wide propagation of the treasures to be found in the Bibliotheca Alphonsiana:—

I shall see it from heaven [said he, to his spiritual children] and some of you shall see it on earth; the books of the Blessed Alphonsus de Liguori shall be spread all over the world, and he himself shall not only be canonized, but also be declared Doctor of the Universal Church. . . . I am certain of it. You will see that I make no mistake.³

Professor Romano devotes over 400 pages, and Cardinal Villecourt⁴ no less than 320, to the appreciation of our saint's works. His Eminence gives us three catalogues. In the first we have the printed works and MSS., to the number of 1,913, examined by the S.C.R. In the second

¹ I. E. RECORD, vol. xvii., p. 528.

² *Delle Opere di S. Alfonse.* Roma, 1896.

³ *Apostolato del Servo di Dio Pio Brunione Lanteri.* Tormo.

⁴ *Vie et Institut de S. Alphonse.* Tournai, 1864.

all the printed works that existed in 1864 and others that were lost or unfinished. The third arranges the works according to matter. It is interesting to note that the saint was 49 when he wrote his *Visits to the Blessed Sacrament*, which was one of his first books ; he was 54 when he published *The Glories of Mary* ; he had reached the ripe age of 57 when the first edition of his *Moral Theology* appeared.

Rohrbacher, in his *Church History* (vol. xxvi.), says that the works of St. Alphonsus flowed from his heart as from a fountain, and continuing the similitude he adds : ‘ His style is like water flowing from its fountain-head, simple, clear, limpid.’ ‘ He avoided,’ says Professor Romano, ‘ the errors of language of his time and wrote with clearness and grace ; free, indeed, from vain ornaments, but full of that persuasive-ness which reminds one of his achievements in the Neapolitan Courts.’ These and many other testimonies regarding matter and style may be resumed in the words which we read in the process of his Beatification : ‘ Nihil magis discretum Alphonsi Scriptis, ubi latet occulta quaedam et divina virtus, quae in animos legentium sensim illabitur, eos linit suaviter, flectit, immutat, illustrat et eo quo constituit impellit.’

We say nothing here of the multiplied approvals and recommendations of all the Sovereign Pontiffs from Benedict XIV. to Leo XIII., which may be found *in extenso* in the *Life* written by Cardinal Villecourt, and in the work of Professor Romano. We divide our ‘ Bibliotheca ’ into four sections, and our first section is

I.—‘ THEOLOGIA MORALIS ’

This is St. Alphonsus’ great work. Most of what he published after the appearance of his *Moral Theology* was either his teaching in form of compendium, or the defence of his system or some solution he had given. Repeated attacks obliged him to study and restudy many questions up to 1773, when his system had reached perfect maturity and his decisions were finally fixed. It was then the seventh edition appeared. The *Monitum*, which we find in the seventh edition, was incorporated into the *Dissertatio* of

the eighth ; and the ninth, the last during the saint's lifetime, is a reproduction of the eighth. In this work we have a complete practical course of moral theology. We say *practical* ; for if St. Alphonsus had not been devoted heart and soul to the active ministry of a priest we should never have had this work. He made his theological studies in the rigid school, but the principles, whatever may be thought of them considered *in se*, did not stand the test of application to the masses, for whom the Sacrament of Penance was specially instituted. His experience also taught him that the manner of acting of those who belonged to the opposite school, was not less hurtful to souls. Feeling intensely the difficulties which both presented, he was unceasing in his study of authors of every shade of opinion. He writes in his *Monitum ad Lectorem* :—

Alios inveni qui plus aequo indulgentes iis, qui dicunt (ut ait Isais, cap. 30), *nolite aspecere nobis ea quae recta sunt, loquimini nobis placentia*, consuunt pulvillos sub eorum capite, ut in peccatis misere conquiescant. . . . Contra vero reperi alios qui concilia cum praeceptis confundunt, novis mandatis conscientias aggravant, humanam imbecillitatem nihil pensi habentes, nihilque memores illius canonis (cap. ult ne transat.) qui admonet : *In his vero in quibus jus non invenitur expressum, procedas, aequitate servata semper in humaniorem partem, secundum quod personas et causas loca et tempora videris postulare*. . . . Utraque sane extremitas maxime periculosa.

It was, therefore, the insurmountable difficulties, which either extreme presented to him, and which must present themselves to any priest, who with true zeal devotes himself to the sacred ministry, that led to the publication of his *Theology* in which he gives us the fruit of his study and experience, extending over thirty years. 'Propterea,' he continues in his *Monitum*, 'in lucem edere deliberavi hoc novum opus, quod inter opiniones nimis benignas et nimis severas medium locum teneret.' How admirably he succeeded is admitted, for we read in the Decree for the saint's Doctorate (23rd March, 1871) : 'Obscura delucidavit, dubiaque declaravit, cum inter implexas Theologorum sive laxiores sive rigidiores sententias tutam stravit viam, per quam christifidelium animarum moderatores inoffenso pede

incedere possent.' This book, then, as indeed all the works of the Holy Doctor, has unmistakably the note *practical*. 'Reperies,' he writes, 'omnes questiones et res morales quae magis *ad praxim* deserviunt.'

1°. *Editions*. We have before us a MS. containing the first essays of St. Alphonsus on moral subjects. The first work which he gave to the public were his notes on Busembaum. This was in 1748. The first volume of the real work, which is tabulated as the second edition, appeared in 1753, and the second volume the year after. Counting this as the second edition, seven others appeared during the life-time of the saint. The ninth edition was that examined by the S.R.C. in view of the Beatification of the Venerable Servant of God.⁵ A new edition is now passing through the press. It will interest the reader to know that St. Alphonsus cites in his *Moral Theology* more than 800 authors, and that the citations themselves are over 17,000. An edition is now passing through the press, the editor of which has had the unique advantage of having at hand all the editions of the *Theologia Moralis*, and all the editions of the lesser works on Morals which appeared in the life-time of St. Alphonsus. He has thus been able to collate edition with edition and work with work. He has, moreover, verified all, or very nearly all, the 17,000 citations. It will seem to any one, who considers the difficulties, an herculean

⁵ What is called the first edition of St. Alphonsus' *Theologia Moralis* has for title: *Medulla Theologiæ Moralis R. P. Hermanni Busembaum Societatis Jesu Theologi cum adnotationibus per Rev. Patrem D. Alphonsum de Liguori*. In the title he declares that the work was in *usum juvenum Congñs. SSi. Salvatoris*. The Holy See changed *Salvatoris* into *Redemptoris* in 1749; i.e., one year after the publication of the *Medulla*. The very copy of the *Medulla* which the saint used, and on the margin of which he wrote some notes, still exists, and is conserved as a relic, like his MSS. The title of what we know as the second edition was changed, and begins: *Theologia Moralis concinnata a R. P. Alphonso de Liguori*. This he dedicated to Benedict XIV. The following is taken from the title-page of the ninth edition, and from the very copy which was used by the S.C.R., and in which *nihil censura dignum* was found: 'Theologia Moralis Illustrissimi et Reverendissimi D. Alphonsi de Liguorio olim Episcopi S. Agathæ Gothorum et Rectoris Majoris Congregationis SS: Redemptoris, adjuncta in calce perutile instructione ad Praxim Confessariorum. . . . Editio absolutissima, in qua præter omnia, quae in coeteris addita fuere nunc primum Auctor ipse plura reformavit, aliquibus sententiis clarius explicatis, aliis de nova additis, aliis re maturius pensata immutatis, et novas animadversiones magni ponderis adjecit.' 3 vols. Bassani, 1785.

work, and he will not be surprised that even with the help of researches made already by two others, it has taken the editor seventeen years to prepare this edition.

Notwithstanding the opposition of some, and the hatred of others, who went so far as to burn Liguori's works, the *Theology* was in general well received, and was greatly esteemed by those best able to judge of its merits. Alphonsus had really caught the public ear and he profited by the circumstance to give to those who could not or would not buy his larger work, a compendium. This led to the publication, in 1755, of

2°. *Instruzione e Pratica pei Confessori*. 3 vols. in octavo. This compendium contains all the questions treated in the larger work, and it is enriched with valuable *appendices*. In these we have—(1°) The Direction of Souls in the Spiritual Life. He treats of Prayer in all its stages reaching to highest contemplation, of Mortification, and of Frequent Communion. (2°) The Manner of Assisting the Dying. (3°) Examen Ordinandorum. (4°) Monita ad Confessarios et Parochos. Ten editions were called for in a few years, and the saint, having heard that it was so much appreciated at the other side of the Alps, translated it into Latin. It is thus we have

3°. *Homo Apostolicus instructus in sua vocatione ad audiendas confessiones*. This appeared in 1759. Where a discrepancy occurs between what the saint teaches in his larger work and in the *Homo Apostolicus* it is necessary to consult the sixth *Italian* edition, published in Naples in 1765.

In 1776 he wrote in Italian his *Instructions to Confessors*, but as he translated it into Latin, we give its Latin title:—

4°. *Praxis Confessarii ad bene excipiendas confessiones*. Perhaps none of his works were better received than this. It used to be said that his angel must have assisted him in its composition. He instructs a confessor, as only a great master can, in his fourfold office of father, physician, doctor, and judge. By the *Praxis* he completed his two former works. He treats of every class of penitent. 'Ce livre,' says Cardinal Villecourt, 'respire une onction toute

divine, une charité, une douceur et une moderation admirable.’⁶

With the Italian and Latin compendiums of his larger work one would have thought that even this most zealous Doctor might have been satisfied. But no! He found priests who considered the *Homo Apostolicus* too long and too difficult. He asked himself how he could help even those, and the practical answer was the publication, probably in 1764, of the

5°. *Confessore Diretto per le Confessioni della Gente di Campagna*. This work has not been translated into Latin, but we have an excellent rendering of it in French from the pen of Father Pladys, namely, *Le Confesseur des Gens de la Campagne et Avis Pratique concernant l’Administration du Sacrement de Penitence*.⁷ Marignal notes on each paragraph of this edition give the contents at a glance. The work is a marvel of brevity, completeness, and clearness. We see what a wonderful grasp the author had of his teaching. As a compendium made by the saint himself, in which he gives his teaching on daily occurring cases, the work is of great value in view of the decision of the S. Poenit., July 5th, 1831.

6°. *Istruzione al Popolo*, or in Latin, *Instructio catechistica ad Populum in Praecepta Decalogi et Sacramenta*. This appeared during his episcopate, and was intended to help his priests to remove the grave ignorance which he found amongst his people. He also wished to indirectly combat a certain rigorism that kept the people away from the Sacraments. It has been translated into almost every language. There are several English editions.

7°. If we add *Breve Dottrina Cristiana* we come to the last compendium of this indefatigable labourer in the vineyard of the Lord.

8°. *De Probabilismo*. For the purpose of this paper it is enough to note that the system of St. Alphonsus, which was examined on the occasion of his Doctorate, and de-

⁶ *Vie*, vol. iv., p. 3, c. i, art. 2.

⁷ Paris, Libraire d’œuvre de S. Paul.

fended against all the objections of the *Promotor Fidei*, is that found in the ninth edition of his *Moral Theology*: *Morale systema pro delectu opinionum quas licite sectari possumus*.⁸

9°. *Other Dissertations and Tracts*. For convenience' sake we put under this heading, *De Infallibilitate Romani Pontificis*, *De auctoritate Papae super concilium*, *De Immaculata Conceptione*, in all of which he wrote with an exactness and fulness not surpassed by the definitions which followed a hundred years later. In his letters and in his *De Prohibitione et abolitione Librorem noxae lectionis* we are convinced of how clearly he foresaw the ultimate effects of publications which appeared in his day. We have tracts, *De Missarum Stipendio*, *De Ministro et Forma Matrimonii*; also *Regulae quaedam de Pontificum Decretis et eorum usu in Theologia Morali* (*vide Introd. ad Moral.*). If we add *Advice to Young Confessors*, and *How to assist those condemned to Death*, we are at the end of the first section.

II.—ELOQUENTIA SACRA

His Eminence Cardinal Capecelatro, in his *Vita di S. Alfonso*, says: 'Our dear saint was undoubtedly an admirable master of preaching by his example, but not less by his instructions. These instructions are scattered through his letters . . . but his complete teaching is found chiefly in his *Selva*, or *Instructions and Advice to Preachers*.' He expresses the hope that all may be printed in one volume, 'for such a collection,' his Eminence adds, 'would form a work excellent, easy to read, instructive, and in itself sufficient for an ecclesiastic.'⁹ This has been done by the editors of the centenary edition.¹⁰ We give here a list of the saint's works on what we may call the theory of preaching, and then the matter which he has collected for our use.

⁸ In all there are twelve dissertations or apologiæ, in which the Holy Doctor develops or defends his system. For a detailed account we refer the reader to *De Morali Systemate S. Alphonsi—Historico-Theologica Dissertatio*, auctore Leonardo Gaudé. Romae, 1894. It is Father Gaudé who is editing the new edition of the saint's *Theology*.

⁹ L. ii., c. 12.

¹⁰ Our references will be to this centenary edition.

1°. WORKS ON PREACHING.—Letter to a Religious on Preaching with Apostolic Simplicity. Refutation of a French work on Preaching (vol. xv.). Instructions to Preachers. (This is an abridgment of his larger work and may be found at the beginning of *Sermons for Sundays*.) Advice to those who give Spiritual Exercises to Priests. (This at the beginning of the *Selva*.) Hints to Catechists (vol. xv.). Now the dominant note of all these works is : *Preaching should be popular*. Here are some headings of the Letter mentioned above : ‘ All sermons should be simple and popular.’—‘ A preacher should avoid high flown subtleties in thought ;’ and ‘ Superfluous elegance of language.’—‘ The saints were popular preachers.’—‘ Culpability of those who abandon the popular style.’—‘ The art to please is found in an Apostolic (simple, popular) style.’

St. Alphonsus was accused by preachers who used what was called a ‘ sublime ’ style of having set aside rhetoric. The art with which he himself preached would have been a sufficient answer, but he could have pointed to his admirable treatise on rhetoric. This will be found in vol. xv., beginning at page 179. Towards the end there is a most useful section on *Memory, Delivery, and Gesture*.

2°. THE MATTER FOR SERMONS, CONFERENCES, AND INSTRUCTIONS.—A. (a) *Sermons* for all the Sundays of the year (vol. xvi.). (b) *Sermons* on the Incarnation for Advent and Christmas (vol. iv.). For the Passion, see vol. viii. (c) *Sermons* for times of Public Calamity. To these are added a most useful collection of texts from Holy Scripture and the Fathers (vol. xvii.). (d) *Sermons* for the Feasts of the B.V.M. and on her Dolours (vols. vii., viii.). (e) *Occasional Sermons* : The Holy Rosary (vol. xvii.).—Discourse to Maidens.—On Confraternities (vol. xv.).—For taking the Religious Habit, or for Profession (vol. xi.).—On St. Joseph (vol. viii.). To these must be added Preparation for Death. This is at once a book of meditation and a book of sermons. Each chapter gives matter for three meditations, so arranged that there is ample matter for one sermon.¹¹

¹¹ For an appreciation of these works see I. E. RECORD, vol. xvi., p. 1,075.

B. *Conferences*.—(a) FOR PRIESTS. The full title of these conferences in the original is *Selva di Materie predicabili*. The title *Selva* is retained in some of the French editions—there are at least five—and in Duffy's English editions. The title in the centenary edition, vol. xii., runs, *Dignity and Duties of a Priest, or Selva*. Monsignor Gaume made one of the French translations. In his admirable Preface he says :—

Against the invasion of private judgment we must call to our aid the imposing authority of the Catholic spirit. Read the *Selva* and say whether you can more efficaciously reach this end. Here it is not man's thought that is given to rule ours ; it is the thought of ages . . . it is solely tradition that preaches, instructs, forbids, commands, encourages, terrifies. This work is a sacred pulpit from which you hear, one after another, the voice of prophets, apostles, and apostolic men, of martyrs, solitaries, the most illustrious bishops of East and West, the most famous doctors, and the most skilful masters in the science of the saints ; you have the successors of St. Peter and the Councils, organs of the Holy Ghost ; in a word, antiquity, the middle ages, modern times, the entire Catholic Church speak to you.

'Alphonsus,' says Rohrbacher, 'received and handed on to us, with absolute fidelity and quite unbroken, the divine inheritance of Catholic tradition.' But, according to Cardinal Dechamps, we shall find on reading this book attentively, 'that the thought of the author is the frame-work of the whole, and that he skilfully adapts to his pen that which is strongest and sweetest in tradition.'¹² The saint made this collection during the twenty-eight years (1732-1760) in which he was occupied with the most salutary work of clergy retreats. He was 64 when he published the *Selva*.

(b) FOR RELIGIOUS. *The True Spouse of Christ, or a Religious sanctified by the Virtues proper to the Religious*. This work was immediately translated into other languages. Already in 1776, six years after its first appearance, Father Bernard Hyper, O.S.B., in his Preface to the German edition wrote :—

I do not fear to say, that you will find collected in this

¹² *L'Infall. et le Council Gen.*, c. viii.

work all that has been written on the spiritual life by ancient and modern authors, which you would have to seek in a multitude of books. It is moreover an abridgment of what the pious author has written at greater length in other works. It is well also to note that the greater part of this work is not less useful to seculars than religious.

A novice master said that he found in the *True Spouse*, in a comparatively small compass, the best of the best authors. Some passages, however, will have to be considered in the light of the times in which the saint lived, and in that light his language is not too strong.

C. *Instructions*.—These have been noted already under *Theologia Moralis*. It only remains to direct attention to what the Holy Doctor says to missionaries with regard to Exhortations, Acts for Communion, Catechism, Sermons for Children, etc., for although a priest may not be called to exercise the function of a missionary, he will learn from the saint with how much care he should prepare for even the lesser offices of the sacred ministry.

It will not be out of place to mention here an excellent commentary on the Letter of the late Holy Father, Leo XIII., on Preaching, which confirms all that St. Alphonsus has written on this most important subject: *In Litteras Encyclicas S. Cong. Ep. et Reg. super Sacra Praedicatione datas jussu Leonis XIII., P. M. Commentarius e S. Francisco Salesio et S. Alphonso depromptus*. Auctore Francesco Ter Haar, c.ss.R. Romae: Typographia de Propaganda Fide, 1896.

III.—OPERA DOGMATICA

The long list of the Dogmatic works will be a surprise to many. The Most Rev. Dr. Mullock translated into English the *History of the Heresies and their Refutation*, to which he added the *Unhappy End of the Persecutors of the Church*, taken from another work of the Holy Doctor. A second edition (Duffy, Dublin) bears the date 1857. St. Alphonsus explains in his Introduction the end he had in view in writing this work. He considered it important to show forth the beauty and splendour of our faith in

times when the most holy maxims and most essential dogmas were called into question. His *Defence of the Truths defined by the Holy Council of Trent* was also translated into English and published by Duffy more than thirty years ago, but at present it is difficult to get a copy. The saint was eighty when he published his *Moral Dissertations on the Last Things*, to safeguard the people, as he tells us, from doctrines which were being taught denying eternal life, and treating judgment and hell, etc., as fables. He gives in comparatively few pages what is of faith and what of opinion on the important subjects of the Particular Judgment, Purgatory, Anti-Christ, Signs that precede the End of the World, the General Judgment, State of the World after the General Judgment, of the Damned and of the Blessed. He finishes with a prayer, welling up from his charitable heart, in which he begs mercy for all inside and outside the one true Church. No other of St. Alphonsus' Dogmatic works have been translated into English.

In Italian the *Opere Dommatiche* may all be found in the eighth volume of Marietti's stereotyped edition. There are 1,100 two-column pages of small but clear type. These have been translated into French and set in very perfect order (Casterman, Tournai). The translation is admitted to be clear and correct. We, however, wish to turn the attention of the readers of the I. E. RECORD especially to the *Latin* translation, which has just appeared: *S. Alphonsi Mariae de Liguorio Ecclesiae Doctoris opera Dogmatica ex Italico Sermone in Latinum, Transtulit ad antiquas Editiones castigavit notisque auxit Aloysius Walter, Congr. SS. Redemptoris*.¹³ On the title pages of the two volumes the translator gives the entire matter, namely:—Tomus Primus: I. 'Contra Atheos et Deistas;' II. 'Contra Sectas dissidentes;' III. 'De Fidei veritate contra Incredulos et Haereticos;' IV. 'Vindiciae contra Febronium;' V. 'Doctrina Catholicae juxta Concilii Tridentini Decreta expositio.' Tomus Secundus: VI. 'Haeresum Historia et Confutatio;' VII. 'De Divina Revelatione Considerationes;' VIII. 'De

¹³ T. Pustet, Romae; Duffy & Co., Dublin.

Novissimis ;' IX. 'De Magno Orationis Medio.' To these are added two Appendices, one on Christian Hope, the other a Dissertation on the Predestination of Jesus Christ ; neither was published during the life-time of St. Alphonsus.

Father Walter, in his *Proemium*, gives us the order at once logical and chronological of these works,¹⁴ the encomiums of the Sovereign Pontiffs and others,¹⁵ and the reason why this Latin edition has been published.¹⁶ We can only find place for a few words, and first those of the late Holy Father Leo XIII. :—

Firmissimis argumentis divinam revelationem munivit (S. Alphonsus) contra Deistas ; veritatem fidei nostrae strenue defendit ; nervosissime propugnavit Romani Pontificis primatum et infallibile magisterium ; editis historia haeresum et opere dogmatico acriter perstringit haereses omnes.

Referring to the petitions presented to the Sovereign Pontiffs for the Doctorate of St. Alphonsus he cites, amongst other, the words of the Superior-General of the Society of Jesus, who affirms :—

Ingentem sacrae eruditionis suppellectilem propugnandae Catholicae veritati, refutandis haereticorum erroribus, pietati apud Christianum populum et Sanctae Sedis juribus ac privilegiis contra ecclesiae hostes asserendis et propugnandis a S. Alphonso fuisse adhibitam.

To these he adds : ' Nullam veritatem non invicte ab eo demonstratam (Minister-Generalis Ord. Min.), nullam errorem non radicitus evulsum esse (Magister Gen. Ordin. Praedicat.).'

As to the use of Latin, it was evidently fitting that the Dogmatic works of a Doctor of the Church should be in a language universal as the Church, since according to the Decree of his Doctorate :—

Opera omnia, non modo privatim, sed publice in gymnasiis scholis, collegiis, lectionibus, disputationibus, interpretationibus concionibus, sermonibus, omnibus aliis ecclesiasticis studiis, chris-

¹⁴ Page ix¹⁵ *Ib. passim.*¹⁶ *Ib. xi.*

tianis exercitationibus citari, proferri atque, quum res postulaverit adhiberi debent.

Rev. Father Walter has put St. Alphonsus' treatise on Prayer amongst the Dogmatic works of the Holy Doctor. That on Divine Providence—*Condotta ammirabile della Divina Provvidenza in Salvar l'uomo per mezzo di G. C.*—he has eliminated, considering it historical and ascetical rather than dogmatic. It is, however, found amongst the Dogmatic works, both in the original Italian and in the French translation. It is from this work Dr. Mullock took *The Unhappy End of the Persecutors of the Church*, to which we referred above.

An excellent table of contents, marginal notes to each paragraph, and a very full *Index Rerum*, together with the perfect typography of this edition, make reference easy and reading pleasant.

IV.—OPERA ASCETICA

In the decree of the saint's Doctorate we read: *Scripturam aenigmata reseravit tum in asceticis lucubrationibus coelesti quodam suavitate refertis, tum in saluberrimo quodam commentario, quo Psalmos et Cantica in Divino Officio a cleris recitanda adeorum pietatem fovendam et mentem erudiendam, explanavit.* We have thought that the following will serve as a convenient division of the Ascetical works, many of which are well known and highly appreciated. Ascetical works:—(i.) For All; (ii.) For Religious; (iii.) For Ecclesiastics.

(i.) FOR ALL.¹⁷—(I°) *The great Means of Salvation and Perfection* (vol. iii.). In this volume we have Prayer of Petition, Mental Prayer, Retreat. In the division, Prayer of Petition, we have two parts, one popular on the necessity, power and conditions of prayer, which the saint wished to put into the hands of everyone; the other Dogmatic, in which he proves that God wishes all to be saved, that He

¹⁷ To avoid encumbering our pages with references, we will refer the reader generally to the centenary edition, published by Benziger Bros., 1887; where necessary we will mention other editions.

gives to all the graces that are necessary, that the system of Jansenius is false, and, in fine, that God gives to all the grace to pray. We have referred to this work above. Holding as he does the moral necessity of meditation he supplies us with ample matter. The first place amongst his meditations must be given to (2°) his *Preparation for Death, or Considerations on the Eternal Truths* (vol. ii.). Next comes (3°) *The Way of Salvation and Perfection* (vol. ii.). *The Way of Salvation* contains ninety-seven meditations which give the pith of the *Preparation for Death*. To these are added forty-five pious reflections for persons tending to perfection. (4°) In Section II. we referred to St. Alphonsus' sermon for Christmas time. These, together with his meditations on the *Incarnation* from the first Sunday in Advent to the Octave of the Epiphany, are found in vol. iv. (5°) All that the saint has written on the *Passion* has been collected and makes the fifth volume. (6°) The sixth is entitled *The Holy Eucharist*, but it has in reality two distinct parts. The first contains explanation of the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass, Preparation for and Thanksgiving after Holy Communion, Visits to the Blessed Sacrament, Meditations for the Octave of Corpus Christi, and a Novena to the Sacred Heart; the second treats of the *Practice of the Love of Our Lord Jesus Christ*. This is, perhaps, one of the most perfect works of St. Alphonsus. It is based on chap. xiii. 4-7 of the First Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians. At the end he resumes in a few pages the virtues which Christians who really love Jesus Christ should practice. There is also a novena of meditations on the Holy Ghost. (7°) *The Glories of Mary*. We have already referred to the Holy Doctor's sermons on our Blessed Mother. To these we must add his wonderful paraphrase on the *Salve Regina*, the Virtues of the Blessed Virgin, the principal Devotions by which she is honoured, and his Defence of her Privileges. These, together with Devotion to St. Joseph, St. Teresa, and to the Holy Souls, fill volumes vii. and viii. Cardinal Villecourt, Professor Candido M. Romano, Father Vinc. Stocchi, S.J., and many others are loud in their praise of this work, which has been so misquoted, and its author

so calumniated by a certain class of non-Catholics. One says it is a mosaic composed of all that is most beautiful in the Doctors and Fathers and elaborated in the loving heart of Alphonsus, who, while he changes not his materials gives them a form all his own. 'Alphonsus,' says Father Stocchi, 'did not simply burn with love for Mary—his soul liquified, it was consumed . . . read his *Glories of Mary*; in that book it is not words you find, no, you find flames.' But we have, above all, to remember that it preaches the mercy of Mary, and thus sanctifies souls. We see in our own days and in every country how the prayer of this restorer of true devotion to our Blessed Mother has been heard. 'Most loving Redeemer,' he prays in his Dedication, 'take this book under Thy protection, and rain down on all who read it Thy grace, give them confidence in and set them on fire with love of this Immaculate Virgin, whom Thou has made [the refuge of all whom Thou hast redeemed.]' (8°.) *The Victory of the Martyrs*. This contains the lives of the most celebrated Martyrs of the Church of the first ages and of more recent times. The selections are admirable and of a nature to revive a spirit of faith and generosity in Christians and this was the object the saint had in view (vol. ix.).

Many of the Ascetical works which we have catalogued thus far have appeared in popular form in Dublin (Duffy and Co.), in London (Burns and Oates), and elsewhere. The shorter treatises or tracts—golden, as they are with reason called—are now appearing (Duffy) in penny numbers, that they may find their way into every home, as our late Holy Father, Leo XIII., so much desired.

Two other books belong to this division—(9°) *Sacred Poetry*, and (10°) *Subjects that are faithful to God are also faithful to their King*. In Italian the Hymns and Verses of the saint are scattered through the volumes. It is the same in the centenary edition. Nearly all have been edited in one small volume in English by the late Bishop Coffin, C.S.S.R. (Burns and Oates). Father Francis Xavier Reuss has made a most complete collection and has given side by side the original Italian and his own most beautiful Latin

translation (Cuiggiani, Rome). The other work, *Subjects that are faithful*, etc., may be found, and as far as we know, found only in the Italian (vol. ii.)

(ii.) FOR RELIGIOUS.—*The True Spouse of Christ*, to which we have also already referred, is St. Alphonsus' greatest work. In writing to his publisher, Remondini, he says: 'Of all my spiritual works this is the most excellent and has cost me most labour, for it is a compendium of all that others have written for the sanctification of religious.' The whole of volume x. and the greater part of volume xi. is taken up by this work. We have to go to volume xii. for the following: Advice about Vocation; Advice to Novices; Considerations for those called to the Religious State; Rules for Religious who wish to become Perfect; Circulars and Exhortations to Religious; Rules and Constitutions of the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer; and some Lives written by the saint.

(iii.) FOR ECCLESIASTICS.—(a) In General. Under this heading we have Vocation to the Ecclesiastical State, Advice to Students, Necessity of Mental Prayer; these together with the Dignity and Duties of a Priest will be found in the *Selva* noted above, of which we read in the Process: 'Sublimia et poene divina ea sunt quae S. Scriptor de dignitate sacerdotii exaravit' (vol. xiii.). Volumes xiv. and xv. are given to Holy Mass and Divine Office. He treats of the Sacrifice and the Ceremonies, the Preparation and Thanksgiving, and on hurrying through the Mass and Office. Then follow the translation of the Psalms and Canticles, which was made by the late Rev. Father Livius, and has been highly praised.

(b) For Bishops in Particular: *Useful Reflections for Bishops*. There are two chapters. The first is on the principal cares of a bishop, namely, of 1°. his Seminary; 2°. the *Ordinandi*; 3°. Priests (*simplices sacerdotes*); 4°. Parish Priests; 5°. Vicar-General and Officials; 6°. Nuns. The second treats of the most efficacious means to promote the good of his subjects, namely, by 1°. Prayer; 2°. Good Example; 3°. Residence; 4°. Visitation; 5°. Missions;¹⁸

¹⁸ We may note here a *Letter on Missions*, written to a bishop, and which is found in vol. xv.

6°. Synods ; 7°. Counsel ; 8°. Giving Audience ; 9°. Correction (vol. xviii). In the eighteenth volume will also be found Rules for Seminaries, Ordinances, and some Letters.

Had space permitted, we should have given some idea of St. Alphonsus' correspondence. All the letters that had come down to us were published in the original Italian in 1890. Since then they have been translated into French and English. The work of Professor Candido M. Romano is almost exclusively based on the letters of the saint. This alone shows what treasures they contain.

But we must end. We proposed to ourselves to show that the works of St. Alphonsus form in themselves a library. We have divided them into four sections, *Theologia Moralis*, *Eloquentia Sacra*, *Opera Dogmatica*, and *Opera Ascetica*. It will be for the reader to judge how far we have succeeded. Anyhow it seems to us that such a review is interesting, and may well be of permanent use to those who possess the writings of him who wrote of some of his lesser works, what is certainly true of all : ' These books . . . have all cost me much labour ; they are full of substance, for I am no friend of mere words, and to compose them I had to read hundreds of books and cull from them their flowers.' ¹⁹

J. MAGNIER, C.S.S.R.

¹⁹ *Lit.* 2 Jul. 1757.

Notes and Queries

THEOLOGY

JUBILEE OF THE IMMACULATE CONCEPTION—PRIVILEGES OF THE JUBILEE

THE privileges of the Jubilee are granted in part directly to the faithful and in part directly to confessors. The choice of a confessor is given directly to the faithful. The power of commuting the prescribed works, of commuting vows, of absolving from reserved sins and censures, and of dispensing from an irregularity is granted directly to confessors. We have already spoken of the power of commuting the prescribed works. Before we speak of the other privileges granted to the faithful and to confessors some general observations about these privileges will be useful.

1. Confessors can use these privileges only in the Confessional and in favour of those who *bona fide* intend to perform the prescribed works of the Jubilee. If a penitent had a serious intention of gaining the Jubilee at the time of Confession the favours of the Jubilee which were granted to him were given in an absolute manner. Hence if he afterwards fails for any reason to gain the Jubilee he still retains the privileges which he received.

2. Confessors can use their special powers only once in favour of the same penitent. Hence if the penitent, having received these special favours, again fall into the same reserved sins and censures, he cannot be again absolved by virtue of the Jubilee powers. If he fall, however, into any of these reserved sins and censures for the first time while he is performing the prescribed works and after his Jubilee Confession has been made, the confessor can now exercise his special Jubilee powers in his favour. If a person make a good Confession but involuntarily omits a reserved sin or

censure, he receives absolution from the reservation so that any confessor can afterwards absolve from the sin.² Many theologians (Lugo, Ferraris) say that if a person *bona fide* make an invalid Confession he receives, nevertheless, absolution from the reservation. St. Liguori³ rejects this view. A person who *mala fide* makes an invalid Confession does not receive any Jubilee privileges from that Confession. If a confessor find it necessary to defer absolution in the case of a penitent who has fallen into reserved sins or censures, the penitent can afterwards, even when the time of Jubilee has ceased, receive absolution from the same or from any other approved confessor. Travellers by land and sea can obtain the privileges of the Jubilee from an actually approved confessor immediately on their return home, even though the time of Jubilee has ceased for the ordinary inhabitants of the place.

3. Though a penitent can receive the privileges of the Jubilee only once, he can receive different privileges in different confessions and from different confessors.⁴ This is certainly true in the case of those who have not already finished the works prescribed for gaining the Jubilee. In the case of those who have already performed all the prescribed works of the Jubilee it seems that the privileges of the Jubilee cannot be exercised in their favour even if these privileges were not already used. The Encyclical speaks of the power of confessors to grant these privileges once in favour of people who wish to gain the Jubilee and who intend to perform the remaining prescribed works. This seems to imply that the privileges of the Jubilee are given for those only who have not yet gained the Jubilee. In this sense the S. Poen., 1st Jan., 1873, in reply to a question of the Bishop of Como, stated that the privileges of the Jubilee could be gained only once by those who intended to perform again the prescribed works if the Jubilee had been already gained. The indulgence of the present Jubilee can be gained only once. So it is reasonable to conclude

² S. Poen., 10th June, 1826.

³ L. 6., n. 537.

⁴ Bastien, p. 213.

that a person who has already gained the Jubilee cannot obtain any of the privileges of the Jubilee.

4. *Choice of a Confessor*:—Seculars, both clergy and laity, can make their Jubilee Confession to any confessor actually approved for them by the bishop of the place where the Confession is made. Penitents can make their Jubilee Confession anywhere to their own Parish Priests. Regulars can, without the permission of their own Ordinaries, make their Jubilee Confession to confessors actually approved by the bishop of the place where the Confession is made. They can also make their Jubilee Confession to a Regular who has been approved by his own Ordinary, even though he be not approved by the Ordinary of the place.⁵ Nuns with solemn vows, their novices, and other women living within the papal enclosure, can make their Jubilee Confession only to confessors approved by the Ordinary of the place for *some* nuns with solemn vows. It is not necessary that these confessors be approved by the Ordinary for this particular convent or Order. They can, moreover, select a confessor at any time approved by the Ordinary for nuns with solemn vows, 'nisi constet eundem confessarium fuisse postea ob demerita, quae ipsas confessiones concernant, ab eodem Ordinario positive reprobatum.'⁶ Nuns with simple vows, though restricted at other times, can make their Jubilee Confession to any confessors actually approved for women by the Ordinary of the place where the Confession is made.⁷

5. *Absolution from reserved sins and censures*:—Jubilee confessors cannot absolve from any reserved sins or censures *in foro externo*. They can absolve *in foro interno* from all reserved sins and censures, even from those reserved *modo speciali* to the Pope, with the exceptions laid down by Benedict XIV. in 'Sacramentum Poenitentiae.' He excepts 'peccatum complicitis, falsa accusatio sollicitationis,' and 'attentata absolutio complicitis.' In all cases in which confessors use their special Jubilee powers of absolution they are bound to observe the ordinary rules laid down for the treatment

⁵ S. Poen., 30th January, 1886.

⁶ S. Poen., 10th March, 1750.

⁷ I. E. RECORD, May, 1901.

of penitents by Moral Theologians. The Encyclical mentions specially the obligations of retractation of errors in the case of excommunication incurred for heresy, and of satisfaction to parties concerned in the case of those who have been censured or denounced as such by name.

6. *Commutation of vows*:—Confessors cannot dispense from vows. Their power extends only to commutation. This power of commutation extends to all vows, even those confirmed by oath and even those ordinarily reserved to the Holy See, with three exceptions which are mentioned. This power of commutation does not so far extend as to remove the vow itself.⁸ It merely enables a confessor to substitute other works of equal moral value under the same obligation as a vow. The exceptions are:—(a) A vow of chastity. This vow of chastity, to be excluded from the special Jubilee faculties, must be perfect both as to act and as to object. Hence if the act be not completely voluntary, or if it be elicited before the age of puberty, or if it be conditional, it can be commuted by the Jubilee confessor. Hence, too, if it be not a vow of *complete and perpetual* chastity but merely a vow of temporal chastity, or a vow not to marry, or a vow of matrimonial fidelity, it is not excluded from the power of a Jubilee confessor. (b) The vows of religion are also excepted. These vows are the three vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience which constitute the religious state. They also include the special vows which some Orders add to the three solemn vows, *v.g.*, the vow not to eat meat which some religious orders make. Finally they include a vow to enter a strict religious order. This latter vow, however, is not excluded as to its circumstances of time and place. Only its substance is excluded from Jubilee privileges. The substance of this vow is not excluded unless it be perfect as to its act as has been said with reference to the vow of chastity. (c) Those vows which contain an accepted obligation towards another are also excluded from the power of commutation. The vows of a Congregation which is not a strict religious order

⁸ *Canoniste Contemporain*, March, 1904.

are of this nature. They bind a person to the Society and to the superior of the Society.

Finally in connection with the commutation of vows it must be borne in mind that any vows which are made for the purpose of preserving a person from sin cannot be commuted unless the confessor substitute other works which equally preserve a person from sin.

7. *Dispensation from an irregularity*:—Only one irregularity is subject to the power of a Jubilee confessor, viz., an irregularity incurred by the violation of censures. Dispensation from this irregularity can be given only when the irregularity is occult. Hence it avails only for the *forum internum*. All other irregularities, even though occult, are excluded from Jubilee privileges.

J. M. HARTY.

LITURGY

THE OLD ROMAN STATIONAL MASS

REV. DEAR SIR,—In the Roman Missal, immediately before the Introit of the Masses assigned to the Sundays and Ferials of Lent, the Sundays, Wednesdays, and Fridays of Advent, and the principal vigils and festivals throughout the year, there occur some words such as *statio ad S. Mariam majorem*, *statio ad Sanctum Petrum*, etc. May I ask you to kindly explain their significance? I have been for a long time perplexed as to the meaning of these words, and failed to obtain any satisfactory explanation of them, though I proposed my difficulty to several brother priests. A few lines in reply, in the pages of your esteemed periodical, would be appreciated by many who, perhaps, like subscriber, are sitting in the shadow of ignorance as to the import and origin of these mysterious phrases.—Yours, etc.,

IGNORANS.

The word *statio* in the context alluded to by our respected correspondent signifies some kind of assembly convened for religious observances, and the proper name following the preposition in the phrase quoted designates

manifestly the church where such a gathering was to be held. The whole phrase, consequently, reads like an announcement intimating the particular church or basilica in Rome where the liturgical function known as the *statio* was to be performed on a certain day. Thus the words, *statio ad Sanctum Petrum*, which we find at the head of the Mass assigned to the Feast of the Ascension of our Divine Lord in the Roman Missal, indicate that in olden times the Stational Mass would be celebrated in Rome on this particular festival in the Basilica of St. Peter.

The question of these Stational Masses, which formed so prominent a feature of primitive Roman liturgy from the sixth to the fourteenth century, is exceedingly interesting. Its adequate discussion, however, would make undue inroads on the space at our disposal, and, perhaps, demand a much wider acquaintance with the details of early Roman ceremonial than we can lay claim to at present. Hence we must be content with merely touching the fringe of a very extensive subject, and giving, in a few words, a brief answer to the query of our correspondent. We shall, then, try to gather what were the chief characteristics of the Roman Stational Mass, how it arose, and when it disappeared.

At a very early date—probably between the time of Pope Leo and St. Gregory—the custom arose in Rome of celebrating certain festivals with a solemn public office at which the Holy Father and his Curia attended. These solemnities came to be known as *stations*.¹ There were two kinds—the diurnal, which comprised nothing more than the Mass of the station, and the nocturnal which, in addition to the morning Mass, included the solemn recitation of the Divine office on the previous evening. This latter kind belonged only to the greatest festivals. It is with the former that we are principally concerned. What, then, was this Stational Mass? It was a Liturgical function of the first importance. Generally held in some one of the principal or regional churches it was usually celebrated by the Pope

¹ Cf. Battifol, *History of Roman Breviary*, p. 160.

himself, attended by the chief officials of his court, and in the presence of the entire concourse of clergy and people from all parts of the city. It was, it seems, the very full character of the congregation not less than the greater solemnity of the ceremonial, that helped to differentiate the stational, or *public*, from the *private* Mass, which was generally celebrated by priests in their titular churches, in cemeteries or in private oratories. Speaking of these stations Gihl² says:—‘La solennité de la station dans son entier comprenait trois parties: la réunion dans une église convenue, la procession vers la station, et la célébration du saint Sacrifice dans cette église.’ First a *rendevous* was selected, which was either a church or a cemetery, or some other place. Hither the people converged, and here the preparations were made for the procession. The word *statio* would seem to be very applicable to this initial gathering, but *collecta* was the term used to designate it—a word subsequently transferred to the prayers in the beginning of the Mass, perhaps from the fact that they were originally recited over the assembled multitude previous to setting out for the station. Everything being ready, the procession started and wended its way slowly to the chanting of psalms and the Litany of the Saints. Close to the stational church the Pontiff was met by the local clergy and conducted to the *secretarium* or sacristy where he vested. Then, arrayed in full pontificals, he made his solemn entry into the church, preceded by the seven regional acolytes with lighted candles, and by the other ministers. The choir, in the meantime, during the progress to the altar, sang the Antiphon of the Introit. At the altar he prostrates himself for a little, and when he rises, Mass is commenced.³ In wealth of ceremonial pomp and display the function of the Stational Mass seemed to be a really grand affair. In it took part ‘the different classes of the clergy, arranged according to their orders and to their

² *La sainte Messe*, vol. ii., p. 62.

³ Cf. Thurston, *Catholic Observance and Ritual*, pp. 150 et seq.: *Ord Romanus*, apud Mabillon.

regions, the corporation of cantors, the crucifers of the quarter, and the military and civil rulers.' In fact everybody in these days seemed to have had some part in these beautiful ceremonies of public Christian worship.

Of the origin of the stational ceremonial comparatively little is known. Its history is involved in much obscurity. In the time of Gregory the Great the system was in full vigour, having received from him its complete and crowning perfection. We read in the lessons for the office of this Pontiff in the Breviary that, among the other reforms of his remarkable reign, 'Litanias, Stationes et officium Ecclesiasticum auxit.'⁵ Some authorities ascribe the initiation of the stations to a period very much anterior to the sixth century, and attribute their origin to an idea introduced from the East where, we are informed, the stations existed as early as the fourth century.⁶ With the exile of the Papal See to Avignon (1309) an end came to the elaborate and gorgeous celebration of the Church's services that had now obtained for some seven centuries. At this crisis in the Church's history the solemn ceremonial of early days was rudely interrupted and never recovered its original and striking splendour. The memory, however, of these ancient religious functions is still preserved in the records found at the heads of the Masses in our Roman Missals the general arrangement of which—especially in regard to the Ritual of Lent—and the more important annual festivals, is based upon the Gregorian Sacramentary.

It is not easy to see the peculiar aptness of the word *statio* to designate the liturgical function just described. If we are to take the word in its usual signification as meaning a 'military outpost' then, as we said, it would it seems to us have been more appropriately applied to the preliminary meeting which was called a *collecta*.⁷ Probably the word was not used in its strictly classical sense. Hence there

⁴ Duchesne, *La Culte Chretienne*, p. 164.

⁵ *Breviarum Romanum*, 12th March.

⁶ *S. Silviæ Peregrinatio ad Loca Sancta*, pp. 78, et seq.

⁷ 'Feria IV. *Statio* ad S. Mariam Maj. Fit *collecta* ad S. Petrum,' etc., *Ord. Rom. IX.*

may be much truth in the explanation offered by Rock,⁸ who says, 'the ceremony was denominated "station" because it was at the second church the procession stopped to hear Mass.' The days on which the stations were held were generally fasting days. This may account for the further usage of the word in the sense of *jejunium* in some of the early Christian writers.⁹

P. MORRISROE.

⁸ *Hierurgia*, p. 62, note.

⁹ Gühr, *La Messe*, loc. cit.

DOCUMENTS

**ENCYCLICAL LETTER OF HIS HOLINESS POPE PIUS X. ON
THE THIRTEENTH CENTENARY OF ST. GREGORY THE
GREAT**

PIUS X., NACTA OCCASIONE ANNI 1300 AB OBITU S. GREGORII MAGNI,
PRODIGIOSAM ILLIUS DICENDI ET AGENDI RATIONEM ILLUS-
TRAT, ILLAMQUE SIBI NOBISQUE ADMIRANDAM IMITANDAMQUE
OPPORTUNE PROPONIT.

SANCTISSIMI DOMINI NOSTRI DIVINA PROVIDENTIA PII PAPAE X.
LITTERAE ENCYCLICAE AD PATRIARCHAS, PRIMATES, ARCHIE-
PISCOPOS, EPISCOPOS ALIOSQUE LOCORUM ORDINARIOS PACEM
ET COMMUNIONEM CUM APOSTOLICA SEDE HABENTES.

PIVS PP. X.

VENERABILIBUS FRATRIBUS PATRIARCHIS, PRIMATIBUS, ARCHIE-
PISCOPIB, EPISCOPIB ALIISQUE LOCORUM ORDINARIIS PACEM
ET COMMUNIONEM CUM APOSTOLICA SEDE HABENTIBUS.

Venerabiles Fratres, salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem.

Iucunda sane accidit recordatio, Venerabiles Fratres, magni
et *incomparabilis viri*,¹ Gregorii Pontificis huius nominis primi
cuius, vertente anno millesimo tercentesimo ab eius obitu, saecu-
laria solemnna celebraturi sumus. Nec absque singulari Dei
providentia, qui *mortificat et vivificat . . . humiliat et subleuat*,²
factum esse arbitramur, ut inter apostolici ministerii Nostri
pene innumerables curas, inter tot animi anxietates ob plurima
eaeque gravissima, quae universae Ecclesiae per Nos regendae
debemus, inter sollicitudines queis premimur, ut et vobis, Vener-
abiles Fratres, in apostolatus Nostri partem vocatis, et fide-
libus omnibus curae Nostrae commissis quam optime satisfiat,
vel a Nostri summi Pontificatus exordiis in sanctissimum hunc
et illustrem Decessorem, Ecclesiae decus atque ornamentum,
oculorum aciem converteremus. Erigitur quippe animus ad
magnam fiduciam in eius patrocinio penes Deum validissimo,
et eorum sive quae sublimi magisterio praecepit, sive quae
sancte ges sit, memoria recreatur. Quod si ipse et praeceptorum

¹ Martyrol Rom., 3 Sept.

² 1 Regum, ii., 6, 7.

vi et fecunditate virtutum in Ecclesia Dei tam ampla, tam alta, tam firma vestigia signavit, ut iure ab aequalibus et a posteris *Magni* nomen sit consequutus, apteturque illi vel hodie, tot saeculorum intervallo, ipsius inscripta sepulchro laudatio: *innumeris semper vivit ubique bonis*,³ fieri profecto non potest, ut admiranda illius exempla sectantibus, divina opitulante gratia, non liceat, quantum humana sinit infirmitas, sua officia tueri.

Ea persequi vix opus est quae ex historiae monumentis nota sunt omnibus. Summa erat publicarum rerum perturbatio, quo tempore supremum inivit pontificatum Gregorius; extincta prope vetus humanitas, romani ruentis imperii dominatus omnes barbaries invaserat. Italia vero, a Byzantinis imperatoribus derelicta, facta fere Longobardorum praeda fuerat, qui, suis nondum compositis rebus, huc illuc excurrebant, omnia ferro flammâque vastantes, luctu omnia caedibusque complentes. Haec ipsa Urbs, minis hostium exterius perculsa, interius afflicta pestilentia, eluvionibus fame, eo miseriae devenerta, ut iam procurandae incolumi, tatis, non modo civium sed confertae multitudinis se intus proripientis, ratio nulla suppeteret. Cernere namque erat sexus omnis et conditionis homines, episcopos, sacerdotes sacra vasa rapinis erepta portantes, religiosos viros, intemeratas Christi sponsas, fuga se, vel ab inimicorum gladiis, vel a perditorum hominum turpi violentia subducere. Romae autem Ecclesiam ipse Gregorius appellat: *vetustam navim vehementerque confractam . . . undique enim fluctus intrant, et quotidiana ac valida tempestate quassatae putridae naufragium tabulae sonant*.⁴ At quem Deus suscitaverat nauta manu pollebat, et clavo tractando praepositus, non modo inter aestuantes procellas ad portum appellere, sed navim a futuris tempestatibus praestare tutam valuit.

Ac mirum quidem quantum ipse perfecit spatio regiminis annorum vix supra tredecim. Exstitit enim christianae vitae instaurator universae, excitans pietatem fidelium, observantiam monachorum, cleri disciplinam, sacrorum antistitum pastorem sollicitudinem. *Prudentissimus paterfamilias Christi*⁵ Ecclesiae patrimonia custodivit, adauxit, egenti populo, christianae societati et singulis ecclesiis, pro sua cuique necessitate, large copioseque suppeditans. Vere *Dei consul factus*,⁶ actuosae voluntatis

³ Apud Ioann. Diac., Vita Greg., iv. 68.

⁴ Registrum i. 4 ad Ioann., Episcop. Constantinop.

⁵ Ioann. Diac., Vita Gregg., ii. 51.

⁶ Inscr. sepulcr.

fecunditatem ultra Urbis moenia porrexit, totamque in bonum consortii civilis impendit. Byzantinorum imperatorum iniustis postulationibus restitit fortiter; exarcharum et imperialium administrorum fregit audaciam, sordidamque avaritiam coërcuit, publicus iustitiae socialis adsertor. Longobardorum ferociam mitigavit, minime veritus ad portas Urbis obviam ire Agilulfo, ut ipsum ab ea obsidione dimoveret, quod idem cum Attila Leo Magnus pontifex egerat; nec a precibus blandisque suasionibus, aut ab agendo sagaciter ante destitit, quam formidatam eam gentem tandem aliquando pacatam vidit, aequiore reipublicae forma constituta, eandemque catholicae fidei additam, opera in primis piaae reginae Theodolindae, in Christo filiae suae. Quae Gregorius iure sibi vindicat nomen servatoris et liberatoris Italiae, huius nempe *terrae*, quam ipse suaviter vocat *suam*.⁷ Pastoralibus eius nunquam intermissis curis, in Italia, in Africa errorem reliquiae exstinguuntur, Ecclesiae res ordinantur in Galliis, Visigoti in Hispaniis inchoatae conversionis incrementa suscipiunt, Britannorum inclyta gens, quae, *dum in mundi angulo posita in cultu lignorum ac lapidum perfida nunc usque remaneret*,⁸ et ipsa ad veracem Christi fidem accedit. Cuius tam pretiosae acquisitionis accepto nuntio Gregorius eo gaudio perfunditur, quo carissimi filii complexu pater, Iesu Servatori accepta referens omnia, *cuius amore*, inquit ipse, *in Britannia fratres quaerimus, quos ignorabamus; cuius munere, quos nescientes quaerebamus, invenimus*.⁹ Ea vero gens adeo se memorem Pontifici sancto probavit, ut ipsum usque appellarit: *magistrum nostrum, Apostolicum nostrum, Papam nostrum, Gregorium nostrum*, seque tamquam sigillum apostolatus eius existimarit. Denique tanta in ipso fuit operae vis, tanta salubritas, ut rerum ab eo gestarum memoria alte insederit in animis posterorum, media aetate potissimum, quae spiritum quodammodo ab eodem infusum ducebat, eius verbo quasi alimentum trahebat, eius ad exempla vitam moresque conformabat, succedente feliciter in orbe terrarum christi-moresque conformabat, succedente feliciter in orbe terrarum christianae societatis humanitate adversus romanam, quae saeculorum emensa cursum, esse emnino desierat.

Haec mutatio dexteræ excelsi! Ac vere quidem affirmare licet, sic persuasum fuisse Gregorio, non aliam nisi Dei manum

⁷ Registr. v. 36 (40) ad Mauricinm Aug.

⁸ Ibid. viii. 29 (30) ad Eulog. episcop. Alexandr.

⁹ Ibid. xi. 36 (28) ad Augustin. Anglorum episcop.

talia patrasse. His enim verbis de Britanniae conversione sanctissimum monachum Augustinum affatur, quae sane de caeteris omnibus in ministerio apostolico ab ipso gestis intelligi possunt. *Cuius opus hoc est, inquit, nisi eius qui ait: Pater meus usque nunc operatur et ego operor?*¹⁰ *Qui ut mundum ostenderet, non sapientia hominum, sed sua se virtute convertere, praedicatores suos, quos in mundum misit, sine litteris elegit; hoc etiam modo faciens, quia in Anglorum gente fortia dignatus est per infirmos operari.*¹¹ Equidem Nos minime latent, quae sancti Pontificis oculis, de se abiecte sentientis, omnino fugiebant, et rerum gerendarum peritia, et in coeptis ad exitum perducendis ingenium sagax, et in rebus disponendis mira prudentia, et sedula vigilantia et non intermissa sollicitudo. At compertum pariter est, ipsum, non qua huius mundi principes, vi et potentia fuisse progressum, qui in altissimo illo pontificiae dignitatis fastigio primus voluerit appellari: *Servus servorum Dei*, non profana tantum scientia aut *persuasibilibus humanae sapientiae verbis*¹² viam sibi munivisse, non prudentiae tantum civilis consiliis, non instaurandae societatis rationibus diuturno studio praeparatis ac deinde in rem deductis, non denique, quod admirationem habet, mente concepto sibi propositum vasto aliquo tramite, in apostolico ministerio sensim percurrando; quum contra, ut notum est, in ea esset cogitatione defixus, qua putaret imminere mundi finem, adeoque modicum tempus reliquum esse ad grandia facinora. Gracili admodum et infirmo corpore, diuturnis afflictatus morbis, ad extremum saepe vitae discrimen, incredibili tamen pollebat animi, vi cui nova semper alimenta suppeditabat vivida fides in Christi verbo certissimo, in eiusque divinis promissis. Maximam quoque fiduciam collocabat in collata divinitus Ecclesiae vi, qua ipse rite posset suo in terris fungi ministerio.

Quare hoc illi propositum in omni vita fuit, quale singula dicta eius factaque comprobant, ut eandem fidem ac fiduciam et in se ipse foveret et in aliis vehementer excitaret, dumque supremus sibi dies adveniret, quantum hic et nunc liceret, optima quaeque sectaretur.

Inde sancti viri firma voluntas in communem solutem derivandi uberrimam illam caelestium donorum copiam, qua Deus Ecclesiam ditavit, cuiusmodi sunt et revelatae doctrinae certis-

¹⁰ Ioann. v. 17.¹¹ Registr. xi. 36 (28).¹² 1 Cor. ii. 4.

sima veritas, et eiusdem, qua patet orbis, efficax praedicatio, et sacramenta, quae vim habent sive infundendi sive augendi animae vitam, ac denique, superni praesidii auspex, gratia precum in Christi nomine.

Harum rerum recordatio, Venerabiles Fratres, mire Nos recreat. Qui si ex hoc Vaticanorum vertice moenium circumspicimus, eodem quo Gregorius, ac maiore fortasse metu vacare non possumus; tot undique coactae tempestates incumbunt, tot premunt hostium instructae phalanges; adeoque sumus humano quovis praesidio destituti, ut nec illas propulsandi nec horum impetum sustinendi ratio suppetat. Verum reputantes Nostri ubi sistant pedes, quo loco sit pontificia haec Sedes constituta, in arce Ecclesiae sanctae tutos Nos esse sentimus. *Quis enim nesciat, ita Gregorius ad Eulogium patriarcham Alexandrinum, sanctam Ecclesiam in Apostolorum principis soliditate firmatam, qui firmitatem mentis traxit in nomine, ut Petrus a petra vocaretur?*¹³ Divina Ecclesiae vis nullo temporis decursu excidit, neque Christi promissa expectationem fefellerunt; ea sic perseverant, quemadmodum Gregorii animum erexere; quin etiam ex tot saeculorum comprobatione, ex tanta rerum vicissitudine multo Nobis validius roborantur.

Regna, imperia dilapsa; sui fama nominis et humanitatis ladue florentissimae gentes occiderunt; saepe, quasi senio confectae, ipsae se nationes diremerunt. At Ecclesia, suapte natura non deficiens, nexu nunquam dissolvendo cum caelesti Sponso coniuncta, heic non caduco flore viget iuventutis, eodem instructa robore quo prodiit e transosso Christi corde in cruce iam mortui. Potentes in terris adversus eam sese extulerunt. Evanuere hi, sed illa superfuit. Philosophandi vias pene infinita varietate excogitarunt magistri de se gloriose praedicantes, quasi Ecclesiae doctrinam tandem aliquando expugnassent, fidei capita refellissent eius magisterium omne absurdum demonstrassent. Eas tamen historia, singulas oblitteratas recenset funditusque deletas; quum interea lux veritatis ex arce Petri eodem fulgore coruscet, quem Iesus ortu suo excitavit aluitque divina sententia: *caelum et terra transibunt, verba autem mea non praeteribunt.*¹⁴

Hac Nos fide alti, hac petra solidati, dum sacri principatus munia omnia gravissima, simulque manantem, divinitus vigorem

¹³ Registr. vii. 37 (40).
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¹⁴ Matth. xxiv. 33.

animo sensuque percipimus, tranquilli expectamus quoad voces conticescant tot obstrepentium, actum esse de catholica Ecclesia, eius doctrinas aeternum cecidisse; brevi eo deventuram, ut cogatur aut scientiae atque humanitatis Deum reiicientis placita excipere, aut ab hominum consortio demigrare. Inter haec tamen facere non possumus, quin, cum ipso Gregorio in mentem omnium, sive procerum sive inferiorum, revocemus, quanta cogat necessitas ad Ecclesiam confugere, per quam detur et sempiternae salutis, et paci atque ipsi terrestris huius prosperitati consulere.

Quamobrem, ut sancti Pontificis utamur verbis, *mentis gressus in eius petrae soliditate, sicut, coepistis, dirigite, in qua Redemptorem nostrum per totum mundum fundasse nostis Ecclesiam, quatenus recta sinceri cordis vestigia in devio itinere non offendant.*¹⁵ Sola Ecclesiae charitas et cum ipsa coniunctio *divisa unit, confusa ordinat, inaequalia sociat, imperfecta consummat.*¹⁶ Retinendum firmiter, *neminem recte posse terrena regere nisi, noverit divina tractare, pacemque reipublicae ex universalis Ecclesiae pace pendere.*¹⁷ Hinc summa necessitas perfectae concordiae inter ecclesiasticam et civilem potestatem, quam utramque Dei providentia voluit mutua sese ope iuvare. *Ad hoc enim potestas . . . super omnes homines caelitus data est, et qui bona appetunt adiuvantur, ut caelorum via largius pateat, ut terrestre regnum caelesti regno famuletur.*¹⁸

Ex hisce principiis invicta illa Gregorii fortitudo manabat, quam, opitulante Deo, imitari curabimus, Nobis proponentes modis omnibus, sarta tectaque iura et privilegia tueri, quorum Pontificatus romanus custos ac vindex est, coram Deo et coram hominibus. Quare idem Gregorius ad patriarchas Alexandriae atque Antiochiae, quum de iuribus agatur Ecclesiae universae, *etiam moriendo, scribit, debemus ostendere, quia in damno generalitatis nostrum specialiter aliquid non amamus.*¹⁹ Ad Mauricium autem Augustem: *Qui contra omnipotentem Dominum per inanis gloriae timorem atque contra statuta Patrum suam cervicem erigit, in omnipotenti Domino confido, quia meam sibi nec cum gladiis flectit.*²⁰ Atque ad Sabinianum diaconum: *Ante paratior sum mori, quam beati Petri apostoli Ecclesiam meis diebus degenerare.*

¹⁵ Registr. viii. 24 ad Sabinian. episcop.

¹⁶ Ibid. v. 58 (53) ad Virgil. episcop.

¹⁷ Ibid. v. 37 (20) ad Mauric. Aug.

¹⁸ Ibid. iii. 61 (65) ad Mauric. Aug.

¹⁹ Registr. v. 41 (43).

²⁰ Ibid. v. 37 (20).

*Mores autem meos bene cognitos habes, quia diu porto; sed si semel deliberavero non portare, contra omnia pericula laetus vado.*²¹

Eiusmodi edebat Gregorius pontifex potissima monita, erantque dicto audientes ii quibus ea nuntiabantur. Ita, dociles aures praebentibus quum principibus tum populis, mundus verae salutis repetebat iter, et ad humanitatem grassabatur eo nobiliorem ac fecundiorum quo firmioribus innixam fundamentis ad rectum usum rationis et ad morum disciplinam, vim hauriens omnem a divinitus revelata doctrina et ab evangelii praeceptis.

Sed eo tempore populi, etsi rudes, inculti atque omnis humanitatis expertes, erant vitae appetentes; hac autem donari a nemine poterant nisi a Christo per Ecclesiam: *Ego veni ut vitam habeant et abundantius habeant.*²² Habuerunt quidem vitam, eamque affluentem. Nam, quum ab Ecclesia non alia possit nisi supernaturalis vita procedere, haec vitales etiam naturalis ordinis vires in se includit ipsa fovetque. *Si radix sancta, et rami*, sic Paulus ethnicae genti; . . . *tu autem cum oleaster esses, insertus es in illis et socius radicis et pinguedinis olivae factus es.*²³

At nostra aetas, etsi tanta christianae humanitatis luce fruatur, ut nulla ratione possit cum aveo Gregoriano comparari, videtur tamen eam vitam fastidire, a qua praecipue, saepe unice, quasi a fonte, tot nedum praeterita, sed etiam praesentia bona sunt repetenda. Nec modo, ut quondam subortis erroribus ac dissidiis, se ipsa detruncat quasi ramum inutilem, sed vel imam arboris radicem petit, id est Ecclesiam, conaturque vitalem exsiccare succum, quo certius illa corruat nullum in posterum emissura germen.

Hodiernus hic error idemque maximus, unde caeteri fluunt, causa est cur tantam aeternae hominum salutis iacturam ac tam multa religionis detrimenta doleamus, plura etiam, nisi medica adhibeatur manus, impendentia extimescentes. Negant enim quidquam esse supra naturam; esse Deum rerum conditorem, cuius providentia cuncta regantur; fieri posse miracula; quibus de medio sublati necesse est christianae religionis fundamenta convelli. Impetuntur ipsa argumenta, quibus Deum esse demonstrantur, atque incredibili temeritate, contra prima rationis iudicia, repudiatur invicta illa argumentandi vis, qua ex effectibus causa colligitur, id est Deus eiusque attributa,

²¹ Ibid. v. 6 (iv. 47).

²² Ioann. x. 10.

²³ Ad Rom. xi. 16, 17

nullis circumscripta limitibus. *Invisibilia enim ipsius a creatura mundi, per ea quae facta sunt, intellecta conspiciuntur; sempiterna quoque eius virtus, et divinitas.*²⁴ Facilis inde aditus patet ad alia errorum portenta, rectae rationi repugnantia aequae ac bonis moribus perniciosa.

Enimvero gratuita supernaturalis principii negatio, quae propria est *falsi nominis scientiae*,²⁵ fit postulatam critices historicae pariter falsae. Quae ordinem rerum supra naturam ratione quavis attingunt, sive quod illum constituent, sive quod cum illo coniuncta, sive quod ipsum praesumant, sive denique quod nisi per ipsum explicari multa non queant, ea omnia, nulla investigatione instituta historiae paginis eraduntur. Eiusmodi sunt Iesu Christi divinitas, mortalis ab eodem assumpta caro Sancti Spiritus opera, sua Ipse virtute a mortuis excitatus, omnia nempe fidei nostrae caetera capita. Qua falsa semel inita via, nulla iam lege critica scientia cohibetur, suoque marte quidquid non arridet aut rei suae demonstrandae adversari putatur, id omne sacris libris adimitur. Sublato enim supernaturali ordine, longe alio fundamento extrui necesse est historiam de Ecclesiae originibus, ideoque suo lubitu novarum rerum molitores monumenta versant, ea non ad sensum auctorum, sed ad suam ipsorum voluntatem trahentes.

Magno istorum doctrinae apparatu et argumentorum speciosa vi multi sic decipiuntur, ut, vel a fide desciscant, vel in ea valde infirmantur. Sunt etiam qui, sua in fide constantes, critices disciplinae, quasi demolienti, succensent, qua quidem ipsa per se culpa vacat, legitimeque adhibita conducit ad investigandum felicissime. Neutri tamen animum advertunt ad ea quae perperam ponunt ac praesumunt, hoc est ad falsi nominis scientiam. a qua profecti, necessario ad falsa concludenda ducuntur. Falso nempe philosophiae principio corrumpi omnia necesse est. Hi, autem errores satis refelli poterunt nunquam, nisi acie mutata, hoc est, deductis errantibus a suae critices praesidiis, ubi se munitos existimant, ad legitimum philosophiae campum, quo relicto, errores hauserunt.

Taedet interim ad subtili mente viros eosdemque solertes Pauli verba convertere, increpantis illos, qui a terrenis hisce ad ea quae oculorum aciem fugiunt non assurgerent: *Evanuerunt in cogitationibus suis et obscuratum est insipiens cor eorum; dicentes enim se esse sapientes, stulti facti sunt.*²⁶ Stultus enim

²⁴ Ad Rom. i. 20.²⁵ Tim. vi. 20.²⁶ Ad Rom. i. 21, 22.

omnino dicendus quicumque vires mentis insumit ut fabricet in arena.

Nec minus dolendae ruinae quae moribus hominum vitaeque societatis civilis ex ea negatione proveniunt. Etenim opinione sublata, praeter adspectabilem hanc rerum naturam esse divinum aliquid, nihil plane superest, quo excitatae cupiditates vel turpissimae coërceantur, quibus mancipati animi ad pessima quaque rapiuntur. Itaque *tradidit illos Deus in desideria cordis eorum, in immunditiam; ut contumeliis afficiant corpora sua in semetipsis*.²⁷ Ac vos quidem, Venerabiles Fratres, minime latet, quam undique perditorum morum exundet lues, cui continendae impar erit civilis potestas, nisi ad altioris, quem diximus, ordinis praesidia confugiat. Sed neque ad sanandos caeteros morbos humana quidquam valebit auctoritas, si memoria excidat aut negetur omnem potestatem a Deo esse. Tunc enim, unico freno, vi cuncta gerentur, quae vis neque adhibetur constanter nec in manu semper est; quo fit ut populus occulto quasi morbo laboret, omnia fastidiat, ius praedicet arbitrio suo agendi, seditiones conflēt, reipublicae conversiones interdum turbulentissimas paret, divina omnia et humana iura permisceat. Amoto Deo, nulla civitatis legibus, nulla vel necessariis institutis constat reverentia, iustitia contemnitur, ipsa opprimitur quae iuris est naturalis libertas; eo usque devenitur, ut domesticae societatis compages, civilis coniunctionis primum fundamentum atque firmissimum dissolvatur. Quo fit ut, infensis hisce Christo temporibus, difficilior aptentur efficacia remedia, quae ad populos in officio continendos Ecclesiae suae ipse comparavit.

Non aliunde tamen quam in Christo salus: *Nec enim aliud nomen est sub caelo datum hominibus, in quo oporteat nos salvos fieri*.²⁸ Ad Ipsum ergo redire necesse est, eius advolvi pedibus, ex ore illo divino verba vitae aeternae haurire; solus quippe potest instaurandae salutis indicare viam, solus vera docere, solus ad vitam revocare, qui de se dixit: *Ego sum via et veritas et vita*.²⁹ Tentata denuo est mortalium gestio rerum seorsim a Christo; aedificari coepit reprobato angulari lapide, quod Petrus iis exprobrabat, qui Iesum cruci affixerant. Ecce autem rursus extructa moles ruit aedificantium cervices infringens. Iesus interim superest, humanae societatis angularis lapis, iterum

²⁷ Ibid. i. 24.

²⁸ Act. iv. 12.

²⁹ Ioann. xiv. 6.

comprabata sententia non esse nisi in ipso salutem: *Hic est lapis qui reprobatus est a vobis aedificantibus, qui factus est in caput anguli, et non est in alio aliquo salus.*³⁰

Ex his facile intelligitis, Venerabiles Fratres, quanta unumquemque nostrum urgeat necessitatis, animi vi qua possumus maxima quibusque pollemus opibus, huiusmodi supernaturalem vitam in omni ordine humanae societatis excitandi, ab infimae sortis opifice, cui panis apponitur diuturno sudore comparatus, ad arbitros terrarum potentes. In primisque privata prece ac publica exoranda Dei misericordia, ut potenti auxilio suo adsit qua voce olim tempestate iactati clamabant Apostoli: *Domine, salva nos, perimus.*³¹

Quamquam nec ista satis. Gregorius enim vitio tribuit episcopo, quod, sacri amore secessus et orandi studio, in aciem non prodeat, pro Domini causa strenue dimicaturus, inquit: *Vacuum episcopi nomen tenet.*³² Ac iure quidem; lux enim est afferenda mentibus iugi praedicatione veritatis et valida refutatione pravarum opinionum per veram solidamque philosophiae ac theologiae scientiam et per auxilia omnia, quae ex genuino historicae investigationis incremento provenerunt. Oportet insuper omnibus apte inculcentur tradita a Christo morum documenta, ut discant sui imperium exercere, motus animi appetentes regere, tumentem superbiam deprimere, parere auctoritati, iustitiam colere, omnes charitate complecti, dispari in civili convictu fortunae acerbiter christiana dilectione temperare, a terrenis bonis avocare mentem, quam Providentia dederit sortem ea esse contentos, suisque tuendis officiis benigniorem efficere, ad futuram vitam contendere spe sempiternae mercedis. Illud autem praecipue curandum, ut haec se insinuent animisque penitus insideant, quo vera et solida pietas altiores radices agat, sua quisque et hominis et christiani officia, non ore tenus, sed re, profiteatur, et fiducia filii ad Ecclesiam confugiat ad eiusque ministros, quorum ministerio impetrent admissorum veniam, Sacramentorum gratia roborentur, vitam ad christianae legis praecepta componant.

Sacri muneris praecipuas has partes comitetur oportet Christi charitas, cuius instinctu nemo sit quem iacentem non erigamus, quem lugentem non consolemur, necessitas nulla cui non occurramus. Huiusmodi nos charitati totos devoveamus, huic res

³⁰ Act. iv. 11, 12.

¹ Matt. viii. 25.

³² Registr. vi. 63 (30). Cfr. Regul. past. i. 5.

nostrae cedant omnes, huic propriae utilitates posthabeantur et commoda, ut *omnibus omnia facti*,³³ salutem omnium quaeramus vel ipso vitae pretio, ad Christi exemplum ab Ecclesiae pastoribus id postulantis: *Bonus pastor animam suam dat pro ovibus suis*.³⁴ Insignibus his documentis referta sunt quae Gregorius scripta reliquit, multiplici exemplo vitae admirandae multo expressa potentius.

Quia vero ista, quum e principiorum christianae revelationis natura, tum ex intimis nostri apostolatus proprietatibus necessario fluunt, iam videtis, Venerabiles Fratres, quanto in errore versentur qui existimant bene se de Ecclesia mereri ac frugiferam operam in aeternam hominum salutem conferre, si profana quadam prudentia, falsi nominis scientiae multa largiantur, vana spe ducti, posse ita facilius errantium sibi gratiam conciliare, re autem vera ipsi se perditionis periculo committentes. Sed veritas una est, nec dividi potest; eadem aeterna perdurat, nullis obnoxia temporibus: *Iesus Christus heri, et hodie: ipse et in saecula*.³⁵

Illi etiam valde falluntur qui in collocandis publice beneficiis, praesertim popularium causam agentes, quae ad corporis victum cultumque pertinent ea maxime curant, animorum salutem et christianae professionis officia gravissima silentio praeterunt. Nec eos pudet interdum summa quaedam evangelii praecepta quasi velis obtegere, veriti ne forte minus audiantur aut prorsus deserantur. Alienum quidem a prudentia non erit, etiam in proponenda veritate, sensim procedere, ubi res agatur cum iis, qui a nostris institutis abhorrent a Deoque sunt omnino seiuncti. *Resecanda vulnera*, ita Gregorius, *leni prius manu palpanda sunt*.³⁶ Verum haec ipsa industria speciem prudentiae carnis assumet, si ad agendi normam assurgat constantem atque communem; eoque magis quod per eam divina gratia parvi haberi videatur, quae non sacerdotio tantum conceditur eiusque ministris, sed Christi fidelibus omnibus, ut ipsorum animos dicta nostra et facta percellant. Fuit autem eiusmodi prudentia ignota Gregorio, quum in praedicatione evangelii, tum in caeteris ab eo mire gestis ad proximos relevandos miseriis. Is Apostolorum vestigia constanter est persequutus, quorum, cum primum peragrandum terrarum orbem susceperunt nuntiaturi Christum, fuit ista vox: *Praedicamus Christum crucifixum, Iudaeis quidem*

³³ 1 Cor. ix. 22.

³⁴ Ioann. x. 11.

³⁵ Ad Hebr. xiii. 8.

³⁶ Registr. v. 44 (18) ad Ioannem episcop.

*scandalum, gentibus autem stultitiam.*³⁷ Atqui si tempus ullum extitit, quo humanae praesidia prudentiae maxima opportuna viderentur, illud profecto fuit, quum ad excipiendam tam novam doctrinam, communibus cupiditatibus tam repugnantem, tam oppositam graecorum et romanorum florentissimae humanitati, nulla esset animorum praeparatio. Nihilominus id genus prudentiam Apostoli a se alienam duxerunt quibus divina erant comperta decreta : *Placuit Deo per stultitiam praedicationis salvos facere credentes.*³⁸ Ea stultitia quemadmodum semper, sic adhuc iis . . . *qui salvi fiunt, id est nobis, Dei virtus est.*³⁹ In scandalo crucis, uti antea, sic in posterum arma suppetent omnium potentissima ; ut olim, sic deinceps nobis erit in eo signo victoria.

Haec tamen arma, Venerabiles Fratres, vim exuent omnem nec erunt profutura quidquam si tractentur ab iis, qui interiorem vitam cum Christo non agant, qui non sint vera firmaque pietate instituti, qui Dei gloriae eiusque regni amplificandi studio non flagrent. Quae omnia Gregorius adeo esse necessaria putabat, ut maximam curam impenderet in Episcopos et sacerdotes creandos, qui divini honoris hominumque verae salutis magno desiderio tenerentur. Idque sibi proposuit in libro qui *Regula pastoralis* inscribitur, ubi, ad cleri salubrem institutionem et ad sacrorum antistitum regimen normae traduntur, non iis modo temporibus sed etiam nostris aptissimae. Idem prout eius enarrator vitae describit, *velut Argus quidam luminosissimus per totius mundi latitudinem suae pastoralis sollicitudinis oculos*⁴⁰ circumferebat, ut si quid in clero vitii aut negligentiae deprehenderet, in ad statim animadverteret. Quin etiam vel ipsa periculi cogitatio, ne forte illuvies et corruptelae in mores clericorum irreperent, trepido metu eum afficiebat. Si quid vero contra Ecclesiae disciplinam actum comperisset, ea re vehementerangebatur, nec ullo poterat pacto quiescere. Tunc cerneret admonere, corrigere, canonicus poenas minitari violatoribus, has interdum ipsemet irrogare, indignos, nulla interiecta mora, nulla rerum hominumve habita ratione, ab officio identidem prohibere.

Multa praeterea monebat, quae his verbis in scriptis eius frequentur expressa leguntur : *Qua mente apud Deum intercessionis locum pro populo arripit, qui familiarem se eius gratiae esse per vitae meritum nescit ?*⁴¹—*Si ergo in eius opere passiones*

³⁷ 1 Cor. i. 23.³⁸ Ibid. i. 21.³⁹ Ibid. i. 18⁴⁰ Ioan. Diac., lib. ii. c. 65.⁴¹ Reg. Past., i. 10.

*vivunt, qua praesumptione percussum mederi properat, qui in facie vulnus portat?*⁴²—*Quinam poterunt in Christi fidelibus expectari fructus, si veritatis praecones quod verbis praedicant, moribus impugnant?*⁴³—*Profecto diluere aliena delicta non valet is, quem propria devastant.*⁴⁴

Veri sacerdotis exemplar huiusmodi censet atque ita describit: *Qui cunctis carnis passionibus moriens iam spiritualiter vivit; qui prospera mundi postposuit; qui nulla ad versa pertimescit, qui sola interna desiderat . . .; qui ad aliena cupienda non ducitur, sed propria largitur; qui per pietatis viscera citius ad ignoscendum flectitur, sed nunquam plus quam deceat ignoscens, ab arce rectitudinis inclinatur; qui nulla illicita perpetrat, sed perpetrata ab aliis ut propria deplorat; qui ex affectu cordis alienae infirmitati compatitur; sicque in bonis proximi sicut in suis proVectibus laetatur; qui ita se imitabilem caeteris in cunctis quae agit insinuat, ut inter eos non habeat quod saltem de transactibus erubescat; qui sic studet vivere ut proximorum quoque corda arentia doctrinae valeat fluentis irrigare; qui orationis usu et experimento iam didicit, quod obtinere a Domino quae poposcerit possit.*⁴⁵

Quam serio igitur, Venerabiles Fratres, Episcopo secum et coram Deo est reputandum, antequam novis levitis manus imponat! *Neque gratia alicuius, inquit Gregorius, neque supplicatione, aliquos ad sacros ordines audeat promovere nisi eum, quem vitae et actionis qualitas ad hoc dignum esse monstraverit.*⁴⁶ Quanta eidem opus est maturitate consilii, antequam recens inunctis sacerdotibus apostolatus munia committat! Qui, nisi iusto fuerint experimento probati sub vigili custodia prudentiorum sacerdotum, nisi habeant unde plane constet et honeste acta vita, de prono in pietatem ingenio, de animo ad obediendum parato iis omnibus quae vel Ecclesiae consuetudo induxerit vel diuturna experientia comprobarit vel quos *Spiritus Sanctus posuit episcopos regere ecclesiam Dei*⁴⁷ ipsi praeceperint, sacerdotio fungentur, non in plebis christianae salutem, sed in perniciem. Nam et iurgia serent, et plus minus latentes ciebunt rebelliones, triste sane spectaculum populo exhibentes quasi discrepantium in coetu nostro voluntatum, quum deploranda haec paucorum superbiae et contumaciae sint adscribenda. Procul, oh procul ab omni officio sunt excitatores discordiarum; nec enim his

⁴² Reg. Past., i. 9.

⁴³ Ibid. i. 2.

⁴⁴ Ibid. i. 11.

⁴⁵ Ibid. i. 10.

⁴⁶ Registr. v. 63 (58) ad universos episcopos per Hellad.

⁴⁷ Act. xx. 28.

apostolis eget Ecclesia, neque hi pro Christo cruci adfixo apostolatum gerunt, sed ipsi sibi apostoli sunt.

Adhuc ante oculos versari nostros imago Gregorii videtur, in Lateranensi pontificio Concilio coactorum undique antistitem corona septi, adstante clero Urbis universo. Quam fecunda ex eius ore fluit adhortatio de officiis clericorum! Quanto ardoris aestu consumitur! Illius oratio, instar fulminis, pravos homines percellit; sunt eius verba quasi totidem flagella, quibus excutuntur inertes; divini amoris flammae sunt, quibus vel ferventissimi animi suaviter corripiuntur. Perlegite, Venerabiles Fratres, et clero vestro legendam, considerandam, in sacro potissimum annuo recessu, proponite admirabilem istam sancti pontificis homiliam.⁴⁸

Idem, non sine animi magna tristitia, haec inter caetera queritur: *Ecce, mundus sacerdotibus plenus est, sed tamen in messe Dei rarus valde invenitur operator; quia officium quidem sacerdotale suscepimus, sed opus officii non implemus.*⁴⁹ Ac vere quidem, quantum hodie virium Ecclesia colligeret, si operadores tot numeraret quot sacerdotes? Quam uberes fructus ex divina Ecclesiae vita hominibus provenirent, si eidem explicandae vacarent singuli? Huiusmodi in agendo alacritatem naviter excitavit Gregorius, dum vixit, suoque impulsu effecit ut posterioribus eadem vigeret. Quare, quae media intercessit, aetas, Gregoriana quasi nota distinguitur, quod ei pontifici accepta omnia fere essent referenda, sive regulae cleri regendi, sive charitatis et beneficentiae publice exercendae multiplex ratio, sive perfectioris sanctimoniae magisterium et vitae religiosae instituta, sive denique caeremoniarum et sacri ordinatio concentus.

Verum longe alia temporum ratio successit. Quod saepe diximus, in vita Ecclesiae immutatum est nihil. Ipsa enim haereditate acceptam a divino Institutore eiusmodi vim possidet, qua aetatibus omnibus, quamvis inter se dissimillimis, valeat, non animis tantum, quod sui muneris est, providere, sed plurimum etiam ad verae humanitatis incrementa conferre, quod quidem ex ipsa ministerii sui natura consequitur.

Nec sane fieri potest ut quae revelata divinitus Ecclesiae custodienda commissa sunt, eadem quidquid verum, bonum, pulchrum in terrestri rerum natura conspicitur, non maxime provehant, eoque efficacius, quo magis haec ad summum totius

⁴⁸ Hom. in Evang. i. 17

⁴⁹ Ibid. n. 3.

veritatis, bonitatis, pulchritudinis, principium, Deum, referantur.

Magnus ex divina doctrina humanae scientiae proventus, sive quod per illam latior patefiat campus novis rebus etiam naturalis ordinis expedite cognoscendis, sive quod per eandem rectum investigationi sternatur iter, erroresque circa disciplinae rationem viamque eam adipiscendi amoveantur. Sic in portu emicans ignis e turri, dum nocturno itinere navigantibus multa pandit, quae tenebris involuta laterent, simul de vitandis scopulis admonet, ad quos allisa navis naufragium pateretur.

Quae autem de moribus disciplinae sunt, quandoquidem Servator Dominus supremum nobis perfectionis exemplar divinam ipsam bonitatem proponat, Patrem suum,⁵⁰ eccui non patet, quanta inde incitamenta illis addantur, ut insculpta in omnium animis naturae lex altius et perfectius retineatur, adeoque tum singuli, tum domestica societas, tum denique hominum universa communitas prosperiore vita fruatur? Fuit ista profecto vis quae barbaros homines ex ferocitate ad humanitatem transtulit, mulieris proiecram dignitatem vindicavit, servitutis iugum excussit, ordinem, remissis cum aequitate vinculis, quiquis variae civium conditiones invicem continentur, instauravit, iura restituit, veram animi libertatem promulgavit, domesticae ac publicae tranquillitati tuto prospexit.

Denique artes ad aeternum exemplar omnis pulchritudinis, Deum, assurgentes, unde species et formae singulae, quae sunt in rerum natura, dimanant, facilius a vulgari sensu recedunt, conceptamque animo rem, in quo artis vita consistit, expriment multo potentius. Ac vix quidem dici potest quantum attulerit boni ratio adhibendarum artium in famulatum religionis, quo Numini offertur quidquid ipso dignius ubertate et copia, venustate atque elegantia formae praeseferant. Hinc artis origo sacrae, quo fundamento nixa est profana quaevis ars, et nititur adhuc. Rem nuperrime attigimus peculiari *Motu proprio*,⁵¹ de romano cantu ad maiorum instituta revocando, ac de sacris concentibus. Atqui caeterae artes, pro sua quaeque materia, iisdem legibus continentur, ita ut, quae dicuntur de cantu, eadem et pingendi et sculpendi et exstruendi artibus conveniant, quas humani ingenii nobilissimas faces Ecclesia semper excitavit et aluit. Hac specie sublimi universum hominum genus

⁵⁰ Matth. v. 48.

⁵¹ Cfr. *Anal. Eccl.* in praes. vol. xii. p. 3. (N. D.)

enutritum templorum erigit moles, ubi, in domo Dei, tamquam in propria sede, inter artium omnium splendidissimam copiam, inter augustas caeremonias, inter suavissimos concentus, mentes ad caelestia revocantur.

Haec, uti diximus, beneficia potuit aetati suae ac posteroribus afferre Gregorius. Eadem, his quoque temporibus, qua fundamenti soliditate consistimus et quibus mediis instructi sumus, consequi licebit, si, quae adhuc bona, Dei gratia supersunt, omni studio retineantur, quae vero instituta a recto tramite deflexerint *instaurentur in Christo*.⁵²

Placet Nostris hisce Litteris finem imponere iisdem verbis, quibus ipse Gregorius memorabilem illam in Lateranensi pontificio Consilio habitam orationem absolvit: *Haec, Fratres, vobiscum sollicitate cogitate, haec et proximis vestris impendite; omnipotenti Deo fructum vos reddere de negotio, quod accepistis, parate. Sed ista quae dicimus melius apud vos orando quam loquendo obtinebimus. Oremus: Deus, qui nos pastores in populo vocare voluisti, praesta quaesumus, ut hoc quod humano ore dicimur, in tuis oculis esse valeamus*.⁵³

Dum vero confidimus, deprecatore pontifice sancto Gregorio, Deum supplicibus his votis benignas aures admoturum, caelestium donorum auspicem ac paternae Nostrae benevolentiae testem, Apostolicam Benedictionem vobis omnibus, Venerabiles Fratres, clero ac populo vestro peramanter impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum IV Idus Martias an. MDCCCIV, die festo S. Gregorii I Papae et Ecclesiae Doctoris, Pontificatus Nostri anno primo.

PIVS PP. X.

PIVS X. PRAISES THE APOSTOLIC UNION OF SECULAR PRIESTS

PIVS X. PIAM UNIONEM APOST. SAECULARIUM SACERDOTUM CONDIGNA LAUDE EXTOLLIT, INDULGENTIISQUE ET PRIVILEGIIS IN PERPETUUM CUMULAT

PIVS PP. X.

Ad perpetuam rei memoriam

Cum Nobis nihil antiquius sit quam ut viri in sortem Domini vocati constanti christianarum virtutum laude florescant, ac

⁵² Ad Ephes. i. 10.

⁵³ Hom. cit. n. 18.

veluti lucernae super candelabrum positae exemplo populi prae-fulgeant, quae in Cleri Catholici bonum, aedificationem et spirituale emolumentum cedant, Decessorum Nostrorum vestigiis insistentes, Apostolica quidem Auctoritate interposita, paterno studio provehere satagimus. Quare non sine magna animi Nostri consolatione compertum habemus, pium opus ab Unione Apostolica saecularium Sacerdotum appellatum, iam inde ab anno MDCCCLXII in Gallia erectum, nunc, annuentibus Episcopis, plurimas totius christiani orbis dioeceses pervasisse, et modo in Gallia, Belgio, Anglia, Scotia, Hibernia, Germania, Helvetia, Italia, foederatis Americae Septentrionalis statibus, Canadensi ditione, America Meridionali, Australasia, et in nonnullis etiam Asiae regionibus florere, atque uberes edere in Dominico agro pietatis et sanctimoniae fructus. Hoc enim institutum, cuius et Nosmet Ipsi olim fuimus Alumni, cuiusque utilitatem atque excellentiam experti, vel in Episcopali dignitate constituti participes esse volumus, proposita universis sociis uniformi vitae ratione, menstruis conventibus, spiritualibus conloquiis, gestorum priorum nota Praepositis suo tempore reddita, aliisque aptis charitatis officiis Cleri unitatem tuetur, firmat, sparsosque Levitas spiritualis fraternae dilectionis vinculo devincit. Inde mira sodalium concordia, mutua aedificatio, sanctius servatus vocationis spiritus, et, amoto solitudinis periculo coalescentibus in unum multorum viribus, quisque sacerdos in communem utilitatem ac perfectionem animum intendit, et, licet variis ministerii sui curis distractus, communi conturbatio non utatur, tamen nec se a familia desertum sentit nec fratrum auxilio consilioque caret. Idcirco Decessor Noster ve : me : Leo PP. XIII, Episcoporum plausu et commendationibus adductus, datis Apostolicis Litteris die XXXI Maii anno MDCCCLXXX, frugiferum hoc institutum probavit atque amplissimo laudis praeconio prosequutus est, eique postea, anno MDCCCLXXXVII, cla : me : Lucidum Mariam S.R.E. Episcopum Cardinalem Parocchi Protectorem adsignavit. Nos vero animo repetentes, hoc potissimum tam gravi tempore, quam utile ac salutare sit Ecclesiae Dei institutum huiusmodi, probe noscentes Sacerdotes qui ad illud pertinent, prae omnibus optimos esse, votis dilecti filii victoris Lebeurier canonici ornamentarii Aurelianensis et praelati Nostri Domestici, fundatoris benemeriti et quadraginta duobus iam inde ab annis Apostolicae Unionis Moderatoris Generalis, ultro libenterque annuimus, atque in

ipsius instituti bonum atque incrementum haec quae infrascripta sunt decernimus.

Et primo ut cunctis pateat quae sit Nostra erga memoratam Unionem voluntas, in singulare paternae Nostrae dilectionis testimonium, eiusdem Instituti Patrocinium Nos Ipsi assumimus Nobisque reservamus. Praeterea, quo Sacerdotes in Apostolicam Unionem adlecti opportuno spiritualium gratiarum praesidio firmentur, atque eadem singularia Indulgentiarum munera moveant alios, ut, sibi reique sacrae efficacius prospecturi, saluberrimae huic consociationi dent nomen, de omnipotentis Dei misericordia, ac BB. Petri et Pauli Apostolorum eius auctoritate confisi, Apostolica Nostra Auctoritate, praesentium vi perpetuumque in modum, omnibus ac singulis Sacerdotibus ubique terrarum degentibus, qui nunc et in posterum sese huic Apostolicae Unioni, emissa rite prius professionis formula, mancipaverint donec in ea perseverent, si quotannis, Natalis, Circumcisionis, Epiphaniae, Paschatis Resurrectionis, Ascensionis et SS. Corporis Domini Nostri Iesu Christi, item Conceptionis, Nativitatis, Annunciationis, Purificationis, et Assumptionis B. Mariae Virginis Immaculatae festivitatibus, nec non quolibet festo die sanctorum duodecim Apostolorum, admissorum confessione prius expiati, vel Missam celebrent vel ad sacram Synaxim accedant, simulque quamlibet Ecclesiam sive publicum Sacellum visitent, et ibi pro Christianorum Principum concordia, haeresum extirpatione, peccatorum conversione ac S. Matris Ecclesiae exaltatione pias ad Deum preces effundant, quo praefatorum die ad agant, plenariam omnium peccatorum suorum Indulgentiam et remissionem misericorditer in Domino concedimus. Insuper dictis nunc et in posterum eandem in Unionem adiectis Sacerdotibus, quoties menstruam vitae rationis notam ad respectivum Superiorem Dioecesum iuxta instituti tabulas mittant, et contrito saltem corde, semel ad Romani Pontificis mentem, Orationem Dominicam et Salutationem Anglicam et Trisagium recitent; vel pariter, contrito saltem corde, menstruo communi recessui intersint, in forma Ecclesiae consueta, de numero poenaliu dierum centum expungimus. Item concedimus ut partiali hac Indulgentia fruantur etiam Presbyteri, qui, licet Apostolicae Unioni non sint inscripti, menstruum tamen secessum una cum sociis celebrent; tandem largimur, ut, si malint, singulis ac universis liceat plenariis hisce ac partialibus Indulgentiis vita functorum labes poenasque expiare. Facul-

tatem quoque praesentibus ac futuris Apostolicae Unionis sodalibus, auctoritate Nostra, facimus peragendi gravibus de causis Missae Sacrificium vel una ante auroram hora ; iisdemque Apostolicum Missarum privilegium ita tribuimus, ut quando-cumque quisque e praefatis sociis Missam pro anima cuiuscum-que christifidelis, quae Deo in charitate coniuncta ab hac luce migraverit, ad quodvis cuiusque Ecclesiae altare rite celebraverit, idem Sacrum, ter dumtaxat qualibet hebdomada, animae pro qua celebratum fuerit perinde suffragetur ac si foret ad privile-giatum altare peractum.

Tandem sodalibus ipsis Apostolicae Unionis nunc et in poste-rum ubique terrarum existentibus facultatem per praesentes largimur, ex qua, extra Urbem, de consensu Ordinarii loci in quo hanc exercuerint facultatem, cruces, Crucifixos, sacra numis-mata, coronas precatorias et parvas Domini Nostri Iesu Christi, B. Mariae Virginis Immaculatae et omnium et singularum Indul-gentiarum, quae in elencho edito typis S. Congregationis de Propaganda Fide, die XXVIII Augusti mensis, anno MCMIII, numerantur, et quoad coronas precatorias non excepta Indul-gentiarum applicatione S. Birgittae nuncupatarum, in forma Ecclesiae conseuta, tempore Missionum et Spiritualium Exer-citiorum publice, aliis vero temporibus privatim benedicere possint : itemque sodalibus dictis, servatis servandis, facultatem facimus, cuius vi, dummodo sint ad sacras conciones habendas approbati, novissimo die sacrarum concionum Quadragesimae, Adventus, Missionum et Spiritualium Exercitiorum, Christiano populo cum Crucifixo ac sub unico signo Crucis, iuxta ritum formulamque praescriptam, cum plenaria addita Indulgentia ita benedicere queant, ut fideles ex utroque sexu, qui saltem ultra medietatem dierum, quibus eadem conciones respective perdu-raverint, interfuerint, et vere poenitentes et confessi ac S. Com-munionem refecti, Ecclesiam seu Sacellum in quo respectivae conciones habitae fuerint, eodem die devote visitent, ibique pro S. Matris Ecclesiae exaltatione, Principum Christianorum unione, peccatorum conversione ac haeresum extirpatione oraverint, plenariam omnium peccatorum suorum Indulgentiam et remis-sionem lucrari valeant. Non obstantibus Nostra ac Cancellariae Apostolicae regula de non concedendis Indulgentiis ad instar, aliisque Constitutionibus et Ordinationibus Apostolicis caeteris-que contrariis quibuscumque. Volumus autem ut praesentium litterarum transumptis seu exemplis etiam impressis, manu

alicuius Notarii publici subscriptis, et sigillo personae in ecclesiastica dignitate constituae praemunitis, eadem prorsus adhibeatur fides quae adhiberetur ipsis praesentibus, si forent exhibitae vel ostensae.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum, sub annulo Piscatoris, die XXVIII Decembris MCMIII, Pontificatus Nostri Anno Primo.

L ✠ S.

ALOYS. Card. MACCHI.

PRIVILEGES OF PRIESTS WHO ATTENDED THE CONCLAVE

GRATIAE ET PRIVILEGIA A SANCTISSIMO DOMINO NOSTRO
PIO

DIVINA PROVIDENTIA

PAPA X.

CLERICIS CONCLAVISTIS POSTREMI CONCLAVIS CONCESSA;

PIUS PP. X.

MOTU PROPRIO

Peculiaria quaedam benevolentiae Nostrae argumenta dilectis filiis, ecclesiasticis viris daturi, qui Nobis et Venerabilibus Fratribus Nostris Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae Cardinalibus in Conclavi, quo divina favente clementia ad Summum Pontificatum assumpti fuimus, operam adhibuere, aut variis ibidem muneribus sunt perfuncti, traditam a Decessoribus Nostris consuetudinem sic sane tenuimus, quemadmodum per conditionem temporum licuit. Quapropter id maxime gratiarum privilegiorumque genus animo spectantes, quod esset cum eorundem Conclavistarum praesenti utilitate coniunctum, haec auctoritate Nostra Nostroque Motu proprio decrevimus :

I. Clericis Conclavistis S. R. E. Cardinalium in Urbe comorantium aut Italiae dioecesibus praesidentium libellae centum et quinquaginta singulos in annos, pensionis nomine, erunt.

II. Gratiae, provisiones aut commendae quorumvis beneficiorum ecclesiasticorum, Litteraeque Apostolicae de hisce conficiendae, gratis iisdem semel tantum impertientur.

III. Si quando infirma valetudine utantur, Sacrum per se facere, servatis servandis, in suo cuiusque Oratorio quod ipsorum Ordinarius probaverit, ius eisdem erit. Ceteris vero Clericis Conclavistis, qui Venerabiles Fratres Nostros S. R. E. Cardinales

dioecesibus extra Italiam regendis praepositos sunt secuti, memoratae expers conditionis, servatisque ut supra servandis, Oratorii privati ius erit.

IV. Expediendae de his privilegiis ac iuribus Litterae gratis omni ex causa concedantur.

V. Declaratae modo gratiae aliis gratiis quovis ex capite habitis vel assequendis detrimento ne sint : omnis tamen efficacia praescriptis maneat, quae a Leone XIII fel. rec. Decessore Nostro, die XXIV Maii a. MDCCCIC sunt edita.

Non obstantibus Constitutionibus, Ordinationibus, Nostris ac Cancellariae Apostolicae Regulis, aliisque licet speciali et individua mentione dignis ; quibus omnibus et singulis, etiamsi de illis specialis et individua habenda mentio, eorumque tenores inserendi forent, illis alias in suo robore permansuris, hac vice dumtaxat specialiter et expresse Motu proprio derogamus, ceterisque contrariis quibuscumque, cum clausulis opportunis.

Fiat motu proprio J.

Et cum absolutione a censuris ad effectum etc. Et cum declaratione quod reliqua privilegia et indulta contenta in similibus Motus proprii schedulis a nonnullis Romanis Pontificibus Praedecessoribus Nostris favore Conclavistarum alias editis, ob hodiernas rerum ac temporum circumstantias pro nunc in suspenso remaneant. Et quod praesentis Nostri Motus proprii schedulae signatura sufficiat et ubique fidem faciat in iudicio et extra illud, Regula quacumque contraria non obstante ; et quod praemissorum omnium et singulorum maior et verior specificatio et expressio fieri possit in Litteris, si videbitur, expediendis, in quibus singulorum Conclavistarum nomina et cognomina exprimi et describi, seu pro expressis et descriptis haberi possint, inter quos Sacrista et Magistri Caeremoniarum Cappellae Nostrae, nec non Secretarius Collegii eorumdem Cardinalium. Volumus autem quod Litterarum super praesentibus conficiendarum ac etiam praesentis Nostri Motus proprii transumptis impressis ac manu alicuius personae in ecclesiastica dignitate constitutae subscriptis et sigillo munitis, eadem fides, tam in iudicio quam extra illud adhibeatur, quae originalibus Litteris vel praesenti Motui proprio originali adhiberetur, si forent exhibitae vel ostensae, aut exhibitus vel ostensus foret.—*Fiat J.*

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum decimo nono Calendas Ianuarii anno primo.

ANGELUS Card. DI PIETRO, *Pro-Datarius*.

INDEX CONCLAVISTARUM

DE QUIBUS AGITUR IN MOTU-PROPRIO

Fr. Guilelmus Pifferi ex Ordine Eremitarum S. Augustini,
Episcopus tit. Porphyrien. Sacrarum Apostolice Praefectus.
Raphael Merry del Val Archiepiscopus tit. Nicaenus, S. Collegii
Secretarius.

Franciscus Riggi Protonotarius Apostolicus, Apostolicis Caere-
moniis Praefectus.

Caesar Togni	}	Magistri Caeremoniarum.
Nazarenus Marzolini		
Franciscus Ciocci		
Robertus Marcucci		

Ioannes Bressan Presbyter ; conclavista NOSTER dum Cardi-
nalatus honoreungebamur.

Pius Canonicus Mingoli Presbyter ; ALOYSII Episcopi Ostien. et
Veliternen. S. R. E. Camerarii OREGLIA DI S. STEFANO.

Marcus Martini Presbyter ; SERAPHINI Episcopi Portuen. et S.
Ruphinae VANNUTELLI.

Vincentius Botti Presbyter ; MARI Episcopi Sabinen. MOCENNI.

Isidorus Möderl Presbyter ; ANTONII Episcopi Albanen. AGLIARDI.

Franciscus Parrillo Presbyter ; VINCENTII Episcopi Praenestin.
VANNUTELLI.

Rainaldus Angeli Presbyter ; FRANCISCI Episcopi Tusculan.
SATOLLI.

Emmanuel Canonicus Auaquim Presbyter ; IOSEPHI SEBAS-
TIANI Card. Tituli SS. XII. Apostolorum NETTO.

Dominicus Canonicus De Angelis Presbyter ; ALPHONSI Card.
Tituli S. Mariae de Populo CAPECELATRO.

Rev. Landrieux Presbyter et Vicarius Generalis Rhemen. ;
BENEDICTI MARIAE Card. Tituli S. Ioannis ante Portam
Latinam LANGÉNIEUX.

Patritius Carolus Gavan Presbyter ; IACOBI Card. Tituli S.
Mariae trans Tiberim GIBBONS.

Philippus Rocchi Presbyter ; MARIANI Card. Tituli S. Caeciliae
RAMPOLLA DEL TINDARO.

Eduardus Thomas Presbyter ; FRANCISCI MARIAE Card. Tituli
S. Mariae in Via RICHARD.

Canonicus Van Olmen Presbyter ; PETRI LAMBERTI Card. Tituli
S. Crucis in Ierusalem GOOSSENS.

- Franciscus Kamprath Presbyter ; ANTONII IOSEPHI Card. Tituli S. Mariae Angelorum in Thermis GRUSCHA.
- Ioseph Canonicus Guerri Presbyter ; ANGELI Card. Tituli S. Laurentii in Lucina DI PIETRO.
- I. Canonicus Quinn et I. Ryan, Presbyteri ; MICHAELIS Card. Tituli S. Mariae de Pace LOGUE.
- Georgius Andor Presbyter ; CLAUDII Card. Tituli S. Martini in Montibus VASZARY.
- Leo Gautier Presbyter et Vicarius Generalis Augustodunen. ; ADULPHI LUDOVICI ALBERTI Card. Tituli S. Petri ad Vincula PERRAUD.
- Ioannes Steinmann Presbyter ; GEORGII Card. Tituli S. Agnetis extra moenia KOPP.
- Rev. Giraudin Presbyter ; VICTORIS LUCIANI Card. Tituli S. Pudentianae LECOT.
- Beniaminus Miñana Presbyter ; CYRIACI MARIAE Card. Tituli S. Petri in Monte Aureo SANCHÁ Y HERVAS.
- Petrus Canonicus Saccomandi Presbyter ; DOMINICI Card. Tituli S. Honuphrii in Ianiculo SVAMPA.
- Antonius Merisio et Ioseph Polvara Presbyteri ; ANDREAE Card. Tituli S. Anastasiae FERRARI.
- Aloisius Canonicus Haver Presbyter ; HIERONYMI Card. Tituli S. Mariae Scalaris GOTTI.
- Isidorus Casañas et Ioachim Valls, Presbyteri ; SALVATORIS Card. Tituli SS. Quirici et Iulittae CASANAS Y PAGES.
- Adulphus Moracci Subdiaconus ; ACHILLIS Card. Tituli S. Pancrati MANARA.
- Ioseph Giovannelli Presbyter ; DOMINICI Card. Tituli S. Priscaae FERRATA.
- Nicolaus Santopaolo Presbyter ; SERAPHINI Card. Tituli S. Mariae supra Minervam CRETONI.
- Aloysius d' Aquino Presbyter ; IOSEPHI Card. Tituli S. Sixti PRISCO.
- Emmanuel Caciroy Presbyter ; IOSEPHI MARIAE Card. Tituli S. Mariae Transpontinae MARTIN DE HERRERA Y DE LA IGLESIA.
- Emmanuel Béchetoille Presbyter ; PETRI HERCULIS Card. Tituli SS. Trinitatis in Monte Pincio COULLIÉ.
- Canonicus Charost Presbyter ; IOSEPHI GUILIELMI Card. Tituli S. Mariae Novae LABOURÉ.
- Aloysius Biondi Presbyter ; IOANNIS BAPTISTAE Card. Tituli S. Mariae de Victoria CASALI DEL DRAGO.

- Carolus Ingami Clericus ; FRANCISCI DE PAULA Card. Tituli S. Chrysogoni CASSETTA.
- Antonius Marinucci Presbyter ; ALEXANDRI Card. Tituli SS. Petri et Marcellini SANMINIATELLI.
- Paschalis Ragosta Presbyter ; IANUARI Card. Tituli S. Clementis PORTANOVA.
- Ioannes Licitri Presbyter ; IOSEPHI Card. Tituli SS. Ioannis et Pauli FRANCICA NAVA.
- Franciscus Xaverius Hertzog Presbyter Sulpitanus ; FRANCISCI DESIDERATI Card. Tituli S. Sabinae MATHIEU.
- Caelestinus Nadalini Presbyter ; PETRI Card. Tituli SS. Quatuor Coronatorum RESPIGHI.
- Aetius Canonicus Gastaldi Presbyter ; AUGUSTINI Card. Tituli S. Eusebii RICHELMY.
- Petrus Fumasoni Presbyter ; SEBASTIANI Card. Tituli S. Augustini MARTINELLI.
- Paschalis Antonelli Presbyter ; CASIMIRI Card. Tituli S. Marcelli GENNARI.
- Mauritius Picha Presbyter ; LEONIS Card. Tituli S. Stephani in Coelio Monte DE SKRBENSKY.
- Camillus Battaglia Presbyter ; IULII Card. Tituli S. Laurentii in Panisperna BOSCHI.
- Ladislaus Bandurski et Paulus Frelek, Presbyteri ; IOANNIS Card. Tituli S. Vitalis PUZYNA.
- Sylvinus Tomba Presbyter ; BARTHOLOMAEI Card. Tituli S. Bartholomaei in Insula BACILIERI.
- Henricus Ponti Presbyter ; CAROLI Card. Tituli S. Callixti NOCELLA.
- Henricus Salvadori Presbyter ; BENIAMINI Card. Tituli S. Mariae in Ara Caeli CAVICCHIONI.
- Aloysius Campa Presbyter ; ANDREAE Card. Tituli S. Hieronymi Illyricorum AIUTI.
- Archangelus Rossi Brunoni Presbyter ; AEMYGDII Card. Tituli S. Bernardi ad Thermas TALIANI.
- Martialis Lopez Presbyter ; SEBASTIANI Card. Tituli SS. Bonifaci et Alexii HERRERO Y ESPINOSA.
- Ioannes Filzer Presbyter ; IOANNIS Card. Tituli S. Thomae in Parione KATSCHTHALER.
- Ioannes Jansen Presbyter ; ANTONII Card. Tituli SS. Nerei et Achillei FISCHER.
- Ioseph Lombardi Presbyter ; ALOYSII Card. Diac. S. Mariae in Via Lata MACCHI.

Guilelmus Huber Presbyter ; ANDREAE Card. Diac. S. Agathae
STEINHUBER.
Henricus Felici Presbyter ; FRANCISCI Card. Diac. S. Mariae in
Porticu SEGNA.
Ioannes Rossi Presbyter ; RAPHAELIS Card. Diac. SS. Cosmae
et Damiani PIEROTTI.
Ioseph Tellarini Presbyter ; FRANCISCI SALESII Card. Diac. S.
Mariae in Aquiro DELLA VOLPE.
Vincentius Rosetti Presbyter ; IOSEPHI CALASANCTII Card. Diac.
S. Adriani VIVES Y TUTO.
Ioseph Falco Presbyter ; ALOYSII Card. Diac. S. Mariae in
Domnica TRIPEPI.
Ioannes Biasiotti Presbyter ; FELICIS Card. Diac. S. Mariae S.
Martyres CAVAGNIS.
Fr. Augustinus Pifferi ex Ordine Eremitarum S. Augustini,
Sub-Sacrista.
Fridericus Tedeschini, adiutor Secretario S. Collegii.

[It will be seen from this document that the priests who attended the various Cardinals at the recent Conclave become entitled to certain favours and privileges. The Italian priests get a small yearly pension in addition to other favours. The foreign priests are entitled to the use of a private oratory. The two Irish priests who attended His Eminence Cardinal Logue are the Very Rev. Canon Quinn, P.P., Magherafelt, and the Very Rev. James J. Ryan, President of St. Patrick's College, Thurles.—ED. I. E. RECORD.]

THE LITTLE OFFICE OF THE SACRED HEART

ALIAE CONCEDUNTUR INDULG. RECITANTIBUS PARVUM OFFICIUM
SS. CORDIS IESU

PIUS PP. X.

Ad perpetuam rei memoriam. Curavit exponendum Nobis Venerabilis Frater Iosephus Episcopus Andegavensis, quamplures fideles illis in regionibus Parvum Officium SSmi. Cordis Jesu a Sacrorum Rituum Congregatione recognitum et adprobatum devote quovis die recitare solitos esse, eamque constantem

in precibus perseverantiam fidem excitare, ac potissimum sinceræ charitatis ardorem fovere ac provehere. Quo vero tam laudabile studium erga SSmum. Jesu Cor in dies magis provehatur, enixas Nobis idem Antistes preces adhibuit, ut coelestes Ecclesiae thesauros reserantes, fidelibus parvum idem Officium recitantibus nonnullas alias indulgentias largiri dignaremur; Nosque id rati in spirituale christiani gregis bonum quam maxime cessurum, votis hisce piis annuendum, quantum in Domino possumus, existimavimus. Quae cum ita sint, de Omnipotentis Dei misericordia, ac BB. Petri et Pauli Apolorum Eius auctoritate confisi, praeter indulgentiam partialem biscentum dierum iis concessam per similes Aplicas. Litteras die XII mensis Decembris anno MDCCCCI datas, qui dictum parvum Officium, vel latina vel vernacula lingua, dummodo versio sit fidelis et rite probata, devoto et contrito corde, quovis anni die recitaverint, atque ad mentem Romani Pontificis oraverint, omnibus pariter et singulis fidelibus ex utroque sexu, qui per solidum mensem ipsum officium integrum singulis diebus recitaverint, ac vere poenitentes et confessi ac S. Communione refecti, uno ad cuiusque eorum lubitum eligendo intra mensis ipsius spatium die publicum quodvis templum visitent, ibique pro Christianorum Principum concordia, haeresum extirpatione, peccatorum conversione ac S. Matris Ecclesiae exaltatione pias ab Deum preces effundant, Plenariam omnium peccatorum suorum Indulgentiam et remissionem, quam etiam animabus christifidelium quae Deo in charitate coniunctae ab hac luce migraverint, per modum suffragii applicare possint, misericorditer in Domino concedimus et largimur. Contrariis non obstantibus quibuscumque. Volumus vero ut praesentes nullae sint nisi earundem exemplar transmittatur ad Congregationem Sacris Reliquiis atque Indulgentiis praepositam; utque praesentium Litterarum transumptis seu exemplis etiam impressis, manu alicuius notarii publici subscriptis et sigillo personae in ecclesiastica dignitate constitutae munitis, eadem prorsus fides adhibeatur, quae adhiberetur ipsis praesentibus si forent exhibitae vel ostensae. Datum Romae apud S. Petrum sub Annulo Piscatoris de 1 Martii MDCCCCIV. Pontificatus Nostri Anno primo.

Pro Dno. Card. MACCHI.

NICOLAUS MARINI, *Substitutus*.

L ✠ S.

Praesentium Litterarum exemplar transmissum fuit ad hanc

S. Congregationem Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis prae positam.

In quorum fidem etc.

Datum Romae, ex Secria. eiusdem S. Congnis., die 8 Martii 1904.

IOSEPHUS M. Can. COSELLI, *Substitutus*.

PRIVILEGES OF APOSTOLIC PROTONOTARIES

DECLARATIONES CIRCA PRIVILEGIA PROTONOTARIIS APOSTOLICIS AD INSTAR PARTICIPANTIUM CONCESSA ¹

Cum nonnullae obortae fuerint difficultates super aequa interpretatione Constitutionis Pii fe. re. Papae IX, quae incipit 'Apostolicae Sedis officium' datae IV Kal. Septembris MDCCCLXXII, et ad Sanctissimum Dominum Nostrum Pium Papam X delatae, occasione praesertim privilegiorum, quibus Capitulum Tarvisinum decoratum nuper fuit; eadem Sanctitas Sua, quo unica ab Apostolicis Protonotariis ad instar ubique norma servetur, per Sacrorum Rituum Congregationem sequentia declaranda statuit:

I. Quoad § II praefatae Constitutionis: Biretum, quo Proto-notarii Apostolici ad instar Participantium in sacris functionibus utuntur, nigrum profecto esse debet; nihilo tamen minus ornari poterit, iuxta usum quasdam in regiones iam invecum, lem-nisco eiusdem coloris ac vitta seu cordula qua pileum circum-cingere solent.

II. Quoad § XV: Protonotarius Missam pontificaliter cele-brans, omnia quae vel legenda sunt vel canenda, nunquam ad scamnum sed semper ad Altare leget vel cantabit. In fine autem Missae, simplicem benedictionem, non trinam, imperitens, non audeat, more Episcoporum, praemittere: Sit Nomen Domini . . . et Adiutorium nostrum . . ., sed, mitra coopertus, tan-tummodo canat: Benedicat vos omnipotens Deus . . .

III. Quoad § XVI: Cum petit Ecclesiam, pontificaliter cele-braturus, Crucem pectoralem super mantelletum et annulum in digito gestare poterit.

IV. Quoad § XVII: Protonotarius item poterit Mitra, Cruce pectorali et annulo ornatus, ad scamnum celebrare Vesperas more presbyterorum, illius festi, cuius Missam ipse pontificaliter

¹ Hoc documentum poni debuisset sub Rubrica S. C. Rituum, p. 122. (N D.)

acturus est, vel peregit. Iisdem quoque ornamentis uti poterit, de speciali tamen commissione Ordinarii loci, in Vesperis festi, cuius Missa in pontificalibus ab alio quolibet Praelato celebratur; in benedictione cum SSmo. Sacramento solemniter impertienda, atque etiam in processionibus, necnon in una ex quinque absolutionibus in solemnioribus exsequiis de quibus in Pontificali Romano.

V. Quoad § XVIII: Protonotarius lectam Missam facere, etiam extra Urbem, poterit, iuxta modum et formam in § XIX praescripta, quando id numeris, in aliqua solemnitate adimplendum, eidem commiserit loci Ordinarius.

Contrariis non obstantibus quibuscumque, firmisque in reliquo manentibus, quae in praedicta Constitutione Protonotariis Apostolicis ad instar vel permittuntur vel inhibentur. Die 9 Martii 1904.

S. Card. CRETONI, *Praef.*

L. ✠ S.

✠ D. PANICI, Archiep. Laodicen., *Secret.*

NOTICES OF BOOKS

EDITIO SOLESMENSIS

- LIBER USUALIS** Missae et Officii pro Dominicis et festis duplicibus. Cum Cantu Gregoriano [No. 567]. Desclée, Lefebvre et Cie, Rome et Tournai. 1903. 7 x 4½ in., xxii + 9 + 1242 pp. Paper covers, 3s. 8*d.*; bound, from 4s. 5*d.* to 7s. 8*d.*
- MANUALE MISSAE ET OFFICIORUM** ex Libris Solesmensibus excerptum [No. 563]. Desclée, etc. 1902. 7 x 4½ in., xxii + 9 + 314 pp. Paper covers, 1s. 3*d.*; bound, 1s. 9*d.* and 2s.
- A MANUAL OF GREGORIAN CHANT.** Compiled from the Solesmes Books and from Ancient Manuscripts [No. 581]. Desclée, etc. 1903. 7 x 4½ in., xxii + 22 + 394 pp. Cloth, 2s. 6*d.*
- MANUALE MISSAE ET OFFICIORUM** ex Libris Solesmensibus excerptum [No. 573]. Desclée, etc. 1903. 8 x 5 in., xxii + 8 + 352 pp. Paper covers, 1s. 10*d.*; bound, 2s. 5*d.* and 3s.
- MISSAE IN PRAECIPUIS FESTIS.** Appendix Missae et Officiorum Solesmensis Manualis [No. 563A]. Desclée, etc. 1903. 7 x 4½ in., 39 pp. Paper covers, 4*d.*
- MISSAE IN PRAECIPUIS FESTIS.** Appendix Missae et Officiorum Solesmensis Manualis in recentioris musicae notulas translatae [No. 573A]. Desclée, etc. 1903. 8 x 5 in., 54 pp. Paper covers, 5*d.*
- KYRIALE** ou Chants Ordinaires de la Messe. Notation Gregorienne [No. 591]. Desclée, etc. 1903. 7 x 4½ in., xxxiii + 58 pp. Paper covers, 6*d.*
- KYRIALE** seu Ordinarium Missarum in recentioris musicae notulas translatum [No. 576]. Desclée, etc. 1903. 8 x 5 in., xii + 67 pp. Paper covers, 6*d.*
- PSALMI IN NOTIS** pro Vesperis et Officio in omnibus Dominicis et Festis Duplicibus juxta ritum Romanum

simul ac monasticum. Cantus Gregorianus. Desclée, etc. 1903 [No. 590]. 7 x 4½ in., 167 pp. Paper covers, 8*d*.

OFFICIUM ET MISSAE NATIVITATIS D.N.I.C. juxta Missale et Breviarium Romanum. Cantus Gregorianus [No. 571]. Desclée, etc. 1903. 7 x 4½ in., 47 pp. Paper covers, 5*d*.

OFFICIUM MAJORIS HEBDOMADAE juxta Missale et Breviarium Romanum. Cantus Gregorianus [No. 578]. Desclée, etc. 1903. 7 x 4½ in., 9 + 171 pp. Paper covers, 1*s*.

OFFICIUM PRO DEFUNCTIS cum Missa et Absolutione nec non Exsequiarum Ordine juxta Ritum Romanum [Nos. 593 and 593B]. Desclée, etc. 1903. 8½ x 5½ in., 95 pp. Paper covers, 8*d*.; cloth, 1*s*. 8*d*.

OFFICIUM PRO DEFUNCTIS, etc., juxta Ritum Monasticum [Nos. 594 and 594B]. Desclée, etc. 1903. 8½ x 5½ in., 92 pp. Paper covers, 8*d*.; cloth, 1*s*. 8*d*.

REQUIEM MASS. Modern Notation [No. 2287]. Desclée, etc. 1904. 8 x 5½ in., 11 pp. 2*d*.

VARIAE PRECES ex Liturgia tum hodierna tum antiqua collectae aut usu receptae. Editio quinta. Solesmis e Typographia Sancti Petri. 1901. 8½ x 5½ in., 281 pp. Paper covers, 2*s*. 5*d*.

IN his Instruction on Church Music Pope Pius X. says that 'the ancient traditional Gregorian Chant must be largely restored to the function of public worship'; and the Congregation of Rites, in their decree of 8th January last, state that the Pope 'has happily restored the venerable Gregorian Chant according to the authority of the Codices, and the ancient usage of the Churches' and that 'while revoking the privileges or recommendations with which other more recent forms of the liturgical chant have been introduced by the Apostolic See or this Sacred Congregation, his Holiness has kindly granted that these more recent forms may be retained and sung in those churches where they have already been adopted, with the injunction that as soon as possible the venerable Gregorian Chant, in accordance with the Codices, be put in their place.' Thus, then, the Medicean edition of the Gradual has come to the end of its career. Issued from the Medicean printing press in Rome in the years 1614 and 1615, bearing on its title-page the proud words 'Cum Cantu Pauli V.

Pont. Max. Iussu Reformato,' it lay dormant for over two centuries, until in 1868 the Congregation of Rites took it up again, and for upwards of thirty years recommended it to all the churches as the authentic edition of the Roman chant.

Now the Medicea is dead, and we need not say anything hard about it. We have suffered it, as we still suffer the Renaissance disfigurement of the liturgical hymns. Let us be satisfied to rejoice that we are allowed to return to the true tradition of the Gregorian melodies, which is best represented in the Codices of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

Neither the Pope nor the Congregation of Rites have prescribed any particular edition of the Plain Chant. But, practically, the publications of the Benedictine monks, recently expelled by the freedom-loving French Government from their monastery at Solesmes, are the only ones in the field. Nor is it likely that for many years to come, if ever, a more perfect edition will be published. It was in 1860 that Dom Guéranger, the great restorer of the Roman Liturgy, charged Dom Pothier to edit a Gradual, and after serious and patient research the latter brought out, in 1880, the Roman Gradual according to the version of the Codices. Since that time the Benedictines have continued their studies, and the new editions now before us, which were made necessary by the French Government seizing their printing plant and printed books, embody slight improvements suggested by these recent studies.

These books, then, represent a critical reconstruction of the Gregorian Chant based upon a careful examination of practically all the manuscripts existing. They represent the version of the manuscripts both as regards the notes and their arrangement in neums and groups of neums. There is only one thing that makes us a little suspicious with regard to the latter point. In the Preface to the *Liber Usualis*, page xxi., the editors state that they have slightly changed the notation of some neums in accordance with some supposed rhythmical laws. It would appear, then, that in these cases the authority of the Codices has been set aside. But as far as we can see, this has happened only in a few instances, so that generally we may take it for granted that the form of the neums, too, represents the best tradition.

There are, in the publications with 'Gregorian' notation, a few additional marks, not found in former editions. These

are, first, dots placed after some notes, indicating the prolongation of these notes required by their forming cadences. Secondly, there are horizontal strokes placed over or under some neums to indicate that these neums should be taken somewhat broadly. These strokes are in accordance with the so-called *Romanian signs*, and are very useful additions. Finally, there are short perpendicular strokes placed before certain notes within a neum to indicate a kind of accent on these notes. These strokes, called by the editors *episema*, are put in partly in accordance with the Romanian signs, partly in accordance with rhythmical theories. Of the first class a remarkable case occurs in the *Alleluja* Verse of the third Mass of Christmas—a melody frequently met with in the Gradual—where in the *climacus resupinus* (g f e c d) on *nobis* and *magna*, the *f* has the *episema*, suggesting a rendering that nobody could otherwise infer from the printed notation. We think it a pity, however, that a means has not been found to distinguish the two classes of *episemata*; for, while we have great confidence in the Romanian notation, we regard with the utmost diffidence the rhythmical theories of the men that are at present in charge of editing these books.

The editions with modern notation are sprinkled with dots placed over notes. What the practical import of these dots is, we do not know. We have made honest efforts to understand the meaning of the editors, but we have failed. They are intended to indicate the '*thesis*,' and by *thesis* the editors understand the second part, the end, of a rhythmical unit, a '*rhythm*,' as they call it. In a word like *Deus*, for instance, the first syllable forms the *arsis*, the second the *thesis*; in a word like *redemptor*, the first two syllables form the *arsis*, the last the *thesis*. So far, so good. But we grow a little suspicious when we see the *thesis* also called *ictus*, and we get completely upset when we learn that the *thesis* is identical with the '*strong beat*' in modern music. It looks, then, as if, according to the editors, the unaccented syllables were really the accented syllables. The strangest thing in these books with modern notation is that some melodies are preceded by a rest marked with the *thesis* dot. It is funny enough to begin a piece of Gregorian Chant with the negation of sound, but the thing is still more absurd when we take the underlying theory into account. For we may

imagine the editor soliloquising thus :—‘ This piece begins with an *arsis*, which means a beginning. But it is a bad thing for a melody to begin with a beginning. Therefore we shall put a rest before it. This means nothing objectively. But on paper, at least, it will make the melody begin with a *thesis*, an end, which is the proper way for a melody to begin.’ We can only advise our readers to disregard these dots altogether, or, better still, to keep to the editions with ‘ Gregorian ’ notation.

We shall now proceed to say a few words on the contents of the various publications, so as to help intending purchasers in making their selection.

The most comprehensive book is the *Liber Usualis*. It contains everything required for Solemn Mass and Vespers on Sundays, Holidays of obligation, and some Ferias on which the Liturgy is commonly celebrated with solemnity, such as Ash-Wednesday and the last three days of Holy Week. It also contains Matins and Lauds of a few feasts, such as Christmas, the last three days in Holy Week, and Easter Sunday. There is, further, the whole *Officium Defunctorum*, the *Requiem Mass*, and the *Exsequiarum Ordo*, and an Appendix with chants for Benediction, etc. The only thing that might be desired are the Commemorations of the *Feriae* on Feasts falling in Lent. All these contents in a volume of pocket-size, and at the low price quoted, make a wonderful book. Necessarily, the print is somewhat small, but being very clear, it will present no difficulty to persons with average eye-sight.

The *Manuale Missae et Officiorum* is a book intended primarily for congregational singing. It contains the *Ordo Missae*, the *Ordinarium Missae*, the *Toni Communes* (Psalm tones, *Benedicamus Domino*, *Te Deum*, etc), the Psalms and ordinary chants of Vespers and Compline, all the Vesper Hymns, and the Antiphons of the principal Feasts and of the Common of Saints, the Vespers and Mass for the Dead, and the chants for the Exequies, and an Appendix with chants for Benediction. Bound together with the ‘ Masses for the Principal Feasts ’ (Christmas, Epiphany, Easter, Ascension, Pentecost, *Corpus Christi*, SS. Peter and Paul, Assumption, All Saints, Dedication of a Church, Mass of B.V.M., *Pro Pace*, and Votive Mass of the Blessed Sacrament), this Manual would form an admirable book for country choirs that have High Mass but rarely. If Vespers are to be sung, the *Psalmi in Notis* would also be advisable;

but this had better be bound separately. This *Psalmi in Notis* gives all the Vesper Psalms adapted to all the Tones in the most correct manner, and very clearly.

The English edition, *A Manual of Gregorian Chant*, gives the Rubrics in English, omits the Vesper Psalms, the Antiphons of the Common of Saints, and a few things like the Procession Chants on Palm Sunday and the Purification, and the chants of the Exequies; but it embodies the Masses of the principal Feasts (with the exception of the last three enumerated above) and a large number of Benediction pieces. For the latter, with a few exceptions, extracted mainly from late mediæval sources, we personally do not care very much; but we know that many people prefer them even to the true Gregorian melodies, and where there is a large demand for Benediction pieces they will be welcome.

No. 573 is the same as No. 563, but in modern notation.

The other books are sufficiently explained by their titles. We need only add that the *Officium pro Defunctis* and the *Variae Preces* are printed in large clear type, and that Nos. 593 and 594 differ from 593B and 594B, by having the additional rhythmical signs mentioned above, which are not found in the latter editions.

REPERTORIO DI MELODIE GREGORIANE trascritte ed accompagnate Con Organo Od Armonium da Giulio Bas. Serie I.N.I. In Epiphania Domini. Roma: Desclée, Lefebvre e Ci. Price Lire 0.50.

ORDINARIUM MISSAE Organo concinente juxta editionem Solesmensem, editum per R. P. D. Michaellem Horn. Monachum Congregationis Beuronensis. Breitkopf & Haertel, Leipzig. Price 5 sh.

SOME slight difficulty in the way of the introduction of the Solesmes chant will be, for a little while, the want of organ accompaniments. M. Gevaert, indeed, in his *La Mélodie Antique dans le Chant de l'Eglise Latine*, expresses his firm conviction (p. 125 n. 1.) that 'any reform in the execution of Plain Chant ought to begin with the suppression of harmonic accompaniment,' and that 'the best accompaniment of Plain Chant is no good;' but practically we may take it for granted that Plain Chant will not be introduced without an accompaniment. There is no complete accompaniment of the Gradual extant, but G. Bas is

bringing out one in parts. The first of these is before us. It shows that the editor has given a great deal of thought to the subject, but on several points we cannot agree with him. First, we do not like the method of leaving a few notes here and there unaccompanied. It is a most important principle that an accompaniment of Gregorian Chant should be unobtrusive. But every time a thing begins after a moment of cessation it impresses itself on the attention. Hence the introduction of rests into the accompaniment is against the principle enunciated. Secondly, we have some objection from the harmonic point of view. Thus the cadence of the Psalm Tone of the Introit before us, *g a g*, is harmonised by giving the first *g* the chord of E_b major, the second *g* the chord of G minor, the *a* being treated as 'auxiliary' note. Now the jarring of this *a* against the E_b major chord is, to our ears, very disagreeable. The Phrygian mode (Communion) is treated as E minor, the cadence *f e* being harmonised by D minor—E minor. We have used this method ourselves for a long time, subordinating the judgment of our ear to theoretical considerations. It gave us immense relief when it dawned upon us that the Phrygian mode might lawfully be considered as an A minor ending on the upper interval of the fifth *a-e*. The Phrygian may have been a kind of E minor sometime, but in its present form it does not suggest the E minor harmony. Anyhow, the cadence D minor—E minor is unbearable. Thirdly, there are some peculiarities rhythmically. Perhaps the most striking example of these is the beginning of the Communion, where the first two harmonies enter on the final syllables of *stellam* and *ejus*. This method is quite in accordance with the 'Solesmes' theory of rhythm, which makes the *thesis* correspond to the modern strong beat. Certainly the normal place for the change of harmony is on the strong beat. G. Bas, therefore, acts quite consistently when he makes the harmonies change on the final syllables of words. But is it not truly wonderful what queer things men can do out of theoretical considerations? With all these objections we still think that these accompaniments will be a great help to organists. Notwithstanding their faults, they are better than the accompaniments that were provided for in the Ratisbon Gradual.

Father Horn's accompaniment to the *Ordinarium Missae* is written with great skill and taste. He, too, sometimes at least, ends the Phrygian mode on E minor (or its transpositions); but

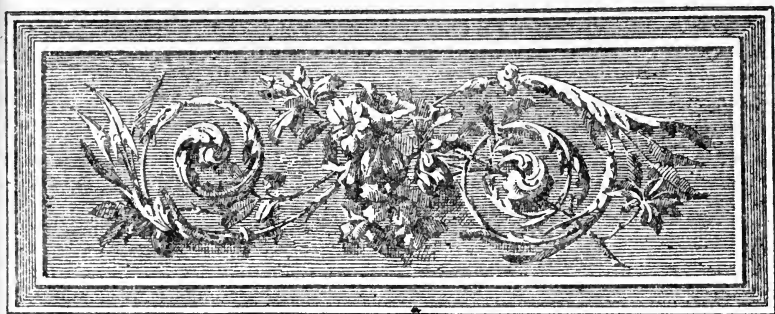
he avoids the juxtaposition of D minor and E minor. The melody is written in 'Gregorian' notation, which has the drawback that the notes of the accompaniment have sometimes to be printed exceedingly close, so that now and again it takes some reflection to find out how they combine to chords.

The book contains much more than its title indicates. There are, in a second part, accompaniments to the Psalm tones, the Antiphons of B.V.M., the *Te Deum*, and Benediction pieces, and, in a third part, the Vespers and Masses of Christmas, Easter, Pentecost, and the Assumption. We should be glad if the author would bring out a complete accompaniment to the Gradual.

H. B.

SERMON PLANS, OR OUTLINES OF SERMONS, CHIEFLY ON THE EPISTLES AND GOSPELS OF THE YEAR. By Rev. George Edward Howe, author of 'The Catechist.' London: St. Anselm's Society. 1904.

THIS is a very useful book, giving in compact form a great number of skeletons of sermons which can easily be filled in. The headings are clear, suggestive, and practical. To missionary priests who have to preach often and do not want merely to reproduce the thoughts of others, it will prove a real treasure. To young priests particularly it will facilitate the work of sermon-writing. It is not elaborate, nor intricate, nor pretentious, but it is practical, varied, and comprehensive. It gives in all 248 outlines of sermons.



A MARTYR FOR THE FAITH IN INISHOWEN

THE MURDER OF FATHER JAMES O'HEGARTY, DEAN OF THE
DIOCESE OF DERRY, AND PARISH PRIEST OF FAHAN AND
DESERTEGNEY IN INISHOWEN, IN OR ABOUT THE YEAR
1711

IN no time during the Penal days did the fire of persecution burn more fiercely than in the reign of Queen Anne, and the beginning of the reign of King George the First. No weapon that bigotry could invent was then left untried. The *Papists*, as they were termed, were subjected to every kind of civil disability ; but it was on the heads of the clergy, in an especial manner, that the full vials of heretical wrath were mercilessly poured. Nero did not gloat with more inhuman pleasure over the agonies of the early Christians converted into living torches to light the darkness of Rome, than did our English rulers over the hanging, drawing, and quartering of Catholic bishops and priests both in this country and in England. The laws passed at that period, and preserved in the statute books, published by the Government itself, bear ample testimony to the horrors of the time. Even the eloquence of Burke failed to designate these enactments properly, for they seemed to be the product, not of 'the perverted ingenuity of man,' as he mildly termed them, but the fierce onslaught of fiends upon the Church of God. As

a sample of these laws we may take that passed in 1703, entitled 'An Act to prevent the further growth of Popery,' and followed immediately by another called, 'An Act for registering the Popish clergy.' It is with the latter we have principally to deal, as well as with another Act passed in 1709.

This Registration Act begins as follows :—

Whereas two Acts lately made for banishing all Regulars of the Popish clergy out of this Kingdom, and to prevent Popish priests from coming into the same, may be wholly eluded, unless the Government be truly informed of the number of such dangerous persons as still reside among us : for remedy whereof, be it enacted by the Queen's most excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords spiritual and temporal and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, That all and every Popish priest or priests, who are now in this Kingdom, shall, at the next general quarter-sessions of the Peace to be held in all the several counties, or counties of cities or towns, throughout this Kingdom, next after the feast of St. John the Baptist, which shall be in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and four, return his or their names and places of abode to the respective clerks of the peace in the several counties, or counties of cities or towns, in this Kingdom, where the said Popish priests shall dwell or reside, together with his or their age, the parish of which he pretends to be Popish priest, the time and place of his or their receiving Popish orders, and from whom he or they received the same ; etc., etc.

The second section of this Act provides that if any priest apostatize, 'he is to receive a pension of twenty pounds sterling yearly and every year, during their residence in such county, for their maintenance, till they are otherwise provided for ;' this sum was to be levied off the county or district in which the said priest last officiated or resided, but the particular cruelty in this was, that the money was to be levied off Catholics only.

The third section ran thus :—

And it is further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That no Popish parish priest shall keep or have any Popish curate, assistant, or coadjutor. And that all and every Popish priest that shall neglect to register himself pursuant to this Act, shall depart out of this Kingdom before the twentieth day of July

which shall be in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and four, on pain of being prosecuted as a Popish Regular clergyman: and that such Popish priest and priests that shall neglect to register him or themselves as aforesaid, and remain in this Kingdom after the said twentieth day of July, shall be esteemed a Popish Regular clergyman, and prosecuted as such.

The priests regarded this law of registration as a kind of toleration if not of protection, and believed that by complying with it they would secure peace to follow their sacred calling, and to minister to the spiritual necessities of their flocks. Little they dreamed it was a deep-laid plan to effect their ruin by giving them the choice of death or apostacy. Yet this was the dilemma in which an Act passed in 1709 placed them.

In obedience to the Government edict most, if not all, of the parish priests got themselves registered. Among the number we find the name of Father Hegarty, or O'Hegarty, the subject of this sketch. The list of those registered was 'Printed by Andrew Crook, Printer to the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty, on the Blind-Key, 1705. Dublin.' It has been reprinted more than once since as a literary and historical curiosity. We believe the last reprint of it was in the twelfth volume of the first series of the I. E. RECORD, under the auspices of its then Editor, the present Archbishop of Dublin. We there find: 'Registered at a General Sessions of the Peace held for the said County of Donegall, at Raphoe, the Eleventh day of July, 1704, James Hegarty, aged 55, residing at Gortergan, Parish Priest of Fawn, etc., ordained at Dundalk, in May, 1672, by Oliver Plunket, Tit. Primate of Ireland.' The *Fawn*, etc., of which he was parish priest was the united parish of Fahan and Desertegney; the Fahan being spelt in the registry as it is still pronounced, *Fawn*. Of his life and labours, as of those of his contemporaries, we know but little save what tradition has preserved for us. Even the names of those apostolical men are, for the most part, forgotten; all that remains of them is the fruit of their labours—the living faith which they transmitted to us in spite of every persecution.

Fortunately, however, tradition in the case of Father

Hegarty has been both clear and abundant, owing to the fact that many of his collateral relatives still reside in the locality, and have treasured up every item of information regarding him. Some of these, now far advanced in years, learned from their grand-parents, who were almost contemporaries of Father Hegarty, all the particulars of his birth-place, life, and cruel death. These traditions, given by persons in widely separate parts of the locality, agree most wonderfully, even in minute details. From these we learn that Father Hegarty was born in the very townland in which he was afterwards murdered; that he had a sister named Mary, to whom, on the occasion of her marriage with Thomas Doherty (the subsequent betrayer of the priest), her father gave a portion of his own farm as a dowry, and that of this marriage there were three sons born. The family resided on this small farm until they got a larger one adjoining from Colonel Vaughan, as a reward for betraying the priest. This Vaughan came to Buncrana in command of the troops in 1707. No sooner had he taken up his residence than he began his work of priest-hunting, and of endeavouring to Protestantize the inhabitants of the locality. Owing to a variety of circumstances, but especially owing to the fact that the peninsula had never recovered from the desolation spread over it in the preceding years by Chichester and his agents, poverty something akin to famine prevailed in Inishowen, and materially assisted Vaughan in his missionary campaign. Like modern zealots, he believed the way to the souls of the people was to be found through their empty stomachs, he at once had recourse to the method of establishing soup-kitchens for the starving poor; not by any means as an act of charity for the famishing people, but as a means of perverting them from their faith.

None, however, were permitted to partake of this soup till they had publicly attended the Protestant church for three Sundays, and then they must take the broth or soup *publicly* on Friday—the only day it was ladled out to them. Those who consented to these terms were rewarded with money or lands, or both. Among the first to avail themselves of this offer were the brother-in-law of Father Hegarty—Thomas

Doherty—and his friends, and ever after they and their descendants were known as the *Friday Doherties*. From their readiness in giving up the faith Doherty and his sons became favourites of Colonel Vaughan, and as the sons were stout, burly fellows, they became a kind of body-guard to him when he went into possession of the *Castle of Buncrana*, which, according to some, was built in 1713, or, according to others, a few years later. The result of this unhallowed friendship we shall see later on. When Colonel Vaughan made it known that, in addition to the Government reward, he himself would give both lands and money to anyone who would betray Father Hegarty to him, the offer was too tempting to be resisted by Thomas Doherty and his sons. On their return home to Ballynary, they talked freely over the matter, said as the reward was now so great there would be plenty to look for it, and the priest could not long escape. Such being the case, they said they might as well have it as some other, and they determined to secure it. The poor wife and mother, having heard their diabolical conspiracy, fell on her knees, and with streaming eyes begged of them not to imbrue their hands in innocent blood—in the blood of their own relative and God's anointed—but all in vain. She succeeded, however, in having word conveyed to her brother, who at once changed his hiding-place, and betook himself to that cave where he was afterwards betrayed, and where he met his doom.

We said above that the Act of registration of the parish priests had an object in view that the priests never anticipated. This became manifest in 1709, when the period of registration expired. An Act was passed in that year to the following effect :—

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That all and every Popish priest and priests, who have been registered in pursuance of the said former Act for registering the Popish clergy, shall take the oath of Abjuration before the twenty-fifth day of March, one thousand seven hundred and ten, in one of the Four Courts, at Dublin, or at some quarter-sessions to be held for the respective counties, cities, or towns where such Popish priest or priests have been registered ; and upon neglect or refusal, and after the said twenty-fifth day of March cele-

brating Mass, or officiating as a Popish priest, such Popish priest shall incur and suffer such pains, penalties, and forfeitures, as a Popish Regular clergyman convict by the laws and statutes of this realm is liable unto.

By this Act we come to see clearly the object of the registration of the clergy. It was not for the purpose of protecting them, or of giving them freedom in the exercise of their ministry, but of knowing for certain their whereabouts, that they might be at any moment seized and obliged to deny their faith, or to go to exile or death. It seemed a certain means of getting the country cleared of priests of every rank, for as the parish priests were forbidden to have curates or assistants of any kind, when they would go there would be no successors to take up their work, and the faith would then die out of sheer inanition. The seeming protection given by the Registration Act was merely 'the protection that vultures give to lambs—covering and devouring them.' All the priests who had been registered in 1704 were now called upon to take the oath of Abjuration, or abide the penalties. That oath was similar in its tenor to the Accession Oath still taken by the Sovereign of these realms on coming to the throne. The person taking it had to solemnly declare :—

That I do believe that in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper there is not any transubstantiation of the elements of bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, at or after the consecration thereof, by any person whatsoever ; and that the invocation and adoration of the Virgin Mary, or any other saint, and the Sacrifice of the Mass, as they are now used in the Church of Rome, are superstitious and idolatrous, etc.

And this was what the priests were called on to swear if they wished to be allowed to live in the land. If they refused to take this oath, they were at once to be treated as Regulars, *i.e.*, to be transported, and, in the event of their returning, to be hanged, drawn, and quartered. Moreover, the same penalties attached to a priest who dared to marry a Catholic and a Protestant together.

In this same year had been passed an Act offering a bribe of £50 to anyone who discovered and betrayed an

archbishop, bishop, vicar-general, or other person exercising foreign ecclesiastical authority in this kingdom ; and what rendered this law particularly odious was, that the bribe or reward thus offered was to be levied off the Catholic people alone. Now since the Commons had declared ' that the prosecuting and informing against Papists was an honourable service,' it is not strange that spies, informers, and priest-hunters became at once numerous.

The priest-hunter had an infamous corps under his command [says Dean Cogan] designated *priest-hounds*, whose duty was to track, with the untiring and unrelenting scent of the blood-hound, the fissures of the rock and the caverns of the earth where the poor humble priest took refuge. Religion was now in a lamentable condition. The wretched mud-wall, thatched chapels of which the Irish Catholics were then glad to have the use, were levelled or closed over the whole kingdom. In cities and towns the Catholic clergy were concealed in garrets or cellars, and in the country districts they were hid in the unfrequented caves, in the lonely woods, and the ever welcome homes of the poor Irish peasant. During these storms of persecution the Sacraments were dispensed in the dead of night, and during the week-days word would be sent round the people where to meet their pastor on the following Sunday morning. The place of sacrifice was constantly being changed in order to baffle pursuit, and many a time, while the stars were twinkling, Mass was celebrated on the lone mountain or by the side of a ditch, while a few of the most active of the congregation kept vigil, lest the bark of the blood-hound, or the stealthy steps of a more remorseless enemy, the priest-hunter, would break in on the sacred ceremonies and subject the unfortunate priest to the dread penalties of the law.¹

Such was the life of Father Hegarty, and of his contemporaries.

In his letters to Lord Stanley, the illustrious Dr. Maginn, Bishop of Derry, thus expressed himself regarding this victim of persecution. Showing the immunity from crime, particularly the crime of murder, which characterized Inishowen, the Bishop says :—

The only one that tradition hands down to us is the murder of a parish priest of this union, and Dean of the diocese of Derry,

¹ *Diocese of Meath*, vol. i., pp. 266-7.

Dr. O'Hegarty. He was dragged from a mountain cavern—his hiding-place by day (by night only could he appear in those times, commune with his flock, instruct the living, console the dying, and bury the dead)—and was butchered on a rock on the banks of the Swilly, which shall be ever memorable from this bloody tragedy. The perpetrator of this murder was a Captain Vaughan, the son of an English colonel who served in the army of Oliver Cromwell (as Carlyle would say) 'of blessed memory.' The good captain believed he was doing the work of God, when imbruing his hands in the blood of Popish priests, as many now believe they are doing the same holy work in calumniating them.²

Dr. Maginn had exceptional opportunities of learning all the traditions about Father Hegarty's murder. He came in 1806, when only four years old, to reside in Buncrana, where he afterwards became parish priest, and which, even when appointed Bishop, he held as his mensal parish till the time of his death in 1849. His uncle, Father John Maginn, had been parish priest of Fahan and Desertegney before him for a considerable period, so that the pastorate of the latter must have gone back to a time not far distant from Hegarty's murder, and when all the details were still fresh in the minds of the people. From his uncle and family, then, he could have learned the rank and character of the murdered man, the name and status of the murderer, and the circumstances that led to the barbarous tragedy.

It is not easy at this date to know whether there was any specific charge preferred against Father Hegarty, but it was enough that he had declined to take the oath of Abjuration, as happily the other priests had also done, and this made him liable, as we have seen, to transportation in the first instance, and to death if he dared to return again to the country. Besides, he was a dignitary, being Dean of the diocese, and we know that £50 was the reward for apprehending such as he. We are also to take into account that £50 at that period represented a much larger sum than at present.

In an interesting little book, compiled by the late Mr.

² 'First Letter to Lord Stanley on the Confessional.'

Michael Harkin, of Carndonagh, published in Derry, in 1867, and entitled *Inishowen, its History, Traditions, and Antiquities*, an account is given of the scene and circumstances of the murder, which we have reason to believe is accurate, and which therefore we have pleasure in transcribing :—

In the village of Ballynary, about two miles north-west of Buncrana, on the banks of the Swilly, is a sea-cave which served as a hiding-place for a humble and zealous priest of the name of O'Hegarty. From this wild seclusion he was accustomed to steal, under the shadow of night, to carry the ministrations of his religion to the hearths of the faithful fishermen around the coast, and the hardy mountaineer further inland. His retreat was unknown to all save his sister, who lived with her husband and family in the above-named village. None of her family ever questioned her on the object of her journey when she departed from her cottage in the gray dawn each morning to carry him the provisions for the day. At last, her husband suspecting her mission, was led by curiosity to watch her unseen, and so became acquainted with the hiding-place of her fugitive brother. This, once known, he had not the fidelity to keep secret, for, tempted by the reward held out for such a discovery, he led a guard of soldiers from the garrison at Buncrana to apprehend the priest, his own brother-in-law, in that lonely dwelling. Often did the poor woman return that morning from the entrance of the rude domicile charging her brother to be wary, and endeavouring to cheer him with the hope that these ruthless times would pass away and be succeeded by others, when he could live in the habitations of men, and go abroad in daylight in the service of his Divine Master. But the dawn was brightening, she might, if she remained longer, be discovered, and her object at least suspected. She received the usual parting benediction, and commenced her toilsome ascent, when, horror of horrors, there, full before her, were the soldiers descending by the same path to terminate that life which she had so long and so anxiously laboured to preserve. She called frantically to her brother that the guard was upon him. He rushed from the cave; above him were the soldiers, beneath the whole breadth of the deep-flowing Swilly, but deeming it the friendlier of the two, and putting his trust in God, he plunged into its depths with the bold, almost reckless resolve of swimming to the opposite shore. The guard, seeing they were in danger of losing the object of their pursuit, or fearing that if they fired and killed him in the water, they should have no evidence of the fact, called to him to return and they would spare his life, but no sooner had he gained the top of the precipice than they seized him, cut off his head, and

buried his body on the spot where they had committed the deed. His poor sister, the informer's wife, seeing all that had been done, became a raving maniac. Though fear of the soldiers' vengeance prevented the peasantry from marking his grave, yet was the memory of the place so engraven on their hearts, and carefully transmitted from father to son, that the villagers' children could at any time point out to the curious stranger that sad memento of the horrors of bygone days, under the name of *Hegarty's Rock*. Long afterwards, when civilization had made a proper impression on the governing classes, and when the disabilities imposed on the professors of the Catholic faith had been removed, two gentlemen, the Right Rev. Edward Maginn, D.D., and Hugh O'Donnell, Esq., M.D., visited the spot, and, with the view of testing the accuracy of the account, dug up the clay, and brought a portion of it for analysis to the College of Surgeons, Edinburgh, where Mr. O'Donnell was then studying. They afterwards raised a green mound on the spot, which now marks the place where the priest was interred.

We may add that the result of the analysis proved that human remains had been buried in the spot.

One statement in the foregoing narrative seems incorrect, viz., that the priest's sister, when she beheld the murder of her brother, became a raving maniac. All the traditions in the locality testify the contrary. When she beheld the atrocious murder committed before her eyes, and saw that the band of soldiers was led by her own degenerate husband, she is said to have fallen on her bare knees and prayed to God that she might not die till she had seen vengeance fall on that husband and his sons. That prayer or imprecation, coming as it did from her broken heart, did not go unheard. She separated from the family at once, and went to live with a family named M'Donald, in Buncrana. These M'Donalds were probably relatives, and they occupied the only two-storied and slated house in the town. Here she remained, spending her time in prayer, and in lamenting the fate of her murdered brother.

After the betrayal of the priest Tom Doherty and his sons became the henchmen of Colonel Vaughan, and the recipients of his favours. A gentleman at this time came from the neighbourhood of Maghera, in County Derry, on a visit to Buncrana Castle. When there he mentioned to

Sir John—for it seems he was a knight as well as a colonel—that he was harassed incessantly by an outlaw known by the sobriquet of *Stumpy*, that all his efforts to capture him were fruitless, and that he was willing to give a large sum to anyone who would bring him to him either dead or alive. Colonel Vaughan at once offered to send him his servitors, the two young Doherties, guaranteeing that if anyone on earth could capture him, they would. Dazzled by the prospect of so great a recompense, they set out with their new employer, and after a few days waiting, they learned that their intended victim might now be caught poaching on the side of a neighbouring mountain. They started in pursuit of him, and as he threatend to outrun them, one of them fired, wounding *Stumpy* in the leg. Finding it impossible to continue the race, the wounded man threw himself between two ridges of potatoes, where one of the pursuers rushed up to seize him, but as he approached, *Stumpy* presented his pistol and shot him through the heart. The second brother, stunned by what had occurred, came forward to aid his brother, only to share a similar fate. News was brought to Buncrana of the sad death of the brothers, and the father started on horseback to meet their remains. There were no county-roads then as now, and the father had to pursue a kind of bridle-path that went up hill and down vale. Going down a declivity towards a rivulet, the horse suddenly stopped to drink, throwing his rider forward on his head, and breaking his neck in the fall. When the cart containing the bodies of his sons came to the spot, that of the father was placed along with them, and from the second-storey window of M'Donald's house, the sister of Father Hegarty beheld the sad realisation of her prayer, for the vengeance of Heaven had fallen on the heartless betrayers of the outlawed priest—her brother. She lived for some years wholly devoted to prayer, and she obtained in the end, what her husband and sons did not—the grace of a holy death.

What a life of toil, of misery, and of danger did Father Hegarty lead! Wandering through the deep glens and rugged hills of the extensive district of which he had charge ;

lighted by the moonbeams, or groping his way beneath a starless sky, he went from cabin to cabin in sleet and storm to administer the Last Sacraments to the poor but faithful people, to baptize the little ones, to console the suffering and afflicted, or to offer up on a bare rock or bleak mountain-side the Holy Sacrifice for the living and the dead. Well might he say with Saul of Tarsus that he was

In journeying often, in perils of waters, in perils of robbers, in perils from his own nation, in perils from the gentiles, in perils in the city, in perils in the wilderness, in perils in the sea, in perils from false brethren ; in labour and painfulness, in much watchings, in hunger and thirst, in fastings often, in cold and nakedness.³

A hundred years before, this fair and romantic region had been over-run by the sleuth-hounds of Chichester who lacerated the entire peasantry ; but now the blood-hounds of Anne sprang at the throats of the priests in particular. They were to be exterminated, and the method adopted for their extermination seemed, according to human calculation, absolutely certain of success. No curates were permitted, nor assistants of any kind, therefore there would be no successors to the present parish priests. The parish priests had been registered and were consequently known, and by the Act of 1709 they were called on to take the oath of Abjuration; in other words, to deny their faith or else go into exile or suffer death. Under all these fiendish devices of our legislators nothing but a special mercy of God could have preserved the faith, and with St. John we may say, ' This is the victory that overcometh the world, our faith.' Between this Scylla and Charybdis was Father Hegarty placed. Had he taken the oath of Abjuration, had he been recreant to his God, and sworn that to be blasphemous and idolatrous which he knew to be sacred and divine, then he might have lived at ease, and enjoyed the pension that was wrung from the poverty of his down-trodden fellow-Catholics. But he nobly spurned the bribe, preferring to be ranked amongst the white-robed band

³ 2 Cor. xi. 26, 27.

described by St. John, and of whom the angel said to him : ' These are they who are come out of great tribulation, and have washed their robes, and have made them white in the blood of the Lamb.'⁴

That Father Hegarty died for his faith and for his fidelity to the duties of his sacred calling, there is not the shadow of a doubt ; and it was the death of martyrs such as he that strengthened the faith of the people, and encouraged them to cling the closer to the Rock of Ages.

No long procession or funeral pomp accompanied him to the grave ; no solemn dirge nor swinging censer consecrated his last dwelling-place ; but the waters of the Swilly for nigh two centuries have chanted their *Miserere* around his lonely habitation ; and the breezes of that Lake of Shadows, round which for years he ministered, have ceaselessly sung their *Benedictus* over the ashes of him whom the *vox populi* has long since canonized as the Martyr of Inishowen.

✠ JOHN K. O'DOHERTY.

⁴ Apoc. vii. 14.

THE DEFINITION OF THE IMMACULATE CONCEPTION

P IUS IX., during his exile at Gaeta, issued an Encyclical letter dated 2nd of February, 1849, to the bishops of the Catholic world, inviting them, after pouring forth their prayers to Almighty God, to report to him in writing what was the belief of their respective clergy and flocks concerning the Immaculate Conception of the Mother of God, and also what were their own opinions regarding the dogmatic definition of the doctrine. Alluding in the Bull of the Definition, *Ineffabilis*, to the replies which he received, the Pope used these words :—

It is with no ordinary consolation we felt Ourselves moved when the replies from Our venerable brethren arrived. For, with an incredible degree of gladness, delight, and earnestness, they, in penning their replies, confirmed anew not only their own singular devotion and settled sentiments, but those also of their respective clergy and of the faithful committed to their charge, towards the Immaculate Conception of the most Blessed Virgin ; and united as if in the same object of petition, they of one accord earnestly entreated Us, that the Immaculate Conception of the Glorious Virgin should be pronounced, by Our supreme decision and authority, a dogma of faith. Nor surely has Our heart with less joy been filled the while when Our own venerable brethren, the Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church, members of the special Congregation of which mention has just above been made—and with them the consulting theologians chosen by Ourselves—demanded of Us with the same earnest desire, and the same zeal, after a full examen made with all diligence, the final settling the question of the Immaculate Conception of the Mother of God.

[L. 3]

Father Perrone, the great Jesuit theologian, who was intimately acquainted with all the proceedings in connection with the definition, in a thesis appended to his treatise on Original Sin, which he wrote after the definition, tells us that

Of six hundred and twenty Archbishops and bishops who sent in their answers to the Encyclical of His Holiness, Pius IX.,

four only were against the definition. And even these four bear testimony to the devotion and deeply-rooted belief of clergy and laity. And of these four out of the whole Catholic world, three in a short time changed their opinions.

These few, it is said, were not so much opposed to the doctrine itself as to the expediency of the definition. Seeing this universal, almost unanimous, consensus of prelates and people in favour of the definition, one need not wonder at the marvellous unanimity and gladness with which the promulgation of the dogma was hailed throughout the Catholic world. The definition did not take place until the 8th of December, 1854. Bishops from all parts of the world assembled at Rome for that great event. Ireland was represented by three archbishops, viz., Dr. MacHale of Tuam, Dr. Cullen of Dublin, and Dr. Dixon of Armagh; and three bishops, Dr. M'Nally of Clogher, Dr. Derry of Clonfert, and Dr. Murphy of Cloyne. In addition to these six there were four Irish bishops ruling dioceses in America, namely, Dr. Hughes of New York, Dr. Kenrick of Baltimore, Dr. Walsh of Halifax, and Dr. O'Connor of Pittsburg. On his arrival at Rome, each bishop was furnished with a copy of the answers which the Pope had received from the bishops of the world in reply to his Encyclical letter. These replies, together with various dissertations on the subject, filled ten octavo volumes.

About the middle of November a printed circular containing a detailed account of the steps taken by the Pope up to that time was given to each bishop, likewise a rough draft of the Bull of Definition, which, in certain matters of form and detail, was to be submitted to their consideration. A meeting of the patriarchs, archbishops, and bishops then in Rome was held on the 20th of November, in the ducal hall of the Vatican Palace, under the presidency of the Pope's delegates, Cardinals Brunelli, Caterini, and Santucci. Minute instructions were given regarding the dress to be worn, the order of precedence and other details to be observed during their deliberations. Meetings were held during four days of that week—each meeting lasting about four or five hours. Besides the cardinals, patriarchs, arch-

bishops, and bishops, there were present theologians who had assisted in preparing the Bull. This assemblage was not a general council. Its purpose was not to define the dogma, but to discuss some of the preparatory parts and arrangement of the rough draft of the Bull. The Holy Father, after consulting by his Encyclical letter all the bishops of the world, and considering their replies, had already concluded that the Immaculate Conception not only could be defined as a dogma of faith but also that the time had arrived for the definition. Dr. Dixon, Archbishop of Armagh, who took part in the proceedings, wrote a detailed and interesting account of what took place at these preparatory meetings, and on the day of the definition. At these meetings, he tells us, each bishop expressed his views very freely, and when a change in the draft of the Bull was suggested, the theologians who had assisted in drafting it were consulted so that every opportunity of discussion for and against was granted before any alteration was made. All the bishops did not speak, we are informed, but many did—and some more than once. Amongst the latter of those in whom Irish people take an interest, being the Archbishops of Dublin, Tuam, and Baltimore, and the Bishop of Pittsburg. Most probably Dr. Dixon himself was among the speakers, but for obvious reasons he is silent on the point.

All through [he says] the most delightful spirit of harmony pervaded the assembly, and when at the end of Friday's sitting, Cardinal Brunelli was about to dissolve the assembly, he was moved even to tears by the strong and universal expression, on the part of the bishops, of attachment to the Holy See, and of love for its present Pontiff, and applause for the great act which he was soon to consummate. After this, His Holiness signified his wish that the bishops and all should pray for the benediction of heaven on the great work of the 8th of December, that so it might be the occasion of more abundant blessings to the world.

To render these prayers more efficacious he ordered the great relics of Rome to be exposed to the veneration of the faithful, viz. :—in St. Peter's, a portion of the true cross, a portion of the lance, and the veil of St. Veronica with the impression of the Holy Face ; in St. Mary Major's,

the crib of the Infant Redeemer ; in Santa Croce of Jerusalem the portion of the true cross which is there preserved ; and in St. Peter ad Vincula, the chains by which St. Peter was bound in prison in Jerusalem and Rome, and which when brought in contact united, and are now preserved in that church. His Holiness further ordained that the day preceding the definition, which happened to be Thursday, should be kept as a strict fast day, but he allowed meat on the day itself, the 8th, which fell on Friday. Rain had been falling almost without ceasing for days before, and on the 7th there was a regular downpour.

I still felt assured [writes Dr. Dixon] that the rain would cease at the approach of a day on which so much joy was to be given to God—so much honour to Mary—and so much joy and gladness to angels and men. I could not admit the thought that on that day, when Rome, the Mother and Mistress of Truth, was to perform an act which might almost excite the envy of the angels in heaven, the sun would not shine out upon her, and give to her streets and people the festive appearance of great joy, instead of the gloomy aspect of a city in mourning which she had worn for some days previous. And hence on retiring to bed on the night of the 7th of December, it was rather an ardent desire which I felt for the coming of a fine day on the morrow, than any anxiety about the matter. On account of this desire, I got up repeatedly during the night, to look at the appearance of the sky ; and when about four o'clock in the morning, I saw that my hopeful anticipations for the great day were to be fully realized, it delights me now to remember with what joy and thankfulness I repeated the *Ave Maris Stella*.

His Grace then gives a graphic description of the morning's proceedings. The multitudes hurrying to St. Peter's from the early dawn of morning ; the assembling of the cardinals and bishops in the Sistine Chapel, the procession thence by the grand staircase ; the Pope on the Sedia Gestatoria, preceded by a long procession of cardinals and bishops—about two hundred in number—wearing their mitres ; the penitentiaries of St. Peter's wearing chasubles ; members of the secular clergy, and of the various religious orders living in Rome, in their distinctive habits ; the files of soldiers—Swiss and Noble Guards—and the countless

multitudes of lay people, foreigners and Romans, who filled St. Peter's. Those who have had the privilege of being in Rome during the Vatican Council, or at any of the solemn functions of canonization, can easily realise the scene of that morning. 'Never,' writes Dr. Dixon, 'had St. Peter's witnessed such a number within its walls, and, perhaps, a thousand years will pass before so large an assemblage shall be congregated there again.' Little did he imagine that on that day fifteen years, on the 8th of December, 1869, more than three times a larger assemblage of mitred heads would pass through the nave of St. Peter's, followed by the same great Pope in his chair of state wearing his tiara, for the solemn opening of the Vatican Council; and once again on the 18th July, 1870—the memorable day of the definition of the Infallibility of the Pope—the day preceding that of the declaration of the Franco-Prussian War, the rapid and decisive result of which led to the bombardment and capture of Rome on the 20th of September following, and the consequent imprisonment in the Vatican palace until his death in February, 1878, of this remarkable and saintly Pontiff, Pius IX.

Dr. Dixon thus describes what followed :—

The Pope being seated, received the homage of the cardinals and bishops, and of the penitentiaries of St. Peter's, a long ceremony by reason of the great numbers who were present. Then, after the chanting of Terce, High Mass commenced; and when the Pope after reading the *Introit* saying the *Kyrie*, and intoning the *Gloria in Excelsis*, took his seat on the throne prepared for him, it was delightful to behold the rays of an unclouded sun greeting him through the lofty windows of St. Peter's. For, let it be ever remembered—and if I had only recorded this fact, I should not have written this book in vain—that although the rain fell in torrents for days before the 8th of December, and for days after it, yet, on the day itself from the earliest dawn of morning until twelve o'clock at night, not one drop of rain fell in Rome. After the *Gospel* had been sung in Latin and in Greek, His Holiness stood up at the throne, to perform one of the most solemn and important acts which a chief Pontiff can ever be called upon to perform. Amidst the profound attention of the vast assembly present, he began to read, in a clear voice, the decree of the Immaculate Conception. Having read

the prefatory parts, and arrived at the decree itself, His Holiness, who was ever remarkable for his tender devotion to the Holy Virgin, overpowered as if by the sense of the favour which God was conferring on him, in vouchsafing that he should be the instrument of rendering such an honour to His most beloved Mother, burst into tears. He went on to read with a faltering voice, which betrayed the deepest emotion, the word *declaramus* but for some minutes could proceed no further. The effect on the vast auditory may be more easily conceived than expressed. It may be safely said, there were but few present who were not profoundly moved, and many wept like children. The Pope having recovered from his emotion, finished the reading of the decree, and almost immediately after, the booming of the cannon of Fort St. Angelo began to echo through the vast dome of St. Peter's, and the bells of the churches through Rome rang a merry peal. The great act was consummated.

He next describes the illuminations and festivities that night in Rome in honour of the great event. Amongst other things he tells us that there was a solemn meeting that evening of the Arcadian Academy, one of the most distinguished of the academies in Rome, in one of the great halls of the public buildings on the Capitol. Cardinal Wiseman presided, and delivered a most beautiful address in Italian before a brilliant audience. 'The applause from all parts of the room which followed the conclusion of this address was kept up for several minutes. Indeed, I was never before present in any assembly at such an outburst of applause.'

Next morning a secret consistory was held, at which all the cardinals and bishops who were in Rome attended. His Holiness read for them a touching allocution, and had presented to each of these present :—

1. A gold medal in a handsome case—the medal having on one side an image of the Blessed Virgin with the words *Honoro-ficentia populi Nostri*, and on the other side an inscription stating that it was struck on the 8th December, in honour of Mary conceived without sin, by order of Pius IX., from the first fruits of a present which had been made to him of Australian gold.
2. A beautiful print of the Blessed Virgin.
3. A beautifully printed list of the cardinals with their titles and the order of their creation, and of the bishops with their sees and order of promotion, who had been present at the definition of the Immaculate Conception.

On Sunday, the 10th, another important event occurred, that was, the solemn consecration of St. Paul's outside the walls, which had been burned years before, and was now rebuilt in a style surpassing its former grandeur. In this long and solemn ceremony, His Holiness was assisted by the cardinals and archbishops of some of the principal Sees of the Catholic world. The names of all the cardinals, archbishops, and bishops who were present on that occasion are inscribed on a slab in the Basilica. In the year 1900, the last occasion that the writer was in Rome, looking over the names in that list, there was only one surviving, and that was Cardinal Joachim Pecci, of the title of St. Chrysogonus, Bishop of Perugia, afterwards the great Leo XIII. His name is the last of the cardinals of the order of priests in that list. If any credit is to be given to newspaper gossip, it is said that when appointing a commission last year to make preparations for the due celebration of the golden jubilee of the definition of the Immaculate Conception on the 8th of December next, His Holiness expressed a hope that he would live to celebrate it. He lived to celebrate many jubilees—the diamond jubilee of his priesthood, the golden jubilee of his episcopacy, the silver jubilee of his popedom—but God ordained, let us hope, that he should celebrate the golden jubilee of the definition of the Immaculate Conception, not on earth but in heaven together with his illustrious predecessor.

On Monday, the 11th, there was a meeting of the Academy of the Immaculate Conception in the church of the Santi Apostoli. This spacious church, situated in the piazza of the same name off the Corso, was brilliantly illuminated and inconveniently packed with people. A rare treat was prepared for them, consisting of the execution, by the best performers in Rome, of special pieces of music composed for the occasion; and the recitation, in various languages, of compositions in prose and verse bearing on this grand event. Amongst others the great Archbishop of the West, Dr. MacHale, recited, in Irish and English, a poem composed by himself for the occasion. This poem, consisting of eleven verses, may be of interest now, when

the language of the Gael which the great prelate loved so well, is being, thank God, gradually but securely revived.

Thán a rinneadh 'ra Róimh, mí-meádhain an gheimhe 1854, le
 linn teagair éadó-geimeamuinte na Mairtíne beannu-
 iúite a éiríodh go h-uisiúil le Seán an-
 eapraigí Tuama.

Go oile'nead ó naomh innir-páil
 Ais ar ais, lár rionta teann,
 "Realta na Mara" 'rcair gac ríal,
 Sur cúmruig 'n cneiseamh árra ann;
 ní oual beir rírtac éadó 'r tá ríeul
 na h-uis' gan peacac ann gac beul.

II.

ní oual vo éilríg éireann binn
 Ais rilleos éreos, beir rírtac
 go n-ouneab ceolta ouéur 'r rínn
 ar gíorúite lán le cúma 'r rírtac:
 óir fáiltuigeann Róimh na tíbhe buíde
 gac aon, gan déalugac gac no rírtac.

III.

Tríó cianta, fáiltuigíó leir an neul,
 Sgarar lórtan tríó gac tríó
 fíolruigeir ar b-rírtac tríó an neul
 mar an mairtín, fíolruigeir lá
 búin-ouírtan, rírtac tríó an ceo
 le'r bneadúig rírtac, leir rírtac-beo.

IV.

Tógair rírtac go h-árra bup ngac
 'Sur rírtac 'mac ó éreos bup n-óán,
 'Sur bídeac bup g-ouirín amail rírtac
 le mórtan ceolta bírne lán,
 tábairt ais bup na t-ouírtac rírtac
 bup rírtac-pannta beann: gírtac, binn.

V.

Dannca 'tíς, anuas ó trá
 na maiúne 'n cumad talam 'r neam
 'S raib cinn ar rliocú fíoi amgar 'r ríat
 mar géil oo glór na peirt', go leam:
 nuair oo tug solár Uia o'a g-croíde,
 'Sgeit leup na voige, or cionn a rlige.

VI.

Ó úroinn na neulta ooimín', ouh,
 'Cuir air breit-ríor an úriatár, ríat
 'O'follruig 'mac go trócairead, gúe
 a breit ó mnaoi, ann am, le ráe
 go n-gabrad air a namaro teann
 buair, 'r go m-briread fór a ceann.

VII.

Samail an tuim oo éonairc maoir,
 trá bí pobal eabha crom,
 fíoi 'n éuing gear, a o'fágaró baoir
 an oíoc-rig teannta oíeu crom.
 U' fan an tom gan oíeuagó o'n teap
 cí nae n'oeacóir an larpair ar.

VIII.

An mág fíoi fáil, gac am'r gac trá
 gan air beit canuagó beul no gúe
 na ríora donmair' uil' fíoi bláe
 'S fíoi glara oúnta ruar gac ríut:
 Samail iao ro na h-Oíge fíoir',
 nae raib a ríam le peacó uaoi.

IX.

Ó'n am tá arpa 'g-cein, le linn
 caeírim glóiríar matár oé
 beit 'g-cill n'épeir' 'g a gabail go binn
 ní 'r cluired aoiúneap ceoil mar é,
 ó élois éill peaoair teacó oo bí
 'S go flaitéap cogbail ruar gac croíde.

X.

Oíge! a o'tainic neac oe úroing
 na n-aingeal 'nuar ó Uia na rluag
 ruagrad cuirínt' fíoi oo úroinn
 U'a máe don-geinte fór oo luac
 'Sur beapfa coil: ír ear na mná
 oo bí cú beannuigíte ann gac trá.

XI.

'n uair berdear ar laete caite, fann,
 n-veir ar n-airtuir éirio an t-rlige
 'Sur bealaige buairte, trearna gleann
 na n-veor; ráđ buinn a mátair, ríit
 ar uet no míc,—ó gáó a'r baogal,
 'Sur flaitear óé, le raogal na raogal.

LINES WRITTEN AT ROME,

In December, 1854,

On the occasion of the dogmatic promulgation of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin, by His Grace JOHN MACHALE, Archbishop of Tuam.

I.

A pilgrim from the sainted isle,
 On which, amidst the darkest storm,
 The 'Ocean's Star' ne'er ceased to smile,
 And guard its ancient faith from harm;
 'Twould ill become no voice to raise,
 To sound the sinless Virgin's praise.

II.

Nor need our harp be here unstrung
 On willows hanging, from sad fears
 That, should it breathe our native tongue
 Its tones should melt us into tears.
 On Tiber's banks no tongue is strange
 Rome's faith and tongue embrace earth's range.

III.

Let's hail, through distant time, the star,
 Whose feeble, yet auspicious ray,
 Announced our recent feast afar,
 Like morning kindling into day;
 Of which the heaven-taught seers of old
 Have in prophetic glimpses told.

IV.

Let each one raise his choral voice,
 Gushing from the heart's deep well,
 And whilst in concord we rejoice,
 Let that concord be the swell
 Of mingling streams, that bear along
 The precious faith of sacred song.

V.

That sacred song, whose spring we trace
Back to the dawning of the world,
When, ere the parents of our race
Were from their blissful Eden hurled,
Th' Almighty Father cheered the gloom
Which sin cast o'er their future doom.

VI.

From out the darkness of the shroud
Which veiled the Word's eternal birth
Came forth a voice that pierced the cloud,
Shadowing His descent on earth,
Of woman born, doomed to tread
And crush the wily serpent's head.

VII.

The bush that fixed the prophet's gaze
When in Egypt Israel groaned,
Remained intact amid the blaze,
Nor its fierceness felt or owned.
Bright types of her, whose spotless soul
Had never known the fiend's control.

VIII.

The garden closed, the secret bowers,
Impervious all to mortal eye,
The fountain sealed, the lonely flowers
Of richest fragrance, fairest dye—
All but emblems, yet how faint !
Of her whom sin could never taint.

IX.

Since th' Ephesian trumpets roll'd
God's mother's glories through each clime,
No bells from church's roof e'er toll'd,
To waft o'er earth a sweeter chime,
Than that to hear on this day given,
Lifting up the soul to heaven.

X.

Hail thou, to whom God's angel bright
Brought down the tidings from the skies,
That, full of grace and heavenly light,
Thou wert all lovely in His eyes !
Hail thou, of all God made, the best !
His virgin mother, ever bless'd.

XI.

When in this darksome vale of tears
 Our weary pilgrim days are run ;
 When death's approach awakes our fears,
 Do thou, sweet Virgin, with thy Son,
 Plead and show forth thy gracious power
 And light our passage at that hour.

To still further extend Mary's glory here on earth, a learned and holy French priest, the Abbé Sire, Superior of St. Sulpice, Paris, conceived the happy thought of getting the Bull *Ineffabilis* translated by competent persons into every known language, and offering to the Holy Father the entire collection of versions as an act of homage and expression of the gratitude of the Catholic world for the definition of Our Lady's privilege. When this great project was [submitted to His Holiness, he heartily approved of and blessed it, consented to have the work dedicated to himself and to assign a special place in the Vatican library to this linguistic monument. The project was made public to the world in a French journal, *Le Monde*, in the year 1863, and was [received with much favour, and with promises of hearty co-operation. Rules were laid down for the execution of this stupendous work. The translations were to be made by the scholars in each country best acquainted with the Latin language and their own vernacular. Each version should get the seal of approbation from the ecclesiastical superior of the place for literary accuracy as well as orthodoxy. The translations were to be executed on vellum of an uniform size, decorated and illuminated in the highest style of art peculiar to each country. The zealous Abbé conceived that twenty large volumes, five hundred pages each, would contain all the versions. When, however, the work was completed, he found that the three hundred languages and dialects into which the Bull was translated filled eighty volumes. On the 19th March, 1865, the Abbé Sire wrote to the Very Rev. T. Bennett, President of All Hallows College, asking him to get some person competent to produce the translation in Irish. The latter enclosed the letter to the Very Rev. Canon Ulick J. Bourke

Tuam, who freely undertook the work, for which there were few, if any, in Ireland better qualified. He completed his manuscript translation in modern Irish in November that same year. In passing, I may observe that Dr. Bourke says, that after intimate association with Irish speakers in the four provinces of Ireland, he is convinced there is no such thing as different dialects spoken in the different provinces.

There is only one language, the language of the Irish race. It is true that there are a few forms of expression, and some peculiar sounds, and a certain manner of pronouncing the language in one locality which are not found in another. But, even in London, the very heart of England, strange and very quaint pronunciation of the English language is every day heard.

When Canon Bourke had completed his translation, he was fortunate in securing the co-operation of two religious of the Mercy Institute in the 'preparation and execution of the vellum manuscript on which the translation was penned.' Sister Mary Joseph (*née* Corr), of the Convent of Mercy, Tuam, 'executed,' he informs us, 'the Gaelic calligraphy with great taste and simple elegance;' whilst Sister Mary C. Augustine (*née* Moore), of St. Vincent's Convent, Golden-bridge, a branch of the Mercy Institute, Baggot-street,

who is, perhaps, the best in Ireland at illumination, bestowed all the rich tracery of her unrivalled pencil in ornamenting in the grandest style of art the first, second, and third pages, and the initial letter of each paragraph. The style was that of the early Irish period, a style chaste and rich, and quite in harmony with the language and the subject.

It was well that on this historic occasion there were found persons in Ireland not unworthy of the great traditions of the country in the art of transcribing and illuminating. For of St. Columba it is related, on what seems to be reliable authority, that 'he transcribed three hundred copies of the New Testament with his own hand, leaving a copy to each of the churches which he created.' And of the manuscript copy of the Gospels called the *Book of Kells*,

by the same saint, which is now in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, Professor Westwood, who is neither Irish nor Catholic, in his *Palæographia Sacra Pictoria*, says, 'Ireland may be justly proud of the *Book of Kells*.' He examined, we are informed, the pages of it for hours together without ever detecting a false line or an irregular interlacement. And again :—

In one space of about a quarter of an inch superficial, he counted with a magnifying glass, no less than one hundred and fifty-eight interlacements of a slender ribbon pattern, formed of white lines edged by black ones upon a black ground. No wonder that tradition should allege that these unerring lines should have been traced by angels.

Speaking of this art in general, Professor Westwood writes :—

There is abundant evidence to prove that in the sixth and seventh centuries, the art of ornamenting manuscripts of the Sacred Scriptures, and especially of the Gospels, had attained a perfection in Ireland almost marvellous, and which in after ages was adopted and imitated by the continental schools visited by the Irish missionaries.

The above may seem an unwarrantable digression, but it has been introduced for the purpose of drawing the attention, in a passing way, of young readers to one aspect of the glories of the ages of faith in Ireland. For, in this supreme crisis of the history of our country, when she is seeking to preserve her soul and individual existence from destruction, it is incumbent on all, especially those who have the training of the rising generations in schools and colleges, to keep before them the grand ideals and traditions of the past. The more they are kept in touch with these, the more securely are they saved from the denationalising and de-Catholicising influences with which they are threatened and surrounded, the more surely are they saved for their country, their Church, and their God.

The response to the Abbé Sire's appeal surpassed his most sanguine expectations in every respect. He little imagined that the number of languages and dialects in which Mary's praises and privileges would be proclaimed

through the translation of the Bull of the definition would amount to three hundred—or that the number of huge volumes containing the various versions would reach eighty. Much less did he expect that in most cases these versions would be executed with a richness of ornamentation and illumination heedless of expense. The fact is, the various nationalities and provinces vied with one another in laying at the feet of Our Lady, and the Pontiff of her predilection, a gift which would outwardly express their love and devotion to one and gratitude to the other. We are told that the imperial princes of Brazil spent £2,000 in the illumination and binding of the copy from that nation. A pious wealthy Polish lady expended £400 on the copy from that Catholic and suffering country. She had a pictorial narrative of the ecclesiastical history executed on the margin in a rich and elaborate style. An Irish lady, the Countess de Maistre (*née* O'Byrne), whose brother had been a Pontifical Zouave, hearing what was being done by the Polish lady, Countess Mary Prezendriecka, proposed to expend a like sum of £400 on a second copy of the Bull in Irish, which, like the Polish one, was to contain in marginal ornamentation a pictorial history of the Catholic Church in Ireland. This was beautifully executed, splendidly bound, and signed by all the Bishops of Ireland. Thus there were two copies of the Bull in Irish laid at the feet of the Holy Father, the one by Canon Ulick Bourke, and the same version, but more richly and elaborately executed, of the Countess de Maistre. Canon Bourke's translation had the following approbation of Dr. MacHale, the Archbishop of Tuam :—
'Hæc versio Bullæ Ineffabilis in Celticam Hiberniæ linguam a Reverendo Ulico Josepho Bourke, elaborata, sensum originalis penitus reddit, nec ei quædam venustas deest et elegantia linguæ.'

The Abbé Sire having brought to completeness this huge undertaking, had the singular happiness of presenting it to Pius IX. on the 29th of June, 1867, when the centenary celebrations in honour of Saints Peter and Paul were being celebrated in Rome with a splendour and solemnity not to be forgotten by those who witnessed them. What the work

really was and what the Pope thought of it are clearly declared in the Brief which His Holiness sent to the Abbé Sire on the 30th November, 1867. After bestowing well merited words of praise on the zeal which inspired him to undertake this gigantic work—the energy, perseverance and prudence he displayed in prosecuting it, and enlisting the co-operation of the hierarchy, clergy, secular and regular, most distinguished laity, and members of royal families—the Pope thus continues :—

Ex quo evenit, ut commemoratæ Nostræ Apostolicæ Litteræ [that is, the Bull *Ineffabilis*] trecentiis fuerunt scriptæ linguis, quas varii Asiæ, Africæ, Europæ, Americæ, et Oceanicæ populi loquuntur. Atque hujusmodi multiplex interpretatio multis voluminibus fuit inserta elegantissimo sane ac miro artificio elaboratis . . . Equidem Delecte Fili, non potuimus non vehementer admirari eximiam elegantiam ac pulchritudinem eorumdem voluminum, quo miniariis ac musivis pieturis, affabre expressis, ac pretiosis lapidibus, et aureis argenteis, aliisque nobilissimis ornamentis abunde ditata, bellissime ostendunt quæ sit peculiaris tot populorum in artibus præstantia.

Ac summa certe consolationi affecti fuimus, videntes qua singulari erga beatissimam Virginem Mariam pietate animati sunt Catholici orbis fideles, qui *hoc insigne sane monumentum* in eiusdem Deiparæ honorem erigere tantopere gloriati sunt. Quare tum Tibi, Dilecti Fili, qui plures ab hinc annos nullis curis nullisque consiliis pepercisti, ut *huiusmodi proclarissimum* conficeretur opus, tum omnibus et singulis, qui in eodem *pulcherrimo opere* efficiendo eorum omnem industriam, diligentiam ac laborem impenderunt, etiam atque etiam gratulamur, amplissimasque tribuimus laudes.

Denique Pontificio Nostro caritatis pigmes Apostolicam Benedictionem toto cordis affectu Tibi ipsi. Dilecti Fili, cunctisque ecclesiasticis viris laicisque fidelibus, qui in prædicto *magnificentissimo opere* perficiendo partem habuerunt; peramanter impertimus.

A writer in the French journal, *L'Union*, of February, 1867, thus eloquently portrays the magnitude of the work :—

We must recognise in it a brilliant manifestation of the power which the Catholic religion gives to men. A priest, without employing the resources of fortune or commerce, in the short space of six years, that is to say, more rapidly than a bold navigator could make the circuit of the globe, has been

able to collect from all countries, from islands the most remote, and from nations the most savage, from the scattered islands of Oceanica, from the burning sands of Africa, from the icy shores of the inhospitable Korea, from the frontiers of Tibet, from the deep forests where, as a last resource, the wandering tribes of North and South America find a refuge, three hundred translations of a very long Bull, all executed with care by men best skilled in their respective languages, signed and approved by the highest ecclesiastical authority of the country, frequently decorated with exquisite taste by artists ready and willing to give their services—most varied in their designs, and forming nearly eighty volumes, containing almost 20,000 pages in quarto. May not one find here an eloquent answer to those who reproach Catholicity with want of ability, and who accuse it of stamping with sterility whatever work she undertakes. What Church, what State even, with its naval and military power, its ambassadors, and its consuls, could, in so short a time, obtain an equal victory, and a similar sign of union among men? Protestantism although having at its service a people the most enterprising in the world, required ages and millions to enable it to procure a translation of the Bible into one hundred and fifty languages.

It is useful to keep historical facts like these before the public gaze. They refute more eloquently than words the old calumnies which the enemies of the Catholic Church have in all ages—and never, perhaps, more insolently than at present even here in Catholic Ireland—been scattering broadcast. It remains only to add, that Canon Bourke published in 1868 the Bull *Ineffabilis* in four languages: in Latin, which is a correct copy of the original; in Irish, that is the version made by himself and approved of by Archbishop MacHale; in English, also his own, made, he informs us, whilst the sheets were going through the press; and in French, which was furnished by the Abbé Sire. Whether Canon Bourke's book is still in print, I do not know. If not, would it not be well to have it republished—or, at least, to have the Irish and English versions of the Bull published in one pamphlet, and at a price which would make it accessible to the ordinary faithful? Would not such a work fit in with the scope and, perhaps, the resources, of the Catholic Truth Society of Ireland, or of the Gaelic League?

D. HALLINAN, P.P., V.G.

THE CODE OF PIUS X.

THE ENTERPRISE OF THE PONTIFF

EIGHT months ago, when Cardinal Sarto was raised to the Chair of Peter there was very little difference of opinion as to what was likley to be the character of his pontificate. He was to be a transition Pope, an Apostolic Pope, a Pope who would attempt no very extraordinary enterprises. But Pius X. has failed singularly to carry out this programme so judiciously prepared for him. He is certainly an Apostolic Pope, if ever there was one, but he finds, apparently, that he can be that and at the same time a very enterprising Pontiff. Within a month from his election he told Cardinal Moran that he intended to make sweeping changes in the Roman Congregations which manage all the international business of the Church, and a couple of months later he incorporated the Congregation of Sacred Relics and Indulgences with the Congregation of Rites, he introduced a rigid system of control over the functionaries of all the Congregations, and he abolished sinecures. It is an open secret that he is now studying the best means for promoting the efficiency of Propaganda, and for lightening its work. Almost simultaneously he published what has accurately been described as 'the most important pronouncement on Church Music since the time of St. Gregory.' Then he made a radical change in the method of appointing Italian bishops, when he transferred this grave task from a small Commission of Cardinals to the Congregation of the Holy Office—the most perfect of earthly tribunals. Later on he followed up a *Motu Proprio* instituting a canonical visitation of Rome (an event which has not taken place for the last eighty years) by another Pontifical document in which he announced that he was about to appoint Apostolic Visitors for every diocese in Italy, and at the same time laid down the minutest rules for the guidance of these.

AN EXTRAORDINARY UNDERTAKING

But all these extraordinary proofs of activity and initiative given by this 'transition Pope' seem almost trivial when compared with his great plan for the Codification of the Laws of the Church. To resolve and to act are almost synonymous and simultaneous with Pius X.—it is less than a month since he announced his intention of undertaking this immense work, and already he has his commission in full working order. He has appointed on it sixteen cardinals, every one of whom is known as an authority on Canon Law; with them he has joined forty-five consultors whose names are a guarantee for learning; and he has made that brilliant canonist, Monsignor Gasparri, secretary of the distinguished body. These sixty-two members of the Commission are to be aided in their labours by prelates and canon theologians in all parts of the world, and they are to begin their labours immediately.

The task is a colossal one. It is even absolutely unique in the history of the Papacy, and it is far and away the most comprehensive undertaking ever entered upon by a legislator. Many collections of laws, civil and ecclesiastical, have been made, but very few real codes. Napoleon, it is true, did codify the laws of his empire, and the 'Code Napoléon' remains the most enduring monument of his reign. But, after all, his code affected only a very small portion of the earth and a single nation, while the code of Pius X. is to embrace the whole world in its scope, and is to apply to every individual of the hundreds of millions of Catholics who own the jurisdiction of the Pope.

WHAT HIS PLAN OF CODIFICATION MEANS

A little explanation will be necessary here to make the general reader understand the scope of this work of codification. The Church, as a perfect society, began to make laws for its members immediately it began to live. These laws were of two kinds: the general laws made by the Roman Pontiffs and by general Councils for the whole Church, and the local laws made for single dioceses, or

provinces, or countries. The Codification of Pius X. will concern the first class directly, and the second class only indirectly. For over a thousand years no authentic collection had been made of the general laws, known as the *Jus Commune*, enacted by the Church since the time of the Apostles. Early in the twelfth century a learned monk named Gratian, professor of Canon Law at Bologna, endeavoured to restore something like order into the jungle of legislation with which he had to deal. It was a heroic task, for the ancient canons were in his time buried in an endless number of collections, and as many of these collections contained laws which were either apocryphal or only local, as all the collections were not within his reach, and as many laws had never been inscribed in any of them, the results of his labours were necessarily imperfect. He called what we know as his *Decretum* by the title: *The Concord of the Discordant Canons*. Gratian's collection deserves to be considered as authentic only in a limited sense. It was made by his own private initiative, and it contained many laws which were certainly not genuine. But on the other hand a large number, perhaps the vast majority, of the canons included in it were authentic, many others, doubtful or spurious in their origin, became laws by general acceptance, or by the sanction of authority, and the work as a whole in the course of time came to be recognised as a most useful, if not strictly authoritative, compendium of the *Jus Vetus*, or ancient legislation of the Church during the first twelve centuries.

THE FIRST ATTEMPT AT CODIFICATION

Gratian's labours apparently stimulated the ardour of others in the same direction. Two other collections of Decretals (*Prima* and *Secunda*) were made soon after by private individuals, and to these were added two others (*Tertia* and *Quarta*) by command of Innocent III. (1198-1216), and a fifth (*Quinta*) by Honorius III. (1216-1227). The latter Pontiff was succeeded by Gregory IX. (1227-1241), and to him we owe the first real attempt at a codification of the laws of the Church. The work entrusted

by Pius X. to a Commission of Cardinals was committed by Gregory to St. Raymond of Pennafort, but St. Raymond's task was far more limited, for it was confined to the five collections just mentioned. St. Raymond finished his task in 1234. He eliminated all that was useless in the five collections, removed the contradictions he found in them, added a number of laws made after they had been formed, and gave us what has become known as the Collection of Decretals of Gregory IX.

During the following half-century many new laws came into force, especially through the two Councils of Lyons (1245 and 1274), so that Boniface VIII. (1294-1303) found it necessary to add an Appendix (*Sextus*) to Gregory's Decretals, and this was also divided into five books. Clement V. (1305-1314) made another compilation, known as the *Clementines*, which was published by his successor John XXII. (1316-1334), and this was again followed by two other collections consisting of Decretals, known as *Extravagantes*, because they were not contained in the previous compilations. Finally, John XXII. also compiled a collection of the Regulations of the Cancellaria, which was completed by Nicholas V. (1447-1455).

JUS VETUS, NOVUM, AND NOVISSIMUM

Gratian's *Decretum* summarised the ancient statutes of the Church (*Jus Vetus*); the new laws (*Jus Novum*) were contained in the collections just mentioned; and what may be called modern legislation (*Jus Novissimum*) was inaugurated by the Council of Trent (1545-1563). The immense body of laws created by the Council of Trent constituted, to a certain extent, a codification of the laws of the Church. After the Council of Trent Papal Bulls began to count largely in the formation of Canon Law. Sixtus V. (1585-1590) published an immense *Bollarium*, containing the Bulls issued by all his predecessors from the reign of Leo I. (440-461) down to his own time, and since then down to the days of Pius X. an enormous bulk of Pontifical documents have been added to this fount of Canon Law. Since the Council of Trent, too, the Roman

Congregations have issued a vast mass of decisions with the force of law.

THE PRESENT CHAOS

It was inevitable that with the lapse of centuries endless confusion should result in this tangled mass of legislation. A law, for instance, was made some centuries since ; it was subsequently modified by a Papal Bull, and again by a Decree of one of the Congregations, and finally repealed, implicitly though not explicitly, by some later enactment or by a *custom* sanctioned by authority. In many cases it is impossible for the laity, and extremely difficult even for experts to determine whether and how far many of such laws have force to-day. A great number of laws once useful and even necessary have become either useless or hurtful, or altogether impossible of observance. Then, again, the changed relations between Church and State throughout the world require the overhauling of all the legislation based on the supposition that the State is (as it should be) the faithful ally of the Church.

Such, we may lawfully assume, are some of the principal reasons which have prompted Pius X. to undertake the codification of the laws of the Church, and a merely summary exposition of them is sufficient to prove the gravity and intricacy of the task. The completion of it will obviously require many years and immense labour, but it is not too much to hope that it will be effected during the present Pontificate, and in any case Pius X. is certain to be known in history as the author of the Code of Pius X.

WHAT THE COMMISSION HAS TO DO

The first care of the Commission of Codification will be to eliminate all the obsolete, antiquated, useless, and impossible legislation which has drifted down to us ; its second will be to supplant what has been taken away by laws adapted to present needs ; and its third to arrange all the legislation of the Church in the clearest and simplest manner possible. In all this the Commission will be guided by the consideration that the new code is to contain the

Common Law of the Church, or in other words that it is to be of universal application.

And here arises a very important question: What is to be the spirit of this new and universal Code of Pius X. ? Will it be so contrived as to extend, or curtail, or leave unchanged the law-making functions of bishops in their respective dioceses, and of provincial and national Councils ? It will certainly affect, to some extent, the local Church legislation at present in force—indeed, it is likely to affect it very largely. But after all that point is comparatively insignificant when compared with the *spirit* or *genius* of the new code. Ever since the Reformation, or better perhaps, since the Council of Trent, there has been a growing tendency to centralise both legislation and administration in the Holy See. It is useless to inquire here into the causes of this, beyond stating that two of the principal of them have been (a) the reaction against the revolt from the centre of unity in the beginning of the sixteenth century, and (b) the increasing facility of communication with the centre of unity in modern times. If this same tendency to centralisation finds expression in the new code, it will follow that merely local laws will shrink in importance, and local law-making will be reduced to a minimum. It is not hard to see how closely this problem affects the hierarchy of the Catholic Church. The policy of centralisation has gradually left Patriarchs and Primates and Metropolitans but little more than their title—is the new code to be a centralising code, which will strip even the bishops of some of their power ?

A VERY INTERESTING PROBLEM

Before attempting to answer the question let it be said that, *prima facie*, it would seem as if the answer should be in the affirmative, (1) for the reason already alleged of the increased and increasing facility of communication with Rome ; (2) because local customs and differences everywhere are tending to decrease through this same facility of inter-communication, and through the progress of a system of education which tends to eliminate local

differences of all kinds ; (3) because everything that promotes unity in the Church is to be recommended *a priori*, and (4) because Pius X. has devoted special attention to the reform and re-modelling of the Roman Congregations which are charged with so much of the central legislation and administration of the Church.

CENTRALISATION AND DECENTRALISATION

But in the face of all these reasons the writer has good reason to believe that the most striking and momentous feature of the new code will be its decentralising tendency. He is convinced that the Pontificate of Pius X. is destined to be memorable in the annals of the Papacy for its policy of decentralisation. But in treating of such a delicate and important topic he wishes to declare that if there is anything in this article which is not fully in accord with Catholic truth or with the intentions of the Holy Father, he humbly and unreservedly retracts it beforehand.

THE POPE'S DECLARATION TO CARDINAL MORAN

Last October Cardinal Moran had an audience of the deepest interest with the Holy Father, and the writer of this article was privileged the same day to have an account of what took place from the lips of his Eminence. On November, that is months before the plan of codification was heard of, he sent it to *The Tablet*, from which it was copied in *The Times*, and in many other papers. The sum and substance of it was this : Cardinal Moran dwelt on the urgent necessity of perfecting the working of the Roman Congregations—and especially of Propaganda. As an instance of the delays that sometimes happen in the transaction of most important business he mentioned, among other things, the fate of the weighty decrees drawn up by the Irish Synod held at Maynooth four years ago. They were duly forwarded to the Propaganda at Rome—and have never since been heard of ! His Eminence spoke about the 'congestion' of business at Propaganda and the other Congregations, of the causes which brought it about, and of the remedies which suggested themselves.

The Holy Father was deeply impressed, and before the Cardinal left him declared that he would provide for the efficiency of the Roman Congregations in two ways : first, directly, by introducing a better system, and a more effective *personnel* into the Congregations themselves; and, second, by devolving some of the work they have now to perform on the local authorities. Finally His Holiness did not hesitate to affirm that the time had come for *decentralising*, and one of the means for introducing, or rather restoring this decentralisation was to be the establishment of primates, with hierarchical powers. There is, however, reason to believe that Pius X. has since then found it necessary to abandon, or at least to delay, the appointment of primates, and to substitute for them Apostolic Delegates in every country in which the Holy See is not at present directly represented. In some cases the Apostolic Delegates are to be sent from Rome—in others a local bishop will be chosen to act in the name of the Holy Father. One of the chief functions of the Apostolic Delegate will be to see to the observance of the new code containing the Common Law of the Church.

THE CHARACTER OF THE NEW CODE

From all this it follows that the new code will not be a centralising but a decentralising code. It will contain uniform laws for the whole Church, but it will allow even greater scope than heretofore to provincial and diocesan legislation and authority. It will contain relatively few laws, but these will be very clear and simple so that it will be easy to know them, and not too difficult for weak human nature to observe them. Radical changes are almost certain to be introduced on such vital questions as marriage, fasting and abstinence, the holding of synods and provincial councils, the status of the clergy, the relations between bishops and regulars, etc. Some idea of the confusion existing on these matters may be had by considering the extraordinary divergences that now exist with regard to marriage. In some places a Catholic man and woman become man and wife as the result of a simple declaration

to that effect in the presence of a civil magistrate—while at a place a few miles distant, such a marriage is absolutely invalid. The Code of Pius X. will change all that. Then, again, the laws on fasting and abstinence are so burrowed with modifications, privileges, dispensations, and customs, that uniformity has become a thing of the past. It is certainly not the intention of the Holy Father to introduce a cast-iron uniformity and rigidity into the laws of the Church, but it is also certain that he intends to raise them as far as possible above the necessity for continual exceptions.

HOME RULE ALL ROUND

To sum up, the new code will not constitute a Constitution or a Magna Charta of the Church, and will in no way interfere with the plenitude of legislative authority which belongs to every one of the Roman Pontiffs, but it will aim *to give Catholic Laws for the Catholic Church*. While emphasising in a very striking way the sovereign authority of the Holy See, promoting unity of legislation throughout the Church, and bringing all Catholics into more direct relations with the Supreme Pontiff, it will at the same time co-ordinate, strengthen, and dignify the powers of diocesan, metropolitan, and national authorities. In a word, the new code is destined to be a marvellous adaptation in the Church of the principle of 'Home Rule all round.'

P. O'KELLY, D.D., J.C.B.

'THE PRINCIPLES OF MORAL SCIENCE'

FATHER SLATER may feel perfectly sure that on personal grounds I have not the least objection to the criticism which appeared over his name in the last number of the I. E. RECORD. I have myself criticised freely some of the greatest names in theology and philosophy ; and as I claim the right to do so in the interest of these sciences, I am wont to allow others the same right as regards my own speculations. And though Father Slater's article contains nothing which I did not know before and consider carefully,—nothing, therefore, that calls for any other reply than is to be found in my book,—yet, lest others should think, if I did not reply, that I was unable to do so, I proceed to criticise his views with the same freedom, and I hope with the same courtesy, with which he has treated mine.

The difficulties which I have found in the ordinary teaching of the theologians, are due, he thinks, to the fact that I do not understand what these writers mean by certain formulæ in common use ; and he contends that certain principles stated as I have stated them lose in simplicity and usefulness, or lead to conclusions which must be regarded as immoral.

As a specimen of my failure to understand the mind of the theologians he instances my criticism of the first clause of the principle, as usually formulated, which governs the case of actions with evil as well as good effects. According to the clause, the first thing to determine is whether the action in question is good in itself or at least indifferent. I asked whether this did not involve the whole question at issue : How is one to know whether the action is good or evil, seeing that it produces evil as well as good effects ? Father Slater now tells us (page 388) that the action may be 'viewed in itself, that is, apart from its effects ;' that 'we can examine the morality of the action apart from

its evil effect ;' and that 'this is what the principle tells us to do.'

I fail, however, to see how one can examine the morality of an action apart from its effects, evil as well as good. The only test I know of the morality of an action is the effect or effects produced. Here as everywhere throughout science the axiom holds : *actus specificatur ex objecto*,—the object of any muscular action, such as walking or killing, being the effect produced. Abstract from this altogether and every action is equally indifferent. Abstract from the evil effect, as Father Slater assures us the theologians would have us do, and almost every conceivable action must be regarded as good. He would admit, I am sure, that the theologians mean by this clause to rule out as evil such actions as blasphemy, lying, and direct slaying of innocent persons. Any of these, however, considered apart from its evil effects, must be regarded as good whenever it produces a good effect, as it almost always does. Craniotomy, for instance, apart from its evil effect, is merely the moving of [certain instruments,—an action which, as relieving the mother, would undoubtedly be excellent if it were not for the evil effect on the child. So, too, a lie may produce a good effect, and for that reason should be considered right, if it were not for the evil effect of the action. Will Father Slater try to think of any action whatsoever that would not have to be classed as good or at least indifferent if examined apart from its evil effect? And if he cannot find any such, will he say how this question—whether the action is or is not good in itself—is not the whole question at issue, as I have contended?

The second clause of the principle, as usually formulated, deals with the agent's intention : he must not intend the evil effect. This, I have said, could not affect the morality of the external action, which is the only question really at issue. According to Father Slater I have failed to understand this second condition also, as 'we are not concerned with the mere external action regarded in itself.' 'The action is regarded as a complete human act,

therefore as a voluntary act, as one issuing from free will, therefore as necessarily informed by a certain intention' (page 389).

It seems to me that the question with which the principle deals is the morality of *any* action that produces evil effects as well as good. The entire difficulty arises from the fact that the effects—the determining factors—are not only good but evil. They remain evil and good, and hence the difficulty remains, no matter how good or evil the agent's intention may be. It is, of course, an obvious truth that if the agent intends an inordinate effect this intention is evil; and my complaint was and is that theologians make much of this truism, as if it helped in any way to clear up the difficulty about the morality of the external action; which, no matter what the agent intends, produces evil effects as well as good, and for that reason is difficult to classify in the moral order. When we discuss the morality of lying, duelling, worship of saints, causing abortion, boycotting, picketting, and such things, do we not take them as they are in themselves,—the mere external actions apart from the agent's intention? though they may be human acts and proceed from the will. Whether they do so proceed or do not, they have in themselves, apart from any will or intention of the agent, an objective material morality; and it is about this that moralists of all shades of opinion,—Catholic, Protestant, and Infidel; rigorous, liberal, and lax,—dispute. It helps very little in moral science to say that one sins whenever one tells a lie, fights a duel, or causes abortion directly, if the act is accompanied by a bad intention.

In this sense it is not true to say, as Father Slater says, that 'to walk in the fields in order to wantonly destroy sentient life, is a bad action.' One who walks in that way performs two actions, the act of walking and the act of will; of which the first may remain good however evil the second may be. One might walk in one's sleep, without any intention, and the act would still be good or bad materially; and it is simply not true that in discussing the morality of acts of this kind theologians

contemplate only such as ‘are informed by some intention and not merely the physical external acts of the body’ (page 390). They contemplate every action that forms part of the object of the science of morals; every action, therefore, which is moral in any true sense. They discuss principally the character of the material morality of external actions, such as duelling, lying, stealing; they discuss also the objective existence of obligations, such as that of giving alms, making restitution, paying taxes, telling sins in Confession,—no matter what the person concerned may know or will. They do not omit to treat of the moral character of accompanying intentions,—as I have done in my book,—since these acts also are in the moral order. The question of intention, however, is easily settled when one has ascertained the moral character of the external action; hence it does not occupy one-fortieth part of any treatise on moral theology. Father Slater will probably deny this; I must only leave every intelligent student to form his own opinion.

Father Slater proceeds (page 390) to show that in my treatment of this question I have falsified ‘the meaning of the distinction, as commonly used by theologians, between direct and indirect causality,’ and ‘confounded it with the distinction between *per se* and *per accidens*.’

As to the confusion, I have merely stated historically that both distinctions are used in the same sense, especially by writers on morals. I have quoted Zigliara to the effect that ‘a cause *per se* is that which produces the effect *directly*,’ whereas ‘a cause *per accidens* is that which does not produce the effect *directly*.’ I have quoted De Lugo:—‘*Dupliciter potest hoc contingere: primo ita ut per se et directe occidatur innocens; secundo ita ut saltem indirecte et per accidens.*’ I might have quoted ever so many more to the same effect, as, for instance, Thomas Sanchez¹:—‘*Sunt medicinae quaedam directe ad occisionem foetus tendentes, aliae autem per se et indirecte ad morbos pra-*

¹ *De Matrim.*, L. 9, D. 20, n. 14.

vosque humores expellendos.' If, therefore, there is any confusion, it is not due to me. I have merely noted what others have said. If they have not said it, let that be shown ; but if they have, let them bear the blame,—if there be any.

But I have, it seems, 'falsified the meaning of the distinction [between direct and indirect causality] as commonly used by theologians ;' the proof of which is that when they 'treat of the morality of direct and indirect killing, the distinction does not merely refer to the direct or indirect causality of the external act ; it has special reference to the intention.'

The distinction between direct and indirect applies, therefore, to the causality of the external act ; and the only question is whether it has in addition 'special reference to the intention.' One may sometimes *cause* indirectly the death of an innocent person without committing even material sin ; may one also *intend* the death, however indirectly ? Lehmkuhl expresses the opinion of every theologian when he says that 'the agent *must not intend* the evil effect, but only the good ;' now, however, we are assured that it may not be wrong to intend the death, provided the intention is indirect, and that this is Lehmkuhl's meaning. For, the distinction between direct and indirect, we are told, 'does not merely refer to the causality of the external act, it has special reference to the intention.'

In proof of his contention Father Slater quotes from the *Lexicon Scholasticorum Verborum* to the effect that 'in moralibus . . . indirecte [intendit homicidium] qui illius causam aliquam ponit, ut ebrietatem, ex quo illud sequatur.' There is some sense in this use of the term ; for, when a man gets drunk, foreseeing that he will commit homicide, he really intends the homicide and must be held responsible for that intention. It is likely, indeed, that he intends it, not for its own sake, but for some good which he finds in the drunkenness from which it will result, as he foresees ; that is why he may be said, in very loose terminology, to intend the death indirectly. But to maintain that the term 'indirect' has special reference to the

intention when the entire proceeding of the agent is lawful, as it often is when innocent persons are indirectly killed, can mean only that it may be right in such cases to intend the death in some way, provided it is not directly intended; and no theologian, not even Father Slater, would justify any real intention, no matter how indirect, that embraces the death of an innocent person caused by one's own action. The distinction, therefore, between direct and indirect has no reference to intention, whenever it is used to determine the morality of an action with good and evil effects.

In my refusal to recognise the distinction between *first act* and *second act* as of any use to determine whether doubtful laws do or do not bind, Father Slater finds another instance of failure to understand the meaning of a formula in common use. He alleges (page 394) that I have misunderstood the history as well as the meaning of the distinction.

The only evidence of historical error that I can find is a statement to the effect that Suarez and Sylvius made use of the distinction long before Gotti, and in the same sense. But so far was I from saying that Gotti was the first to make use of it in that sense, that I expressly abstained from discussing the date of its introduction into this part of moral theology, referring that aspect of the question to the curious in such matters,—among whom I am now happy to find Father Slater.

Coming to the question as to the meaning of the distinction, Father Slater says (page 396) that 'the jurisdiction of the lawgiver is in first act while it remains *in habitu*; it comes into second act when it is used to make a law.' Good. Not so good, however, when he continues:—'The law just made but not yet in force is in first act; when it comes into operation, when it begins to bind, it is in second act.' Every law, of its nature, as distinguished from jurisdiction, is an action; and every action is a second act. No action is a first act. The only first act known to our philosophy is a power to act not yet become an action, such as jurisdiction not yet become

a law. Father Slater says this is not so and that I do not understand these things. All I can reply is that such is my reading of the philosophy of the School.

I know well enough that not only in connection with laws but also in treating of divine co-operation theologians of a certain religious Order, not unknown to Father Slater, have been wont to use the term first act to denote the incipient stage of an action ; but I contend, with all respect, that this is a departure from the strict philosophical meaning of the term ; and I am aware that it is censured as such by the ablest writers of the Thomistic school when they discuss the question of divine co-operation. Much of the confusion that prevails in the science of theology would be removed if the term first act were used only in its strict sense, to designate an existing power of acting, as distinguished from its action.

These, however, are questions as to the use of words : the real question at issue with regard to doubtful laws is whether they may or cannot bind objectively. Father Slater says (page 397) that such laws 'are wanting in one of their essential elements,' and, as such, 'do not bind, or are no laws ;' but he also contends that, notwithstanding this essential defect, they 'bind imperfectly ;' so much so that if the law were to exist really, as it may, by acting against it one would commit a material sin (page 394). But, if promulgation is an essential element of law, so that a law which is not promulgated 'does not bind, or is no law,' how can it 'really exist' or 'bind imperfectly,' so that one who might act against it might 'commit a material sin' ? Father Slater might ask himself this question : Is not promulgation so essential to a law that the law cannot exist or bind in the least, however imperfectly, until it has been promulgated ? And he might read over again the passage which he quotes from St. Thomas, and see whether he can find therein either (1) that 'a law binds *perfectly and fully*² only through the knowledge of the

² There is not in the text a hint as to any distinction between imperfect and perfect obligation ; nor is it easy to see how any such distinction can be made out ; at least those who, like Father Slater, make use of it ought

subject' (page 396); or (2) that promulgation is incompatible with 'ignorance of its existence among the community' (page 397).

Would a particular precept of the natural law—that, for instance, regarding craniotomy—bind, so as to make it objectively unlawful to kill the child, even though every soul alive were convinced that the practice in question is right? The law of baptism requires promulgation; but will Father Slater maintain that it does not bind where the community knows nothing of its existence? He admits that it may be a material sin to violate a doubtful law; but is it a material sin to violate a law which 'is not promulgated, does not bind, or is no law'?

Questions like these throw light on the real meaning of St. Thomas,—if the passage quoted is to be accepted as a true statement of doctrine. The meaning is that laws are not sufficiently promulgated until they have become known to the community, or at least until enough has been done to make it possible for the community to know them. It may help Father Slater to discern the Angelic Doctor's real meaning, if he turns to the *Summa* (I. 2, q. 90, a. 4, ad 2) and reads:—'*Illi coram quibus lex non promulgatur obligantur ad legem observandam, in quantum in eorum notitiam venit per alios, vel devenire potest, promulgatione facta.*'

This is something very different from the 'knowledge of the subject' which, we are assured, is necessary for the promulgation and binding force of laws.³ And if Father

to explain what they mean. Imperfect obligation, as is admitted, is sufficient to beget material sin if the law should actually exist and be violated. And as the formal sin comes from the agent's will, which is the same whether the law binds or does not bind objectively, provided he regards it as binding, it—the formal sin—is independent of obligation, even of the most imperfect kind. What then can be the effect of a perfect obligation?

³ The distinction is suggested in the very text quoted by Father Slater, as he would have remarked if he had read more closely:—'*Nullus ligatur per praeceptum aliquod nisi mediante scientia illius praecepti; . . . nec aliquis ignorans praeceptum Dei, ligatur ad praeceptum faciendum, nisi quatenus teneatur scire praeceptum. Si autem non teneatur scire, nec sciat, nullo modo ex praecepto ligatur.*' St. Thomas must have meant something by the limitation thus introduced: '*nec teneatur scire.*' It is not fair to quote the text as if for promulgation the Saint required actual knowledge on the subject's part.

Slater is so far interested as to make further inquiries, he will naturally turn to Suarez, and find, unless I am very much mistaken, that by promulgation he understands throughout a '*publicatio legis per quam possit a subditis cognosci.*'⁴

Before dismissing this part of the question I may be permitted to say that I do not admit, and am not aware that I have admitted anywhere in the book on *Moral Science*, that the maxim: Doubtful laws do not bind, is sometimes true. Father Slater says (page 398) I have made the admission on page 205; but if he will read a little more attentively the sentence which he quotes in part, he will find that what I say is, not that doubtful laws do not bind sometimes, as he has it; but that in certain cases *it is reasonable not to insist on their observance*,—a very different thing, in my opinion.

So far for Father Slater's defence of certain commonly received statements of doctrine from which I have ventured to dissent. Turning now to my own statement of the principle which governs all cases of external actions with evil as well as good effects, he finds (pages 391-2) that the difficulty of ascertaining which essences are or are not subordinate to others, is so great as to render the principle practically worthless.

Is it, however, more difficult to ascertain which essences are or are not subordinate to others, than it is to determine which actions are good in themselves or at least indifferent?—the first clause of the principle as commonly formulated and approved by Father Slater. How do you know that a lie, for instance, or the direct slaying of an innocent man, is bad in itself? Is not this also 'the work of a theologian and not an easy task even for him'? And when even he sets about this task, will he not try to accomplish it by ascertaining whether, say, one man's life is intended for the benefit of another; whether, that is, these essences are or are not subordinate? Father Slater will do a service

⁴ See, for instance, *De Legibus*, lib. i., c. 11, n. 2.

to moral science if he can show how, except on this principle of subordination, one can ascertain that any action is good or bad in itself.

Neither the principle as commonly formulated nor the statement which I have proposed, will help you to determine whether an action is right or wrong, until you have first ascertained something which can be known only by a careful study of the details of moral science ; will not help you, that is, to determine whether the act is good or bad in itself, as Father Slater will have it ; or whether the essences in question are subordinate or the reverse, according to the form proposed by me.

Father Slater complains that the formula set forth in my book for the solution of cases of doubt, cannot be applied in many cases, for want of definiteness in the elements necessary for the solution, or because many evils are incommensurable or dependent on subjective considerations ; and he asks what may be the relation, say, between the value of merit gained and time lost in saying the Divine Office (page 400).

If, however, one were perplexed in conscience over any such matter, thinking it a sin to waste time saying a prayer which one is not bound to say, and also a sin to lose an occasion of gaining so much merit, even Father Slater would recommend a comparison of the two evils, to find which is the greater. It is, he admits, 'a well-known principle of theology that in cases of a perplexed conscience, when one must choose one of two evils, there is an obligation to choose the less' (page 398). Let him do when he is not perplexed what, on his own admission, he must do whenever he is perplexed, and he will have solved his difficulty.

He 'fails to see,' moreover, that 'there is always a loss to somebody, the Church or the lawgiver perhaps, when a doubtful law is not enforced' (page 400) ; and thinks that such is my supposition.

It is not. My supposition is that in all such cases there is *danger* of loss,—a danger which would become a

certainty if the existence of the law were certain. Laws, I always understood, are meant for the public good, as well as for the good of the individuals who are required to observe them. Their violation, no matter how unconscious, is an evil,—a material sin. When the law is doubtful there is always danger of material sin if should not be observed, as Father Slater admits. And yet he ‘fails to see’ how this evil—material sin—can be a loss to anybody.

When it comes to a question as to what is evil he is hard to please. Dealing with the moral character of an act which produces evil as well as good effects (page 390), he says it is not evil to amputate a diseased leg in order to save life ; nor is it evil, apparently, to produce unconsciousness by means of chloroform when there is good reason for administering it. Not a moral evil, he will say, no doubt ; for ‘we must not,’ he reminds me, ‘do evil that good may come of it.’ But have I said it is a moral evil ? If it were a moral evil one should never do it, even indirectly ; for one must not do moral evil in any circumstances whatsoever. Like so many others he will say, I suppose, that the evil which is done when an innocent person is killed indirectly, is not *done* by the agent but only *permitted* ; but he will surely tell us, if so, how one can be said merely to *permit* the *effect* of *one’s own action*.

It may throw some light on the mind of theologians when they discuss the morality of an action with two effects, if the question at issue is formulated thus : When an action produces an effect which is *physically* evil as well as one which is *physically* good, when is the action with its effects evil or good *in the moral order* ? Whenever the action is morally good its effects are morally good, and *vice versa*,—all its effects ; for when any effect of an action is morally bad, the action is always sinful: that is the very meaning of a sinful action. If Father Slater ponders the question formulated in this way, he may come to see that it is evil to amputate a leg or to produce unconsciousness by means of chloroform, even though there should be good reason for doing either.

I fear I must admit that the rule which I propose for the formation of a certain conscience in cases of doubt, could not compete in simplicity with that generous formula : doubtful laws do not bind,—if only this could be applied universally. When you learn, however, that you are expected to observe a doubtful law sometimes though not always ; that, for instance, you must observe a doubtful law of abstinence on Friday night though not on Thursday night ; that you must not injure a man's person in case of doubt ; that you must pay a part, though not the whole, of a sum of money of which not a farthing is certainly due ;—when you see how probabilists sweat, as the saying is, in their endeavours to reconcile these and other exceptions with the general formula which they propose ; not to mention the difficulty of explaining how a law which is not promulgated, and, therefore, as wanting in one of its essential elements, does not bind nor even exist, can bind imperfectly, notwithstanding, so as to beget material sin ;—when you consider all this you may come to doubt whether, after all, the rule which I advocate does not excel in simplicity as much as it certainly does in consistency. I do not wish to rely too much on this simplicity as a test of truth ; it would be so much simpler to say that one is in no case bound to observe a doubtful law,—or even a certain law, for that matter.

Father Slater has discovered one class of cases of doubt in which it would be immoral to apply the principle of selecting the less of two evils, to secure a practically certain conscience ; cases in which, 'according to the doctrine, I may do something which is probably unjust to my neighbour in order to avoid a greater money loss to myself.' He asks whether I mean this, and whether it is sound morality (page 397).

Yes, I mean it ; and if it is not sound morality, there is some very unsound morality to be found in books that have a much larger circulation than mine and are much nearer to him ; on which, therefore, he would do well to fix his eye. When a judge confirms a defendant in the

possession of a piece of property of which he is but probably the owner, he—the judge—does something which is probably an injustice to the plaintiff, to whom the property may really belong. Does Father Slater regard such a sentence as immoral?

Let him open Lehmkuhl (I. n. 957), and read:—‘*Quodsi bona fide rem possidere quis coepit, et exorto dubio inquisivit, at dubium solvi non potest, ad nihil tenetur atque de illa re disponere potest.*’ By disposing of property in these circumstances the possessor ‘does something which is probably unjust to his neighbour, in order to avoid a money loss to himself;’ not necessarily a *greater* danger of loss, as I require. That there is objective danger of injustice is plain, since the property probably belongs to another. So obvious is this that Lehmkuhl adds:—‘*De re disponere potest, ita tamen ut utiliter disponat, atque apax et paratus sit utilitatem perceptam vel praetium rei domino reddere si forte postea certum dominum alter se probaverit.*’

Lehmkuhl took this doctrine from De Lugo, and might have found it in almost any of our writers on justice. Will Father Slater ask whether they really mean it, and whether it is sound morality?

Another curious instance of unsound moral teaching he has discovered. The principle regulating the morality of actions with good and evil effects, as formulated by me, would, he thinks (page 392), ‘allow actions to be done which are certainly wrong.’ It would allow me to ‘relieve my wants and those of my family by stealing £5 from a wealthy neighbour.’ By doing so, he says, I should but ‘subordinate money to human wants, as by nature it should be subordinated;’ and he ‘does not see why this is not a legitimate application of my principle.’

If I were to apply in the same way the principle as commonly formulated, and approved by him, he would perceive at once why the application would not be legitimate. Why may I not steal to relieve my wants? Is not the ‘action good in itself’? merely taking money and

making it subserve human need, as by nature it is bound to do. Is it not like killing an animal for food ?

Father Slater would reply at once : But the money is another's, and, so long as it is so, in using it you use him, contrary to nature's intention which makes him independent : hence the action of stealing is evil in itself. Is it necessary to point the application ? You may see once more how the question is resolved by every theologian,—Father Slater as well as me,—by ascertaining whether the essences which are brought into relation by actions of that kind are subordinate or independent.

There are many other points raised in Father Slater's article on which something might be said ; to discuss them all I should have almost to re-write the book. The main questions between us are : (1) whether, when moralists discuss the morality of an action with evil as well as good effects, the only question that presents any difficulty, and therefore the only question really at issue, is the character of the morality of the external action, apart altogether from any intention whereby it may be accompanied ; and (2) whether a law may be promulgated sufficiently so as to bind, even though not only individuals, but the community should be in doubt or even in ignorance of its existence.

In considering these questions it will help the ordinary reader to bear in mind : (1) that the conclusion reached by our theologians in their controversy with certain medical practitioners is, that craniotomy and abortion directly caused are material sins, no matter what the agent's intention may be, and even though he knows nothing of the injury which his action does the child ; and (2) that even when the entire community is in doubt or ignorance of the existence of a law, it may be a material sin to violate it, and will be if, notwithstanding the doubt, the law should exist objectively.

If Father Slater will reflect on these doctrines, which he himself admits, he may come to agree with me that doubtful laws may bind ; and that the real question at

issue between us and the moralists who approve of craniotomy and abortion directly caused,—the stock illustration of an action with good and evil effects,—is, whether these actions in themselves are right or wrong ; not how the morality of the action may be affected by what the practitioner may intend, directly or indirectly—if that language has any meaning—while performing it.

W. McDONALD.

PIUS X. AND THE APOSTOLIC UNION OF SECULAR PRIESTS

[T is not yet quite a year since the whole Catholic world hailed with joy the announcement that Cardinal Joseph Sarto had been elected to the See of Peter in succession to the late illustrious Leo XIII., 'who not only ruled the Church for nearly six-and-twenty years with consummate wisdom, but showed, in himself, such sublimity of mind, and such a rare effulgence of every virtue, that he compelled the admiration even of his enemies, and consecrated the memory of his name by glorious deeds' (words of Pius X.).

By none was that joy more sincerely felt than by the secular clergy of every grade the world over. And assuredly not without reason. Here was a man whom sheer merit and hard, unselfish, generous work for God and souls had raised up, and against his own strenuous protest, from the lowly state of the missionary priest, first to the episcopate, and eventually to the highest dignity on earth—that of Vicar of Christ, and Father of all the faithful. Unlike his great predecessor, he had not been trained up in the ways of diplomacy and statecraft. He began his successful career as a simple, hard-working secular priest. He was a secular priest in every fibre of his soul, a man of God who had passed successively through all the grades of the sacred ministry; who knew, therefore, the difficulties and dangers, the joys and sorrows of the life of the missionary priest. What wonder that a responsive chord was touched and that the hearts of the clergy went out to him in sympathy and love.

And this joy was not abated, but intensified when, in his first beautiful Encyclical, he revealed to the world his single-minded devotion to priestly work, and proclaimed to all that his one end and aim in his Pontificate would be 'to re-establish all things in Christ.'

With copious tears and prayers [he tells us] We endeavoured

to escape this dread burden of the Pontificate. When We reflected on the present most unhappy condition of human society . . . oppressed much more than in former times by a most serious internal malady, which, becoming daily aggravated, is eating it to the core and hurrying it to destruction. . . . when We considered the nature of that malady—a turning away from God, than which nothing more assuredly leads to perdition, . . . when We saw that against this great evil We should have to provide in the fulfilment of the duties of the Pontificate . . . conscious of Our own weakness, We feared to undertake a task so urgent, and so fraught with labour.

Nevertheless, since it has pleased the Divine will to raise up Our lowliness to this supreme dignity, We take courage in Him who strengthens Us, and relying on the power of God, We put Our hand to the work, and declare this to be Our sole purpose in the Pontificate, 'to re-establish all things in Christ' (Ephes. i. 10), that in truth 'Christ may be all and in all' (Col. iii. 11). . . . We solemnly declare that We do not wish to be, and with the help of God We shall not be, aught in human society, but the minister of God whose authority We exercise. The interests of God are Ours, and to these We are determined to devote all Our strength and Our very life.

Noble words ! and worthy of the Vicar of Christ. But how are they to be carried into effect ? Through the active co-operation of his venerable brethren of the episcopate, and under their fostering care, of a holy and zealous priesthood.

It will be your part, venerable brethren, to second Our efforts by your holiness, knowledge, and experience ; above all, by your zeal for the glory of God, looking to this alone that Christ be formed in all.

Of the means to be employed in attaining this great end it seems unnecessary to speak, for they are obvious. Let *your first care* be to form Christ in those, who are destined in the exercise of their vocation to form Him in others. We refer to the Priests, venerable brethren. For all who have been raised to the dignity of the priesthood must know that they have the same mission to the people amongst whom they live, as that which Paul proclaimed that he had received, when he spoke these words of ardent affection : ' My little children, of whom I am in labour again, until Christ be formed in you ' (Gal. iv. 19). But how will they be able to perform this duty of forming Christ in their people, if they themselves have not first put on Christ ? Nay, if they have not so put Him on, that they may apply to themselves the words of the same Apostle : ' I live,

now not I; but Christ liveth in me' (Gal. ii. 20). 'For to me to live is Christ' (Phil. i. 21). Hence, although to all is the exhortation addressed to advance 'unto a perfect man, unto the increase of the age of the fulness of Christ' (Ephes. iv. 13), yet before all others does it concern him who exercises the sacerdotal ministry; who is therefore called 'another Christ,' not merely by reason of the communication of power, but also of the imitation of His works, by which the priest ought to present in himself the express image of Christ.

To the clergy then, and especially to the hard-working missionary clergy, Pius X. looks for the furtherance of the great work he has put before himself as the end of his Pontificate. He esteems worthy of praise those who prosecute the study of useful sciences in every branch of learning, 'that they may be better prepared to defend the truth and refute the calumnies of the enemies of the faith.'

Yet We cannot conceal that We shall always prefer those who, while they neglect not sacred and human learning, dedicate themselves more closely to the welfare of souls through the exercise of those ministries that grace the priest zealous for the Divine glory. 'We have great sadness and continual sorrow in our heart' (Romans ix. 2) to find Jeremiah's lamentation applicable to our times: 'The little ones have asked for bread and there was none to break it to them' (Lam. iv. 4).

But to do this great work effectually they must be fit instruments; they must take to themselves, after the example of Christ, the words of the prophet: 'The spirit of the Lord hath anointed me, to preach the Gospel to the poor; He hath sent me, to heal the contrite of heart, to preach deliverance to the captives and light to the blind' (Luke iv. 18, 19). In other words, they must be imbued with the spirit of their Divine Master, the Model Priest, and inflamed, like Him, with charity and zeal for souls.

Seeing the strong views the Holy Father holds as to the need, above all at the present time, of holy, active, zealous priests, we are not surprised to learn that one of the first acts of his Pontificate was to bestow special marks of his favour on an association that has for special end

the sanctification of the secular clergy—The Apostolic Union of Secular Priests.

A former member of this Association himself, knowing personally the great advantages of it ; what powerful helps to acquire and maintain the true ecclesiastical spirit it supplies ; he hastens to give it his cordial approval and to recommend it most earnestly to the clergy.

A brief account of this Association, of its end and aims and spirit, and what the Holy Father has done for it, will not, we trust, be without interest for the readers of the I. E. RECORD, and may, with God's blessing, be a means of extending more widely its influence for good amongst our faithful Irish clergy.

The Apostolic Union is an Association of secular priests who wish, without being members of a religious community, to foster and practice a truly priestly and apostolic life. It was founded in its original form by the Ven. B. Holzhauser, in the seventeenth century. In the year 1862 it was revived and re-organised by a French canon, Père Lebeurier, who remains to the present day Superior-General of the Union. Under the fostering care of Pius IX., and our late lamented Pontiff, Leo XIII., it is no wonder that it spread rapidly. The former of these two great Popes blessed and encouraged it in three Briefs, and the latter in two. Especially in the notable letter of May 31st, 1880, Leo XIII., having enumerated the many advantages of membership of the Union for priests, goes on :—

Wherefore, if Our Predecessors have recommended this most useful institution by bestowing on it the highest praises, We most freely and readily accord to it the same, especially in these most disastrous times, which are plainly seen to require this assistance. Nay more, We exhort all secular priests, in order the more effectually to provide for their own welfare, as well as for the interests of religion, to enrol their names in this most salutary institute. May they be moved by the manifest design of Divine Providence, which has now again revived this institute for the support of the Church in her time of trial. May they be moved by the heavenly blessings which have enabled this work to progress in a short time with such marvellous rapidity, despite the most serious difficulties.

The Union has at present a membership of about 6,000 priests. Of these Ireland claims about 400.

The *end* which the Union, as the book of rules tells us, has mainly in view is the sanctification of the clergy in their missionary lives among the people. If the priest be holy, his work will be holy. A perfect priest will do a perfect work amongst the souls committed to him. A certain amount of distraction and therefore of difficulty in striving after this perfection is inseparable from the life of a priest on the mission. He will scarcely remain faithful to the rule of life which he proposed to himself in college days unless he has special helps, special graces from God, and special encouragement from his fellow-priests. To win these graces and this encouragement the rules of the Apostolic Union were framed. They draw closer the bond which unites the priest with God in methodical and persevering prayer, and with his fellow-priests in the charities and mutual relations of a priestly brotherhood. They secure for him, without either in their letter or their spirit, withdrawing him from his secular vocation, a large share of the helps, natural and supernatural, that members of religious communities find in their rule and in the companionship and example of their brethren.

The duties of Associates may be summed up in the keeping of the few simple rules of the Union, together with the nightly marking of the Bulletin and the monthly submission of same to the president or other fellow-member of the diocesan branch. These rules require nothing of members beyond what every good priest must do every day if he would maintain himself in the true spirit of his vocation, viz. : the prompt act of rising in the morning, the daily meditation, the morning Mass with preparation and thanksgiving, the daily visit to the Blessed Sacrament, spiritual reading, etc. Simple things, but how important, nay, how essential in the daily life of the missionary priest. Yet how easily neglected. How often he requires a stimulus to practise them faithfully. This stimulus the Apostolic Union supplies.

But the Union aims at something more than the mere

fulfilment of these important duties. Indeed the *chief thing* it has in view is the *spirit* which should animate the members in the performance of them. 'The rules without the spirit would be but a skeleton, and would soon fall to pieces.' '*Spiritus et qui vivificat.*' It is the spirit that clothes these dry bones, and infuses life, and vigour, and zeal for God and souls.

'The spirit which should quicken the Union is no other than a personal love for Jesus Christ, the Model Priest, and a tender yet manly devotion to His Sacred Heart.' And hence the Union is placed under the protection of the Sacred Heart of Jesus. Love for that Sacred Heart is the source, not only of the purity and piety of each priestly heart, but also of that sacerdotal charity which knits in closest sympathy the necessarily scattered members of the Union.

The spirit of Jesus Christ is the true ecclesiastical spirit, and the only one that can cope with the spirit of the world in which lie the duties and dangers of the secular priest. The priesthood of Jesus is a high standard, but no lower standard is practical or permissible. Every lapse that has ever saddened the Church has come from lowering, either in theory or in practice, that priestly standard. Every reform that has been effected among the clergy has been brought about by raising again the standard with the motto: *Sacerdos alter Christus*. St. Vincent de Paul, when reviving the priestly spirit in France, never tired of repeating the Apostle's words: '*Vivo ego, jam non ego, vivit vero in me Christus.*' And so the Apostolic Union, aiming as it does at securing the perfection of the secular clergy, desires no other spirit to animate and elevate its efforts than the spirit of Jesus Christ.

Mark how beautifully the end and aims and spirit of the Apostolic Union correspond with those of the Holy Father, as shadowed forth to us in that remarkable first Encyclical of his. This coincidence will sufficiently explain, why one of the first acts of his Pontificate was to bestow a special mark of his favour on Père Lebeurier by raising him to the rank of Domestic Prelate, and by acceding to his desire that the Holy Father himself should be the Protector of the Union, instead of a cardinal, as heretofore.

In the *Études Ecclésiastiques*, the official organ of the Union, Mgr. Lebeurier gives a very touching account of the kindly feelings of His Holiness towards the Union, as expressed in his own words,¹ and shown by his many special favours conferred upon it. A brief summary of the account will not, we hope, be without interest for the readers of the I. E. RECORD.

He begins by saying that like all the rest of the world he awaited anxiously the decision of the cardinals assembled in conclave to elect a successor to the universally lamented Leo XIII. After three days the news came that Cardinal Joseph Sarto, Patriarch of Venice, was Pope, under the name of Pius X.

I said, *Deo gratias*. I had a presentiment that the Apostolic Union would have reason to congratulate itself on the choice. I had in mind that Cardinal Sarto was not a stranger to us. I wrote immediately to our Assistant for Italy to know if the new Pope had not been a member of the Institute, and asked him to give me some particulars of his career. He replied that Joseph Sarto had been, as priest, a faithful and zealous member of the Union, and as bishop and patriarch had always encouraged and protected it. He reminded me of the address presented to him by his brother members of the Union on his nomination to the See of Mantua, and of the letter he wrote in reply so full of piety and humility, and testifying such brotherly affection for *mes chères confrères*, and winding up with the words, 'I shall always feel proud to be inscribed in your pious Association.'

Space does not allow us to give this beautiful and touching letter in full, but we cannot refrain from reproducing the address itself. It is of special interest, showing, as it does, what was thought of him and of his great qualities of head and heart, by those who knew him best, his fellow-members of the Union.

EXCELLENTISSIMO VIRO JOSEPHO SARTO

EPISCOPALI DIGNITATE HONESTATO.

Utpote qui per singulos levitarum gradus ad altiora jure ascendens, egregia virtutum indole, mira ingenii suavitate, animique candore, nemini gravis, acceptus omnibus, insuper doctrinæ opibus consilii maturitate ignito ac paramanter effuso,

Salesii ad instar eloquio adeo enituit ut jampridem communi sententia ecclesiae antistes designaretur, circulus Apostolicus Vicetinae Dioceseos tanto sodali superbiens, laetitiae cultusque sensus ingeminando gratulatur, acclamat, vota nuncupat. Mantua O felix si merita es talem habere pontificem, felicior si hujusmodi patris et pastoris exempla documenta sectaberis. Kal. Oct., MDCCCXXXIV.

He goes on : ‘ I made up my mind to set out for Rome. It was a duty to offer His Holiness the homage of a special attachment and to seek from him new succour, counsel, and blessing for our dear Union.’

Having consulted and got the approval of the Cardinal-Archbishop of Paris, he decided to start on the 19th Nov. :—

Two days previously looking through my correspondence I found a letter from Rome which I opened *sans emotion* as an ordinary letter. What was my surprise on reading : ‘ Very Rev. Canon,—I have the honour of announcing to you that the Holy Father . . . has been pleased to admit you amongst the number of his Domestic Prelates, etc. . . .

‘ Chan. B. Ma. MENGHINI,

‘ *Carem. Pontif. M.U.Ap.*’

We give here the Brief, in which Pius X. numbers himself amongst the members of the Apostolic Union :—

Dilecte Fili salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Tuum studium in catholicam religionem quod tibi persuasit ut auctor et legifer existeres piae sacerdotum saecularium sociationis, quae apostolicum munus et officium inter catholicos viros navaret et impleret, obsequium singulare tuum erga Nos et hanc Apostolicam Sedem et aliae laudes quibus enites, suffragantibus iisdem sacerdotibus qui se in tuam disciplinam contulerunt, quos inter *et Nos ipsi*, quodam modo Nos impellunt ut ecclesiasticam tibi dignitatem deferamus, quae Nostram in te benevolentiam testatur. Quare. . . .

Assured by this special mark of benevolence on the part of the Pope, he set out for Rome in high hopes of doing good work in the interest of the Union ; had an audience with the Holy Father in company with the Assistant-General for Italy, and a few other members of the Institute :—

I offered to His Holiness the sentiments of veneration,

obedience, and love of the priests of the Union. . . . He replied—in Latin—that he was happy to hear of these sentiments, which he believed to be sincere, because he knew the priests of the Union, and had always seen them *inter bonos sacerdotes optimos*. He added that he esteemed very highly this work for the priesthood, that he wished to see it prosper, and that he would do all in his power to favour and extend it.

I told him how greatly this benevolence of the Vicar of Christ touched and encouraged us; adding how desirable it would be that this testimony of his good-will should be made known to our brothers by some authentic document. 'You mean a Brief? A Brief shall be given you.' I reminded him that Leo XIII. had given the Apostolic Union a Cardinal Protector, the late Cardinal Parocchi, but that if it pleased His Holiness, I would not ask him for a Cardinal Protector. He smiled, and said: 'Very well, I will be your Protector.'

In a subsequent audience granted December 9th, His Holiness showed the greatest interest in the work of the Union, and gave the reasons why he did so. First of all, the Union has for object to give pious priests to the Church, and this is the greatest good it could propose to itself, for piety is useful for all things; if it is not all, it is the source of all that is good and desirable in the priest; and the pious priest is the greatest treasure of the faithful people. Secondly, to secure piety, the Union employs a means which is *necessary* and *suffices*, namely, regularity in the practice of spiritual exercises. And here he named the several exercises prescribed by the rule, adding that it was impossible to fulfil these faithfully without becoming and remaining good priests. And lastly, to maintain this regularity the Union uses a means, apparently little, but in reality powerful and efficacious—the daily marking of the Bulletin and the monthly submission of same to the diocesan president of the Union. Great good is sure to be the recompense of fidelity to this practice.

Therefore [he concluded] redouble your zeal to draw to the Union as many priests as possible. Isolation is a cause of weakness and moral ruin for many. Many will be saved through the Union who would be lost without its succours, and those who would be good without it will be better as members of it. Encourage all the Associates and tell them, 'Le Pape est toujours le premier prêtre de l'Union Apostolique.'

I told the Holy Father that he would be our Father by a triple bond:—Father of the faithful, Father of the clergy; Father especially of the members of the Apostolic Union; that we also would be his children by a triple love, and a triple devotion, that he might count on our fervent prayers every day for his preservation and for the blessing of God on his labours.

The Brief promised by His Holiness was expedited without delay. This important document appeared in the May number of the I. E. RECORD, and we commend it to our readers as worthy of serious study. The many new and special privileges it confers on members show how highly His Holiness appreciates the good work the Union is doing for the secular clergy, and how desirous he is to extend its influence for good amongst them for their own sanctification and for the welfare of the people committed to their care.

He begins it by saying that nothing is nearer to his heart than to see those who are called to the sacred ministry as shining lights, giving an example of every virtue to the Christian people, and, therefore, like his predecessors, he is anxious to promote every good work that tends to the spiritual good of the Catholic clergy.

Knowing how useful to the Church above all in these difficult times, is this Institute of the Apostolic Union—of which We ourselves were once a member, and whose utility and excellence We know from personal experience, and in whose advantages We participated even after Our elevation to the episcopal dignity—knowing that those who are members of it *prae omnibus optimos esse*, therefore, responding to the petition of Our dear son, V. Lebeurier, honorary Canon of Orleans, Prelate of Our House, Founder and Superior-General of the Apostolic Union for forty-two years, We most willingly, for the good and the increase of the Institute, grant the following favours.

That all may know how We value the Institute, and as a singular pledge of Our paternal love, We take and reserve to Ourselves the patronage of it.

In order that present members may be strengthened in their attachment to the Union by the help of spiritual favours, and that others for their own good and for the advantage of their sacred ministry may be induced to join the Union, the Holy Father grants in perpetuity to

all who are or will be in the future members of it, and who will have made the *promissio stabilitatis* according to rule, and as long as they shall remain in it :—

1. A plenary indulgence, on the conditions mentioned in the Brief, on the great feasts of our Lord, of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and the Twelve Apostles.

2. An indulgence of 100 days to the same every time they send monthly Bulletin for inspection on condition of saying, with a contrite heart, one *Pater, Ave*, and *Gloria* for the intention of the Roman Pontiff.

3. One hundred days if, with contrite heart, they attend the monthly renovation made in common.

N.B.—All these indulgences are applicable to the souls in Purgatory.

4. The faculty of celebrating for a grave reason the Holy Sacrifice an hour before the Aurora.

5. The faculty of a privileged altar three times a week.

6. The faculty 'nunc et in posterum extra Urbem de consensu Ordinarii loci' of blessing beads, crosses, medals, statues, and of applying indulgences to them as stated in Brief.

7. The faculty of imparting the Papal Benediction with plenary indulgence on the last day of the Lenten and Advent sermons, and at the close of Retreats and Missions, as stated in Brief.

The above favours are in addition to those already enjoyed by members, the chief of which are :—1. A plenary indulgence on day of enrolment ; 2. A full participation in the prayers, penances, and merits of the Franciscan, Theatine, Carmelite, and Dominican Orders, etc. ; 3. The power of erecting the Stations of the Cross with the written consent of the Ordinary of the diocese ; 4. The power of applying to crucifixes the indulgences of the Stations ; 5. An indulgence of 100 days once a day on saying the prayer of the Union : *Domine Jesu*.

It is to be hoped that the evident desire of the Holy Father for the extension of the Union, and the many great spiritual favours he has graciously granted to members, may induce many more priests to join it, and avail of the

many helps it affords to preserve and cultivate more and more the true spirit of their holy state.

There are at present eleven branches of the Union in Ireland. We should be glad to see one in every diocese. Six members are sufficient for the formation of a branch, but the formal consent of the bishop of the diocese is in all cases required. As an additional inducement, we may add that all members after death have annually, in the month of November, the benefit of about 6,000 Masses offered for them by their living brethren.

JAMES BUSER, M.SS.,

Assistant for Ireland.

Notes and Queries

THEOLOGY

THE JUBILEE—USE OF PROBABLE OPINIONS

REV. DEAR SIR,—Can a person safely use a probable opinion in fulfilling the conditions prescribed for gaining the Jubilee? Can a confessor safely use a probable opinion in conferring on Jubilee penitents the special privileges granted on the occasion of the Jubilee? A reply to these questions in an early number of the I. E. RECORD will be useful to your readers.

SACERDOS.

A clear distinction must be drawn with our correspondent between the indulgence of the Jubilee and the privileges of the Jubilee.

(1.) If there be question of the indulgence of the Jubilee a probable fulfilment of the prescribed conditions will not avail to certainly gain this indulgence. This is the opinion of nearly all authorities. They found their teaching (a) on the nature of the connection which exists between the prescribed conditions and the indulgence. The indulgence is a favour which is attached by the Church to certain conditions. Whoever fulfils these conditions gains the favour. Whoever does not fulfil the prescribed conditions does not gain the favour. Now a person who acts on a probable opinion does not in reality fulfil the conditions of the Jubilee if the opinion on which he acts be not objectively the true teaching. Hence a probable opinion will not suffice to certainly gain the indulgence. (b) A decision of the S. Ind. Cong.¹ favours this view:—‘*Quod si aliquod ex operibus injunctis vel omnino vel in parte notabili sive per inscientiam, sive per negligentiam, impotentiam vel quacunque alia causa non servetur aut praetermittatur, indulgentiae minime acquiruntur.*’ Hence theologians reasonably

¹ 18th February, 1835.

conclude that the Church does not wish to supply the indulgence when the prescribed conditions are not for any reason fulfilled with substantial integrity.

Bouquillon² and Bastien³ hold that if there be question not of a condition itself, but rather of the *exact way* in which a condition is to be fulfilled, the indulgence will be gained if a solidly probable way of performing the prescribed work be observed. They note that in this case the indulgence is gained not because the Church supplies, but because when a solidly probable way of performing a certain condition is adopted then the prescribed condition is substantially fulfilled. This opinion has a considerable degree of probability. We do not think, however, that it is by any means certain. Hence we would advise those who wish to gain the indulgence of the Jubilee not to put it in practice except in case of necessity.

(2.) If there be question of the privileges of absolution from reserved sins and censures, commutation of vows, and dispensation from an irregularity, theologians commonly hold that a confessor can safely use a solidly probable opinion in exercising his power, exactly in the same way in which he can use a solidly probable opinion in the exercise of similar powers which he may have outside Jubilee times. This opinion is commonly held because no clear reason for making a distinction between these powers given during Jubilee times and similar powers given at other times can be pointed out. The same necessity on the part of the faithful, and the same doubt on the part of the law, exist in both cases. So long, then, as the Church does not reject the common opinion of theologians in this matter, we think it safe in practice to hold that the Church supplies jurisdiction if the solidly probable opinion be, as a matter of fact, not correct.

Theologians, however, warn confessors not to do anything which would endanger the gaining of the indulgence itself. They give, as an example, the case in which the confessor has only probable power to pro-

² *Com. in Jub.*, 1886.

³ *Tractatus de Jubilæo Anni Sancti aliisque Jubilæis*, p. 57.

rogue a Jubilee in favour of some classes of penitents. He ought not use that probable power, except in case of necessity, because if the probable opinion be not correct the Jubilee is not prorogued by the confessor. It is by no means certain that the same rule does not apply to the commutation of the prescribed works. At least it is not at all so commonly held by theologians that a probable opinion with regard to this privilege will urge the Church to supply if the probable opinion be wrong. Hence, we think that confessors, except in case of necessity, ought not to act on a merely probable opinion in commuting the prescribed works.⁴

OBLIGATION OF TRAVELLERS TO OBSERVE THE SATURDAY ABSTINENCE

REV. DEAR SIR,—The law of abstinence on Saturdays during the year does not bind in Ireland. If an Irishman, retaining his home in this country, travel during vacation in those parts of Italy where the law of abstinence on Saturday still binds, is he bound to abstain in accordance with that law?

VIATOR.

A traveller is bound by the general laws of the Church which bind in the place where he is travelling, even though they do not bind in his own country. The law of Saturday abstinence is a general law of the Church, although it has disappeared in many places owing to custom or dispensation.⁵ Hence the traveller, mentioned by our correspondent, is bound *per se* to observe the law in those places where it binds. The S. Cong. Inq.⁶ upheld this teaching when it stated that travellers from Belgium in which the bishops, by virtue of special power, dispensed from Saturday abstinence, are bound to observe that law of abstinence in places where it binds.

Per accidens, a traveller may be very easily excused from

⁴ Loiseaux, p. 95 *seqq*; Bastien, p. 57.

⁵ Gregory XVI., 17th December, 1831, granted our Irish Bishops power to dispense the faithful from the Saturday abstinence. The Bishops exercised this power in 1832 in a Pastoral Letter which is to be found in the I. E. RECORD, 1st series, vol. ix., p. 142.

⁶ 10th January, 1855.

the observance of this law. Apart from the case of a personal dispensation the difficulty of obtaining suitable abstinence food is often sufficient excuse. In Italy, the law of abstinence on Saturday is not very faithfully observed. Because of this and other reasons it is not easy at times to procure good abstinence fare at the hotels. It would be unreasonable to expect a traveller to abstain in such circumstances. Moreover, many Catholic hotels and pensions in Italy have procured a dispensation from the Saturday abstinence for their guests. Even those who stay for a very brief period at these hotels and pensions may enjoy this dispensation.

J. M. HARTY.

LITURGY

(a) **SAYING A MASS 'DE COMMUNI' WHEN 'PROPER' IS WANTING; (b) WHETHER 'VOTIVE' IS LAWFUL IN CASE**

REV. DEAR SIR,—I shall feel thankful if the following difficulty were answered in the next issue of the I. E. RECORD :—

(1.) A priest finds himself about to say a private Mass on ordinary week-day. On examining the Missal beforehand he discovers that the Mass for the day is not there; the Missal being old, and the saint recently canonized. He had previously thought that he had procured all the recent Masses and inserted them in the Missal, and just now he finds his mistake. What is he to do? He finds himself perplexed. Is he permitted, in order not to have to omit celebrating altogether, to say either a Votive Mass, or take the Mass from the Common? Not thinking either permissible, he abstains from celebrating that morning; not, however, without keen disappointment. Of course, he orders at once from the publishers the Mass required.

(2.) In case he had found himself vested on the altar before he finds out his mistake, or, again, that it was a feast day of obligation, how is he to manage?

CURATE.

! Our correspondent has an exalted idea of the reverence due to the Rubrics of the Missal, and we hope that his veneration for them will only increase with the progress of his missionary experience. At the same time he was, perhaps, a little too scrupulous in omitting to say Mass in

the circumstances which he has described. He might, we think, without much hesitation have made up his conscience to take the Mass from the Common. When a priest has been habitually careful about furnishing his Missal with the most recent Masses and keeping it, so to speak, up to date, he need not have much scruple on an occasion in saying *de Communi* a Mass the proper parts of which he is not provided with. There is, indeed, very little difference oftentimes between a special Mass that has been granted for a particular saint and the Mass found in the Common of the class to which the saint belongs. As a rule it will be found that both coincide except in the Collect and, possibly, the Epistle and Gospel. Assuming there is no special reason for saying the Mass *proper*, we think any slight cause, such as a desire to celebrate *ex devotione*, is enough to warrant a priest in taking the Mass *de Communi*. Much more would he be justified in this course of action if there was any necessity or obligation of celebrating. Of the two alternatives, then, suggested as a way out of the difficulty in which our correspondent finds himself, this is the most approved and the one to be followed in practice.

But could our correspondent say a Votive Mass in the case? Though not distinctly stated, we presume the office of the day is at least of double rite; for, if it were not, then there would be perfect liberty of choice between a festive and Votive Mass. This being so the alternative of a Votive Mass is not allowable, because of the Liturgical law prescribing uniformity between the Office and Mass on doubles and days of higher rite. Indeed, there is a desire on the part of the Church expressed in the Rubrics that this uniformity should be universally observed: '*Quoad fieri potest Missa cum Officio conveniat*;' ¹ the reason being that the Office is regarded as a preparation for the Mass, and that both are intended to mutually contribute towards honouring and commemorating the same object. But it is only where the Office is of the dignity explained that this uniformity becomes a matter of obligation and strict precept. The

¹ *Miss. Rom. Rub.*, tit. iv., n. 8.

rule admits certain well-known exceptions, especially in favour of Masses for the Dead and solemn Votive Masses. Discussing the obligation of conforming the Mass to the office, St. Liguori² asks whether it is not a serious fault to say a Votive Mass on a day on which it is not allowed by the Rubrics. After citing theologians for the affirmative side, he himself seems to lean to the negative opinion, provided that there is no scandal or contempt implied. He was influenced by this consideration, 'quia non videtur in hoc ad esse notabilis perversio ritus.' If, therefore, it is only a slight fault against the Rubrics not to conform the Mass to the office it is possible to conceive circumstances—but not those we are considering—in which the thing might be justified. After what has been said it will be seen that the second hypothesis our correspondent makes presents no difficulty. If it is lawful to say *de Communi* a Mass the *proper* parts of which are not had for almost any reason whatever, *a fortiori* it is lawful to so act in any of the contingencies contemplated.

We would wish to add a word to remind priests of their obligation of keeping the Missals thoroughly up to date. Sometimes Missals are used that are old, shabby, and dilapidated. These should be replaced by books worthy to be used in the solemn surroundings of the altar, of suitable type, size, and binding. From time to time, too, copies of the latest Masses should be obtained from the publisher, and carefully inserted in an appendix at the end.

**MAY VOTIVE MASS OF THE IMMACULATE CONCEPTION
BE SAID 8th JUNE?**

REV. DEAR SIR,—Kindly say if it is lawful to say the Votive Mass of the Immaculate Conception on the 8th June, next. My reason for doubting is, that although the day is within a privileged octave, still the Octave of Corpus Christi admits the offices of doubles minor occurring. An early reply will greatly oblige. Yours,

SACERDOS.

We do not think that the Votive Mass of the Immaculate

² *Theol. Mor.*, lib. vi., n. 420.

Conception may be said within the Octave of Corpus Christi. For the General Decree of August last makes no distinction between the privileged octaves, but simply says that the Mass may not be said within them. Hence we do not see how any exception can be made. In this event the Mass may be said on the Sunday following, in accordance with the provisions of the Decree above mentioned.

CALENDAR TO BE FOLLOWED WHERE AN ORDER EXERCISES
THE CHAPLAINCY

REV. DEAR SIR,—A priest, whether secular or regular, who is chaplain to a community or institution is bound to follow the Calendar of the place, at least in the *capella principalis*. Is this also true where the chaplaincy is entrusted not to an individual priest, but rather to a religious Order or Congregation? I have heard it contended that a distinction is to be made in the latter instance and, consequently, that the Calendar of the Order is to be followed.—Yours,

PERPLEXUS.

The two following questions were proposed for solution to the Congregation of Rites. It was asked:—

I. In Ecclesiis alicui Religiosae Familiae concredit, sacerdotes exteri in illis celebrantes tenentur ne sequi Calendarium ejusdem Familiae proprium, si habeatur?

II. Num idem dicendum sit de Ecclesiis quae non Religiosae Familiae, sed tantum alicui personae privatae, etsi ad eandem Familiam pertinenti, commissae sunt?^s

The answer to the first query was in the affirmative. to the second in the negative. Here, then, a distinction is evidently made. The first decision implies that 'in Ecclesiis alicui Religiosae Familiae concredit,' the Calendar of the Religious *Familia*, to which the charge of the community is entrusted, is to be followed, while this Calendar is not to be the rule of the place where an individual priest—even though a member of the Order—is charged with the care of the community. If the community ministered to has a special Calendar, this is to be respected as well as any

^s S.R.C. Decr., n. 4057.

privileges granted in the way of special Masses. When, then, is a church or community said to be 'alicui Religiosae Familiae concredita'? We will give the meaning of the phrase in the words of the *Ephemerides Liturgicae*⁴:— 'Domus dicitur alicui Congregationi concredita, si ea non solum quoad Missam celebrandum, sed etiam quoad regimen Congregationi ipsi commissa sit ab Episcopo ita ut nemo, Ordinario dioecesano excepto aliquod jus in illa exercere valeat.' An Order, then, or Congregation charged not only with the duty of saying the Masses for a community, but also with a certain full jurisdiction over it, may follow its own Calendar for the reason, seemingly, that the community comes under its *regimen*.

P. MORRISROE.

⁴ February 1904, pp. 120-1.

CORRESPONDENCE

EDUCATED LAITY IN PAROCHIAL ASSOCIATIONS

REV. DEAR SIR,—May I offer a suggestion in reference to the Associations of the Sacred Heart, etc., which exist in almost every parish? It is, that a branch, say, of the Association in Honour of the Sacred Heart should be established in every college and convent boarding-school. The result of this, apart from the benefit to the college and to the individual student, would be :—

- (1) The erroneous idea that these Associations are only for the common people would be done away with;
- (2) The educated laity would have practical experience of the working of the Association and would thus be prepared to take their places in this great parochial work;
- (3) They would be brought into touch with the people, and would be afforded an opportunity of doing social work.

As regards the working of the Association in the schools, a monthly meeting and a general Communion is easily arranged. And a small council of senior students, with a president, if necessary, from the professors, would govern the Association, and keep in touch with past members, receiving reports of their work in their respective parishes, thus encouraging these past students and stimulating the zeal of the college Association.—
Yours faithfully,

SACERDOS.

DOCUMENTS

LETTER OF POPE PIUS X. TO THE GENERAL OF THE
INSTITUTE OF CHARITYDILECTO FILIO, RELIGIOSO VIRO, BERNARDINO BALSARI,
PRAEPOSITO GENERALI INSTITUTI A CARITATE

PIUS PP. X.

Dilecte Fili, religiose vir, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Equidem gaudemus pium, cui praesides, Institutum eam praeseferre benemerendi de Ecclesia industriam, ut iure videatur a Caritate duxisse nomen. Cognitum enim est, quam diligenter utiliterque non modo apud vestrates, sed apud exteros quoque, maxime in Anglia, ad incrementum religionis, ad salutem animarum laboretis.

Quapropter, quod ipse vehementer cupis, id Nos libenter facimus, ut divinam benignitatem coeptis operisque vestris, bene precando, conciliemus. Idque eo libentius facimus, quia ex litteris officii plenis, quas abs te proxime accepimus, impensum studium amoremque perspicere licuit, quo erga Apostolicam Sedem affecti estis. Pergite, dilecti filii, mente animoque cum Romano Pontifice coniuncti, secundum praescripta Instituti vestri pro Ecclesia contendere; et vobis ubertas, quam enixe imploramus, supernorum munerum, nunquam defuerit.

Horum auspicem eamdemque benevolentiae Nostrae paternae testem, tibi, dilecti Fili, religiose vir, et universae tum Societati a Caritate tum etiam Sodalitati sanctimonialium a Providentia, quibus item praesides, Apostolicam benedictionem peramanter in Domino impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum, die X. Februarii, an. MDCCCIV., Pontificatus Nostri anno primo.

PIUS PP. X.

INDULGENCES FOR THE CATHOLIC TRUTH SOCIETY OF
IRELAND

PROT. S. 8562.

EX AUDIENTIA HABITA DIE 26 JANUARIII 1904.

SSmus. D. N. Pius divina prov. PP. X., referente me infra-
scripto S. Congnis. de Prop. Fide Secrio. omnibus ac singulis

utriusque sexus Christifidelibus piaae Societatis Veritatis Catholicae in Hibernia promovendae adscriptis, vel in posterum, adscribendis, qui ecclesiam ipsius societatis vel propriam cujusque parochialem devote visitaverint in festis SSmae. Trinitatis, Immaculatae B. Mariae Virginis, S. Patritii, Ep. C., S. Lurentii, Ep. Conf., et S. Birgittae Virginis, vel Dominicis diebus festa eadem immediate subsequentibus; dummodo vere poenitentes, confessi, ac Sacra Communionem refecti, per aliquod temporis spatium pias ad Deum preces effuderint pro Sanctae Fidei propagatione et juxta Summi Pontificis intentionem, plenariam Indulgentiam valituram et applicabilem quoque per modum suffragii Animabus in Purgatorio detentis, benigne concedit atque in Domino misericorditer impertitur.

Concedit insuper Sanctitas Sua iisdem Christifidelibus partialem Indulgentiam centum dierum, applicabilem quoque ut supra, quoties vel alium ad se aggregandum praefatae Societati induxerint, vel comitiis sive generalibus sive localibus, juxta ipsius Societatis Constitutiones habendis, interfuerint, ac contrito corde sequentia quocumque idiomate recitaverint.

'Veni Sancte Spiritus reple tuorum corda fidelium et tui amoris in eis ignem accende.'

V. *Emitte Spiritum tuum et creabuntur.*

R. *Et renovabis faciem terrae.*

OREMUS.

Mentes nostras, quaesumus Domine, Paraclitus qui a Te procedit illuminat; et inducat in omnem, sicut tuus promisit Filius, veritatem: qui tecum vivit et regnat, etc. Praesentibus valituris in perpetuum.

Datum Romae in Aed. ejusdem S. Congregationis de Prop. Fide, die et anno ut supra.

Pro R.P.D. Secretio,

JOANNES BRUNI, *Off.*

✠ GULIELMUS,

Archiep. Dublinen. Hiberniae Primas.

[The Plenary Indulgence mentioned above can be gained by annual subscribers as well as by those who have signed the roll of membership.—ED. I. E. RECORD.]

APOSTOLIC VISITATION OF ROMAN CHURCHES

EX ACTIS SUMMI PONTIFICIS ET E SECRETAR. BREVIUM

PIUS EPISCOPUS

SERVUS SERVORUM DEI

*Sanctissimi Domini Nostri Pii Divina Providentia Papae X.*INDICTIO VISITATIONIS APOSTOLICAE OMNIUM ECCLESiarUM
ET LOCORUM PIORUM ALMAE URBIS.*Universo clero et populo romano, salutem et apostolicam
benedictionem,*

Quum, arcano Dei consilio, ad supremi apostolatus apicem, nihil tale cogitantes, evecti fuimus, illud ex ore Domini audire visi Nobis sumus: *Pasce agnos meos, pasce oves meas*; quo scilicet intelligeremus, universae Ecclesiae Nobis procuratore commissa, debere Nos *impendere* Nos ipsos ac *superimpendere* pro salute omnium, aequo studio, provehenda. At vero illud primum perspeximus romano, populo, episcopos Nos esse datos: non enim aliter quam ob romanum Episcopatum, et Beati Petri conscendimus Cathedram, et catholici nominis supremum gerimus pontificatum. Quamobrem huc etiam, ante omnia, curas Nobis advertendas esse sensimus, ut Ecclesiae huius utilitatibus, ecclesiarum caeterarum nobilissimae, praecipua studiorum Nostrorum laborumque impenderemus. Idque eo vel amplius imponitur Nobis, quod, cum Roma, divinis praeordinationibus, catholicae unitatis centrum sit constituta, unde lux veritatis, quae in omnium gentium revelatur salutem, tamquam a capite per totum mundi corpus effundatur; necesse omnino est ut inde etiam Christi bonus odor ad fideles omnes permaneat, atque ex ea pariter credendi lex ac vivendi exemplum petatur. Quam igitur Nobis instaurationem omnium in Christo proposuimus, a Clero populoque romano exordia capiat oportet; ita ut, renovato spiritu, quotquot e sacro vel laicorum ordine in hac Urbe versantur, sanctitatis et iustitiae semitas, tempestate licet virtuti infensissima, alacrius instituant percurrendas.

Hanc ob rem, pastorem Visitationem, pro episcopali munere suscipiendam decrevimus; eamque, ad Omnipotentis Dei ladum et honorem, ac Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae exaltationem, per praesentes litteras indicimus; quae a Sacrosancta Lateranensi Basilica inchoabitur Dominica in Albis, in caeteris postea tam patriarchalibus, quam collegiatis et parochialibus ecclesiis ear-

umque capitulis et personis, item monasteriis, Conventibus et Ecclesiis quorumvis Ordinum tam virorum quam mulierum, Collegiis, Confraternitatibus laicorum aliisque locis ecclesiasticae potestati subiectis peragenda.

Hanc quidem Visitationem Nos per Nos ipsos instituere magnopere cuperemus. At quoniam per adversa temporum prohibemur; Decessorum etiam Nostrorum exemplis usi, Viris dignitate, doctrina ac rerum experientia praestantibus tanti momenti negotium dare statuimus, quibus et necessarias facultates et instructiones opportunas ad commissum officium rite exequendum trademus.—Quare Dilectum Filium Nostrum Petrum Tituli Sanctorum Quatuor Coronatorum S.R.E. Presbyterum Cardinalem Respighi, Nostrum in Urbe in Spiritualibus Vicarium Generalem, eligimus et deputamus ut dictam Visitationem Nostro Nomine Nostraque Auctoritate peregrat eique praesit; eidemque adiungimus nonnullos Antistites et Romanae Curiae Praelatos, nimirum Venerabiles Fratres Iosephum Ceppe-telli Patriarcham Constantinopolitanum, Henricum Grazioli Archiepiscopum Nicopolitanum, Nicolaum Iosephum Camilli Archiepiscopum Tomitanum, Maurum Nardi Episcopum Thebanum, qui Secretarii munere fungetur, Raphaellem Virili Episcopum Troadensem, et dilectos Filios Basilium Pompili, cui Assessoris officium committimus, Gulielmum Sebastianelli, quem iudicem causarum et executorem decretorum Visitationis constituimus, Benedictum Melata, Petrum Piacenza, Fredricum Polidori, Ioannem Baptistam Nasalli-Rocca, Ludovicum Schüller, Ioannem M. Zonghi, Alexandrum Avòli, Evaristum Lucidi et Augustum Sili. Insuper nominamus dilectos Filios Bonifacium Oslaender Monachum Ordinis Sancti Benedicti Congregationis Cassinensis Abbatem Monasterii S. Pauli extra Urbem, Paulum a Plebe Contronis Concionatorem Apostolicum Def. Gen. Ordinis Capulatorum, Hyacinthum M^a Cormier Proc. Gen. Ordinis Praedicatorum et Aloisium Palliola Congregationis SSmi Redemptoris, ut operam suam in iis praesertim navent, quae ad religiosas utriusque sexus familias pertinent. Quod si porro opus esse videbitur, alios praeterea idoneos e clero viros ad eundem effectum designabimus.

Quum vero, in tanto opere peragendo, maioris momenti res occurrere procul dubio necesse erit; volumus hasce deferri ad Sacram Congregationem Venerabilium Fratrum et Dilectorum Filiorum Nostrorum S.R.E. Cardinalium negotiis Visitationis

Apostolicae ecclesiarum Urbis praepositorum, qui, maturo examine adhibito, sententiam deinde Nobis aperiant.

Ne autem, in id operis, auxilium ab Eo petere praetermittamus, a quo est omne datum optimum et omne donum perfectum, publicas haberi supplicationes ac praesertim Sacramentum augustum, in patriarchalibus Basilicis aliisque templis publice ac solemniter proponi mandamus, additis etiam sacramentum indulgentiarum muneribus, prout per Cardinalem Vicarium fusius edicendum curabimus.

Hortamur igitur romanum clerum et populum ne in vacuum gratiam Dei recipiat; sed, optatis Nostris studiosissime obsecundantes, ad felicem exitum sacrae Visitationis, pro sua quisque conditione adlaboret. Utinam, emendatis moribus, aucta sacrarum aedium reverentia, festis diebus sancte servatis, omnique virtutum genere exulto, Urbs, quae Petri Sede illustratur, sit universo terrarum orbi dux et magistra sanctitatis!

Speramus equidem atque adeo confidimus Deum clementissimum benigne industriis Nostris adfuturum. Ope namque utimur et imploratione potentissima Immaculae Genitricis Christi, cui, hoc anno, a romano populo, aequae ac a fidelibus caeteris, peculiare adhibentur honores; nec non precibus Apostolorum Petri et Pauli aliorumque Caelitum, qui Urbem Nostram vel irrigarunt sanguine vel virtutibus consecrarunt.

Datum Romae, apud Sanctum Petrum, anno Incarnationis Dominicae millesimo noningentesimo quarto, tertio Idus Februarii, Pontificatus Nostri anno primo.

A. Card. DI PIETRO, *Pro-Dat.*

A. Card. MACCHI.

Visa :

DE CVRIA I. DE AQVILA E VICECOMITIBVS.

Loco ✠ Plumbi

Reg. in Secret. Brevium.

V. CVGNONIVS.

FACULTIES FOR THE VISITATION OF ROMAN CHURCHES

EX ACTIS SUMMI PONTIFICIS ET E SECRETAR. BREVIUM
SANCTISSIMI DOMINI NOSTRI PII DIVINA PROVIDENTIA PAPAE X.
LITTERAE IN FORMA BREVIS, QUIBUS AMPLISSIMAE FACULTATES PRO APOSTOLICA VISITATIONE IN URBE PERAGENDA
CONCEDUNTUR.

DILECTO FILIO NOSTRO PETRO TITULI SS. QUATUOR INCORONA-

TORUM, S.R.E. PRESBYTERO CARDINALI RESPIGHI, NOSTRO IN URBE, EIUSQUE DISTRICTU VICARIO IN SPIRITUALIBUS GENERALI, VENERABILIBUS FRATRIBUS ANTISTITIBUS, AC DILECTIS FILIIS ROMANAE CURIAE PRAELATIS, PRO VISITATIONE ECCLESiarUM, ET LOCORUM PIORUM ALMAE URBIS INSTITUTA SPECIALITER DEPUTATIS.

PIVS PAPA X.

Dilecte Fili Noster, Venerabiles Fratres ac dilecti Filii, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem,

Quae Nostra fuerit mens in indicenda Sacris Visitatione omnium Ecclesiarum piorumque Locorum Almae Urbis, Nostrae sub plumbo Litterae nuper editae, quarum initium '*Quum arcano Dei consilio*' satis aperte testantur. Vestrum nunc studium, diligentiam, vigilantiam requirimus, Dilecti Fili Noster, Venerabiles Fratres ac dilecti filii, quos in hoc munere elegimus ac deputavimus. Ne quid ergo ministerium vestrum impediat, immo ut Vobis praesto sint omnia, quae ad illud sancte ac feliciter obeundum conferre possint, exemplo Romanorum Pontificum Praedecessorum Nostrorum amplissimis Vos facultatibus instruere decrevimus, quas in primis, Tibi, dilecte Fili Noster, qui nomine Nostro Visitationem peragis, eidemque praeesse debes, Vobisque omnibus et Vestrum cuilibet per hasce in forma Brevis Litteras communicamus, nimirum :

I. Mandata quaecumque circa Visitationem ipsam, eaque durante etiam vivae vocis oraculo per Vos a Nobis accepta, illis ad quos ea res pertinet, referendi et oretenus per Nos ordinata mandandi, quibus relationi, ac mandatis vestris et cuiuslibet vestrum Nostro nomine factis plenam et indubiam fidem adhiberi, ac firmiter obtemperari tamquam mandatis Nostris Apostolicis volumus et iubemus.

II. Mandata et praecepta quaecumque necessaria et opportuna illis in rebus, quae Visitationis praeparationem, statum, progressum et executionem concernunt, decernendi, faciendi atque exequi iubendi.

III. Personas quasque tam Ecclesiasticas saeculares et regulares cuiusvis Ordinis et Instituti, quam laicas pro rebus et negotiis ad Visitationem pertinentibus ad Vos vocandi et ad personaliter coram Vobis comparendum citandi, opportunisque iuris et facti remediis compellendi.

IV. Personas easdem et tamquam principales et tamquam testes, seu tamquam principales quoad se, et tamquam testes quoad alios, examinandi, et ut veritati testimonium perhibeant, admonendi, atque etiam cogendi, iuramenta eis deferendi, et ab ipsis exigendi et recipiendi ad Sacrorum Canonum praescriptum, ac recusantes per Censuras Ecclesiasticas, aliasque poenas Vobis benevisas compescendi.

V. Libellos supplices et memorialia etiam Nobis inscripta et directa, atque instructiones, relationes, delationes, querelas, etiam secretas contra quascumque personas accipiendi, et Nobis referendi, seu alias, prout rerum et personarum qualitas requiret, iuxta Ordinationes Nostras ex Auctoritate Vobis tradita providendi.

VI. Congregationes aliquarum personarum, quae Vobis in consilium super praemissis adhibendae videbuntur faciendi, easdemque personas Auctoritate Nostra vocandi, et cum eis de negotiis Visitationis tractandi, consultandi et deliberandi.

VII. Unum sive plures Commissarium, seu Fiscalem, nec non Cancellarium, itemque Ratiocinatorem, aliosque ministros, quibus in opere Visitationis utamini, eligendi et deputandi, electum sive electos toties quoties Vobis videbitur removendi t alium sive alios subrogandi.

VIII. Quotiescumque videbitur atque etiam seorsum a Te, dilecte Fili Noster, qui Nostro nomine Visitationem peragis, eidemque praeesse debes, vobisque omnibus, Venerabilis Fratres ac dilecti filii, et iteratis vicibus quarumvis dictae Urbis, seu extra illam, intra tamen illius Districtum consistentium Ecclesiarum omnium etiam ab ipsius Urbis Vicarii ordinaria iurisdictione exemptis, sublatis abrogatisque, ad hunc dumtaxat effectum, Sacrae nempe Visitationis, quacumque veteri consuetudine sive Apostolicis Constitutionibus, nec non universim quibuslibet iuribus ac privilegiis speciali vel etiam specialissima mentione dignis, Patriarchalium, Collegiatarum seu aliarum Ecclesiarum etiam S.R.E. Cardinalium ratione Tituli aut denominatione sui Cardinalitus et alias quomodolibet vel ex quavis causa subiectarum, seu cuiusvis capellae vel Oratorii, nec non Monasteriorum tam Virorum quam Mulierum, Prioratuum, Domorum et Locorum saecularium, seu cuiuslibet Ordinis etiam Mendicantium, Congregationis aut Instituti Regularium, aut Hospitalium quantumvis exemptorum, Nobisque et Apostolicae Sedi immediate subiectorum, et generaliter quorumcumque Locorum et operum

piorum quomodolibet nuncupatorem et quocumque privilegio, exemptione et immunitate suffultorum, etiam si de iis specifica et individua mentio habenda foret, eorumque Capitulorum, Conventuum, Universitatum, Collegiorum, Congregationum, Confraternitatum, Archiconfraternitatum etiam Laicorum, etiam nullo alio speciali Nostro expectato ordine vel mandato, aut etiam requisito consensu, vel licentia, Visitationem faciendi, et illa et quaelibet illorum visitandi, et in illorum statum, formam, regulas, instituta, regimen, statuta, consuetudines, vitamque, ritus, mores, disciplinam, doctrinam et idoneitatem singulorum personarum coniunctim vel divisim, et tam in capite, quam in membris, nec non circa divinum cultum, religiosas functiones, Ecclesiarum decorem, fructuum et reddituum dispositionem, regularem Religiosorum tam Virorum quam Mulierum observantiam, aliaque omnia et singula ad actum huiusmodi Visitationis quomodolibet spectantia, diligenter inquirendi, et ad hunc effectum quaecumque illorum Archiva, Bibliothecas, et quaecumque in illis continentur documenta et instrumenta authentica, scripturas, libros rationum dati et accepti, computa et ratiocinia perlustrandi, inspiciendi, perscrutandi; praesertim vero SSmum. Eucharistiae Sacramentum et Sacras Reliquias et quibus Augustissimum Sacramentum et Sacrae Reliquiae, et res ad alia Ecclesiastica Sacramenta pertinentes continentur, S. Vasa, Pyxides, thecas, tabernacula; nec non indumenta, ornamenta et instrumenta, utensilia, et suppellectilem ecclesiasticam, etiam pretiosam, diligenter et accurate inspiciendi, et ad praedicta exhibendum quascumque personas cogendi et compellendi; et in praemissis omnibus et singulis quacumque correctione, emendatione et reformatione indigere cognoveritis, corrigendi, emendandi et reformandi, uniendi, transferendi, in melius immutandi, processusque necessarios desuper faciendi, et Nobis referendi, seu iuxta ordinationes Nostras in his opportune providendi, mandata, decreta, statuta et ordinationes executioni demandandi, ac custodiri et observari praeciendi, demum omnia alia et singula quae huiusmodi Visitationis negotium, ulteriorem progressum, executionem, et in ea facta et facienda mandata, decreta, statuta et ordinationes concernunt, et concernent, seu ad ea quomodolibet spectant et spectabant, faciendi, gerendi, exequendi, mandandi et ordinandi.

IX. Contradictores et Vobis in praemissis inobedientes et rebelles, eisque auxilium, consilium vel favorem publice vel

occulte, directe vel indirecte quomodolibet praestantes, per suspensionis atque etiam privationis Beneficiorum, et officiorum Ecclesiasticorum, ac per censuras et poenas Ecclesiasticas et temporales, aliaque opportuna iuris et facti remedia, appellatione postposita compescendi.

X. In Visitatione huiusmodi eum ordinem tenendi quem commodiorem, utilioremque iudicabitis, quin praecedentiam inter Ecclesias, Monasteria et Loca quaecumque per Vos visitanda servare adigamini. Nos enim ex hac agendi ratione nulli Ecclesiae, Monasterio, vel Loco, neque ulli Capitulo, Conventui, Confraternitati, aut personae tam coniunctim, quam divisim, seu alias quomodolibet in aliquo etiam minimo quoad praecedentiam, aliasque praerogativas quascumque praeiudicari, aut quicquam novi iuris acquiri decernimus.

XI. In perlustrandis Urbis Paroeciis, pauperibus infirmis graviter decumbentibus, quos Nostro nomine visitabitis, spiritualibusque ac temporalibus subsidiis iuvabitis, Apostolicam Benedictionem semel impertiendi, iisdemque, dummodo ante vel post Visitationem vestram vere poenitentes et confessi, Sacra Communione refecti fuerint, Plenariam omnium peccatorum suorum Indulgentiam et remissionem, quam unicuique eorum semel largimur, denunciandi.

XII. Tibi, Dilecte Fili Noster, Vobisque Venerabilibus Fratribus specialem facultatem concedimus in Ecclesiis etiam Patriarchalibus, aliisque Ecclesiis et Locis per Vos visitandis Altaria atque ipsasmet Ecclesias consecrandi aut illa vel easdem Ecclesias, aut illis adnexa reconciliandi, seu etiam coemeteria, campanas, calices, patenas, Cruces, indumenta et ornamenta Ecclesiastica quaecumque, et aquam, ut moris est, benedicendi, Sacramentum Confirmationis ministrandi, Sacrosanctum quoque Missae sacrificium, nec non Vesperas et quaecumque alia divina officia solemni et Pontificali ritu celebrandi et decantandi, verbi Dei praedicationes, et conciones ad Dei amorem et timorem in cordibus fidelium excitandum et accendendum publice ad Clerum et Populum, seu alias privatim prout occasio et necessitas postulabit, habendi, aliaque omnia et quaecumque munia Pontificalia, etiam quae notam et expressionem requirerent magis specialem, et sub generali huiusmodi concessione non comprehenderentur, etiam erga personas alioquin habiles et idoneas exercendi.

XIII. Ubi contigerit alicui Altari, etiam pro defunctis pri-

vilegiato, seu Capellae tam magnum Missarum celebrandarum numerum ex variis defunctorum legatis impositum esse, et singulis diebus praescriptis nequeat illis satisfieri, quidquid magis ad Dei honorem, Ecclesiarum utilitatem, salutemque animarum eorum, qui legata pia reliquerunt, etiam per translationem partis Missarum huiusmodi ad aliud Altare, seu Altaria etiam non privilegiata, videritis expedire, re tamen diligenter perspecta, statuendi, et ordinandi, ut in eisdem Altaribus commodius ac plenius piae voluntati defunctorum satisfiat, ita quod Missae ad Altaria huiusmodi, ad quae illarum celebrationem transtuleritis celebratae, illis pro quibus celebrabuntur, perinde suffragentur, ac si ad Altaria privilegiata, seu alias iuxta eorundem defunctorum voluntatem celebratae fuissent,

XIV. Ad faciliorem et expeditiorem Visitationis progressum et complementum Secretario et Assessori facultatem tribuimus eiusdem Visitationis decreta, statuta, ordinationes, mandata, praecepta, inhibitiones, informationes, relationes, nec non seriem ordinandi, describendi, et in libellos seu commentarios, sive etiam in publica et authentica forma documenta et instrumenta redigendi, caeteraque omnia, et quaecumque ad eorum munus spectantia gerendi exercendi, etiam si notam ex expressionem requirent magis specialem, et sub generali commissione huiusmodi non venirent. Nos enim volumus iis documentis et scripturis, quae de rebus in Visitatione gestis a Secretario et Assessore praefatis, vel ab eorum altero fient et emanabunt, ipsorum manu ac Visitationis signo munitis, plenam et indubitatam fidem nunc et perpetuis futuris temporibus tam in iudicio, quam extra illud, omnino haberi, neque ad id probationis alterius adminiculum requiri.

XV. Quascumque querelas, accusationes, denunciationes contra quascumque personas tam Ecclesiasticas saeculares regulares, quam laicas cuiuscumque status, gradus, dignitatis et praeeminentiae existentes, recipiendi et audiendi, causasque exinde aut alias quomodolibet ex dicta Visitatione vel illius causa emergentes tam Ecclesiasticas quam profanas ex officio audiendi, cognoscendi ac iuxta mandata Nostra, seu alias, prout iustitia suaserit, et ordo dictaverit rationis, illas decidendi et terminandi. Utque liberius ab omnibus, denunciationes, querelae et accusationes et causae quaecumque ad dictam Visitationem pertinentes deferri possint, omnibus similiter et singulis personis tam laicis, quam Clericis etiam in Sacris et Presbyteratus Ordinibus constitutis saecularibus, et quorumvis Ordinum, Con-

gregationum, et Instituti regularibus, quavis etiam Episcopali vel maiori Ecclesiastica vel mundana dignitate vel prae-eminentia fulgentibus, qui in actu eiusdem Visitationis, seu alias, illius occasione aliquid, quod ad praedictas causas pertineat, per viam denuntiationis, querelae vel accusationis palam vel occulte, sponte vel ad aliorum instantiam in iudicio, vel extra iudicium revelaverint, aut in praemissis testimonium dixerint, vel aliquid propterea scripserint, subscripserint, indicaverint, dictaverint, detulerint, interrogaverint, vel interrogati responderint, vel ad reos defendendos, convincendos, indicia, votum, auxilium, consilium vel favorem per se, vel aliud directe vel indirecte praestiterint, sive tamquam Iudices ordinarii, vel delegati, custodes, scribae, testes, tabelliones, consultores, procuratores, advocati seu alias se in praemissis quomodolibet, ingesserint, ut nullam propterea poenam, vel censuram Ecclesiasticam, aut irregularitatis notam incurrant, Nostro nomine et Auctoritate indulgendi.

XVI. Omnes et singulas causas occasione Visitationis huiusmodi coram quibuscumque Iudicibus tam ordinariis quam delegatis pendentes et etiam instructas, et terminis in quibus reperiuntur, cum omnibus et singulis eorum incidentibus, dependentibus, emergentibus, adnexis et connexis, totoque negotio principali ad Vos Auctoritate Nostra avocandi, illasque summarie, simpliciter et de plane, sine strepitu et figura iudicii, sola facti veritate inspecta, audiendi, cognoscendi, et fine debito, prout iuris fuerit terminandi.

XVII. Iudici causarum et executori decretorum Visitationis praefatae Auctoritate Nostra deputato omnia in eadem Visitatione decreta, statuta et ordinata exequendi, et observari faciendi, contra inobedientes et negligentes, nec non cuiuscumque criminis occasione dictae Visitationes detectos reos et delinquentes, eorumque complices et fautores cuiuscumque status, dignitatis, ordinis et conditionis fuerint, per viam accusationis etiam summarie, simpliciter et de plano, sine strepitu et figura iudicii, sola facti veritate inspecta, inquirendi et procedendi, reosque, prout canonicae requirunt sanctiones, puniendi, ac tam super praemissis, quam etiam alias quascumque in eadem Visitatione, aut etiam antea per Nos tamen Tibi etiam absque speciali commissione committenda causas Ecclesiasticas inter Capitula, Conventus, Collegia, Universitates, Confraternitates, Archiconfraternitates, eorumque superiores ac singulares personas Ecclesiasticas saeculares vel cuiusvis Ordinis etiam Mindi-

cantium regulares, etiam exemptas, et quovis privilegio vel immunitate suffultas, etiam Nobis et Apostolicae Sedi immediate subiectas, motas et movendas, cum earum omnibus incidentibus, emergentibus, adnexis et connexis, etiam summarie et simpliciter et de plano, et alias prout praefertur, terminis substantialibus unico contextu, vel etiam non servatis, sed illorum loco praefixo termino arbitrio Tuo et de eiusdem Visitationis mandato procedendi, audiendi ac fine debito terminandi, et ad hunc caeterorumque contingentium effectum, quoscumque etiam per Edictum publicum, constituto summarie et extraiudicialiter de non tuto accessu personis, quibus et quoties opus fuerit, etiam per simili Edictum, atque etiam sub censuris et poenis Ecclesiasticis, nec non pecuniis eiusdem Secretarii arbitrio moderandis et ampliandis, inhibendi, contra inobedientes quascumque censuras et poenas ipsas, etiam iteratis vicibus aggravandi, mandata, prohibitiones, inhibitiones et monitoria etiam sub censuris et aliis poenis praedictis, caeterisque sibi benevisis remediis, omni et quacumque appellatione proposita decernendi, omniaque in praemissis, et circa et necessaria et quomodolibet opportuna faciendi, mandandi et exequendi, etiam quae expressionem requirerent magis specialem, et sub generali concessione non venirent, iis tamen servatis limitibus, quos Visitatores collatis insimul consiliis praescribent, et exceptis semper causis maioris momenti, ad Congregationem VV. FF. NN. S.R.E. Card. super negotiis Visitationis apostolicae Ecclesiarum et Locorum piorum Urbis praepositorum vigore citatae Bullae Indictionis deferendis.

XVIII. Pro celeriori causarum expeditione, et ad parcendum quantum fieri potest, partium dispendiis, simplici et nuda scripturarum ac iurium in tribunalibus, seu archivis, aut notariorum officiis eiusdem Urbis existentium indicationi, eorumque notis ac privatis copiis standi, et illis probationem eandem fidem in iudicio adhibendi, quae adhiberetur, si alia in forma publica et authentica forent transumpta aut alias originaliter exhibita.

Mandamus autem omnibus et singulis ad quos spectabit, quacumque dignitate, auctoritate, potestate et praeminentia fulgentibus, ut Vobis et cuilibet Vestrum in praemissis omnibus et singulis prompte pareant et obediant, alioquin sententias seu poenas, quas rite tuleritis seu statueritis in rebelles, ratas habebimus et faciemus, auctore Domino, usque ad satisfactionem condignam inviolabiliter observari.

Non obstantibus Constitutionibus et Ordinationibus Apostolicis etiam Conciliaribus, et Ecclesiarum, Monasteriorum, Hospitalium, Ordinum, Congregationum, Archiconfraternitatum, Confraternitatum et aliorum Locorum et Operum piorum huiusmodi etiam iuramento, confirmatione Apostolica vel quavis firmitate alia roboratis, statutis, et consuetudinibus, etiam immemorabilibus, stabilimentis, usis et naturis ac stylo Curiae; privilegiis quoque, indultis, exemptionibus et Litteris Apostolicis praemissis et cuiusvis illorum, ac superioribus et personis eorum quomodolibet, nuncupatis et qualificatis, sub quibuscumque verborum tenoribus et formis, ac cum quibusvis etiam derogatoriis derogatoriis aliisque efficacioribus, efficacissimis, et insolitis clausulis et decretis etiam irritantibus in genere, vel in specie, etiam motu proprio, vel ad Catholicorum Principum quorumlibet preces, et instantiam, seu eorum contemplatione et intuitu, atque etiam consistorialiter, et alias quomodocumque et quandocumque concessis, confirmatis et pluries innovatis. Quibus omnibus et singulis, etiam si pro illorum sufficienti derogatione de illis, eorum totis tenoribus specialis, specifica expressa, et individua ac de verbo ad verbum non autem per clausulas generales idem importantes mentio, seu quaevis alia expressio habenda, aut aliqua alia exquisita forma ad hoc servanda foret, illorum omnium et singulorum tenores, formas et*occasiones praesentibus pro plene et sufficienter expressis, insertis et servatis respective habentes, illis alias in suo robore permansuris, ad praemissorum effectum specialiter, et expresse, ac plenissime derogamus, et derogatum esse volumus, caeterisque contrariis quibuscumque.

Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum sub annulo Piscatoris die III Martii MCMIV, Pontificatus Nostri anno primo.

L. ✠ S.

ALOYS. Card. MACCHI.

POPE LEO XIII. AND THE PROPOSED CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AUSTRIA

EX ACTIS SUMMI PONTIFICIS ET E SECRETAR. BREVIUM

LEO XIII PERGRATUM DECLARAT EPIS AUSTRIAE NUNCIUM DE MOX INSTITUENDA UNIVERSITATE CATHOLICA.

EPISTOLA DILECTIS FILIIS NOSTRIS ANTONIO IOSEPHO S.R.E. PRESBYTERO CARDINALI GRUSCHA, ARCHIEPISCOPO VIENNENSI; GEORGIO S.R.E. PRESBYTERO CARDINALI KOPP, EPISCOPO VRATISLAVIENSI; LEONI S.R.E. PRESBYTERO CARDINALI DE

SKRBENSKY, ARCHIEPISCOPO PREGENSI ; IOANNI S.R.E. PRESBYTERO CARDINALI PUZYNA, EPISCOPO CRACOVIENSI ; CAETERISQUE VENERABILIBUS FRATRIBUS ARCHIEPISCOPIS ET EPISCOPIS AUSTRIAE

LEO PP. XIII.

Dilecti filii nostri et Venerabiles Fratres, Salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem,

Quod votis decessorum vestrorum, multorumque annorum operâ praeparatum, absolutionem tamen perfectionemque ad haec usque tempora desideravit, maximo nunc cum gaudio nunciatis properare feliciter ad exitum. Nam sunt fere in promptu praesidia ad catholicam Studiorum Universitatem condendam, unusque est omnium vestrum consensus posse iam admoveri manus ad magnum illud Lyceum constituendum, cuius mansit quidem longior, quam debuit, expectatio, at opportuna item et apta ratio succrevit. Quapropter ad consilia vestra, quae ipsa per se commendantur, libenter Nos et approbantes accedimus, atque illud vobis apertum demonstratumque volumus, omnem Nos iucunditatem ex allato nuncio percepisse, quippe comparari ubique et amplificari illustria et sancta studiis domicilia, summopere gaudemus. Hanc autem animi Nostri sententiam voluptatemque in id etiam declaramus, ut addatur fidelibus vestris, ut par est, incitamentum, quo rem tantam ac tam salubrem alacriore voluntate maturent, opemque conferendo perficiant. Caetera, sollertiae vestrae, uti semper, confidimus, nihilque dubitamus de eorum liberalitate et consensione, quorum commodo expetita existit Universitas. Quae autem ad hoc tale Lyceum pertinere existimantur, ubi primum erunt omnia instructa ac parata, rem Nobis patefaciendam esse volumus per sacram studiis regendis Congregationem; haec enim in id munus incumbit ut et statum Nobis negotiorum id genus exponat, et mandata potestate utatur scholarum catholici nominis ad Sacros Canones constituendarum.

Mentem interea Nostram laetam ac benevolentem unicuique vestrum testamur; caelestiaque suscepto operi munera adprecantes, benedictionem Apostolicam vobis omnibus impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum die XXX Aprilis MDCCCCII, Pontificatus Nostri anno vicesimo quinto.

LEO PP. XIII.

SOLUTION OF QUESTIONS REGARDING MASSES FOR THE
DEAD AND SINGING OF GOSPEL, DISTRIBUTION OF
HOLY COMMUNION

E SACRA CONGREGATIONE RITUUM

TRIA SOLVUNTUR DUBIA

R. D. Victorinus Costa cui concredita est Paroecia loci 'Vidor' nuncupati, intra fines Dioeceseos Ceneten., de consensu sui Rmi. Episcopi, sequentia Dubia Sacrorum Rituum Congregationi pro opportuna solutione humillime exposuit; nimirum:

I. In dicta Paroecia omnibus feriis sextis per annum non impeditis, de more celebratur Missa cum cantu pro defunctis et postea celebrans, deposita casula et manipulo, sine pluviali et absque incensatione, peragit exequias super stratum: quaeritur: Rectene id fit? et quatenus negative, debet celebrans induere pluviale et incensare?

II. In Missis cum cantu absque ministris, deficiente lectore qui epistolam canat, potest vel debet celebrans eam canere?

III. Sacerdos celebraturus potest paratus cum casula distribuere communionem fidelibus ante Missam, et postea ad aliud altare pergere ad Missam celebrandam? et quatenus negative, potest indutus alba et stola Eucharistiam distribuere et inde, assumpta casula, pergere ad celebrandum in alio altari?

Sacra porro Rituum Congregatio, ad relationem subscripti Secretarii, exquisito voto Commissionis Liturgicae, reque mature perpensa, rescribendum censuit:

Ad I. *Negative* ad primam partem; *Affirmative* ad secundam, iuxta Rubricas Missalis de Ritu Absolutionis et *Decretum* N. 3108, *Sancti Marci*, 7 Septembris 1861 ad IV.

Ad II. Servetur Rubrica Missalis (Ritus Servandus, tit. VI., N. 8) et *Decretum* N. 3350, *Lisbonen.* 23 Aprilis 1875.

Ad III. Servetur *Decretum* N. 2740, *Tridentina* 12 Martii 1836, ad XI.

Atque ita rescripsit. Die 5 Martii 1904.

S. Card. CRETONI, *Praef.*

L. ✠ S.

✠ DIOMEDES PANICI, *Archiep. Laod., Secret.*

NOTICES OF BOOKS

IRELAND'S RENAISSANCE. By R. J. Smith. Dublin :
Hodges, Figgis & Co., 1903.

IF the title of a work should give some clue to its contents we are sorely puzzled why the author should have chosen *Ireland's Renaissance* as a suitable designation for his three hundred and ninety pages of printed matter. Had our opinion been sought for we should have suggested as a good guide for his readers: 'Smith on the History of the World with special reference to the Catholic Church, Papal Infallibility, Ireland, Politics, Newspapers, Language, and Bigotry.' Though this title would have been far from exhaustive, yet it might have, in a small way, prepared the reader for the treat in store for him from the perusal of the book. Doubtlessly, the author has prior claims at the baptism of the product of his genius, but for the sake of the general public we feel bound to state that any other name would have been equally appropriate.

Formerly such productions gave us considerable annoyance, but, thanks to the number of them on the market in recent years, we have long passed that stage. After careful consideration we have come to the conclusion that the authors never meant to be taken seriously—that they were merely poking fun at their readers, and that the triumph of their success as actors had been reached when people rushed into print with learned refutations of their opinions. For our own part we must freely admit that for years we have not come across a more amusing book than the one under consideration at present. We are under serious obligations to the author for having provided us with such an entertainment during a dull season, and we are certain that what we have lost in time from the perusal of his work we have gained in health and enjoyment.

Confining ourselves to the chapters on St. Patrick and the Early Irish Church, as we were asked to do, we read the introduction with care till we reached the solemn declaration that 'History must and will have its say, and those who resist its legitimate authority will deservedly be crushed by it;' and

then, a vision of the author bearing down on the workers on Irish History like an express train rose up before our mind, and for a moment we felt unnerved. We were somewhat reassured, however, when we learned that the lines on which he was to run, were 'facts, considerations, early Irish writings, and manuscripts.' The only danger was that at some of the intricate crossings he might get switched on to the wrong track, and, leaving his facts, writings, and manuscripts behind him, dash recklessly along the 'consideration' siding. Our fears were, unfortunately, soon realized. On the very first page we read: 'The *Tripartite* was discovered in a Bavarian town, and was given by a Jesuit priest to Colgan *who was one of the Four Masters.*' We opened our eyes in astonishment. Colgan one of the Four Masters! This was not a 'fact,' it was not in 'early Irish writings' or 'manuscripts.' It must be a 'consideration' of the writer's own make, and if we might offer a suggestion it would be that he should patent it. In itself it is sufficient to stamp him as an original writer on Irish Ecclesiastical History. Of course, it would be superfluous to mention that Colgan did not publish the *Vita Tripartite* but only a translation; that he had, as he tells us himself, not one but three very old MSS. in his hands; and that the MS. Egerton 93, and Rawlinson B. 512, are quite different from the copies which Colgan had before him. A few lines further down we read with hardly less astonishment: 'The Life of St. Patrick in the *Book of Armagh* was first written by Muirchu Macctheni about the middle of the seventh century, then largely interpolated by Tirechan, and finally copied as a whole from Tirechan's edition by Ferdomnach about the early ninth century.' Where did the author learn that Tirechan 'interpolated' the work of Macctheni? It is not in early Irish writings or manuscripts: in fact the opposite might easily be inferred. It must be another special historical 'consideration.' Again, he gravely informs us that Tirechan states that 'the burial place of St. Patrick was unknown in his time; a statement which implies that the Columba legend about Saul was not yet invented in Tirechan's time. The invention having taken place it was easy to state that a County Down saint, named Tassach, attended him in his last illness.' 'St. Fiach was the author of this.' We wonder was it King's *Supplement* which, according to our author is such a reliable *répertoire* for original document, he consulted when

he wrote this passage. He will be surprised to learn that on fol. 15, b. 2 (*Book of Armagh*), we find the following passage in Tirechan's *Life of St. Patrick*: 'Columbcille spiritu sancto instigante ostendit sepulturam Patricii ubi est confirmat id est in *Sabul Patricii*.' He will be even more surprised about the 'County Down saint Tassach,' if he reads the words of Muirchu Macctheni who, according to him, wrote before Tirechan: 'Adpropinquante autem hora obitus sui (Patricii) sacrificium ab Episcopo *Tassach* ad viaticum beatae vitae acceperat.' Is not that curiously like the way we describe the death of a Catholic bishop at present?

We cannot further follow the author along his crushing course. It would require volumes did we attempt such a work. His theory about the St. Patrick mystery is that the Palladius-Patrick was an early Roman Missionary who set himself to overturn Greek Christianity. His proof is that 'the Christian Irish' refused to accept the teachings of Palladius. Where did he learn this, or is it only a 'consideration'? He gravely informs us 'that *if* the St. Patrick who wrote the *Confessions* was St. Patrick senior, and the writer of the *Dicta Patricii* Palladius Patrick, and *if* early writers confounded the several writings as the production of the latter it is no wonder there is a mystery. This *is* the trap they seem to have fallen into.' After years of waiting how grateful they must be to our author for having relieved them.

His comparison of the Irish to the Greek schismatical Church on account of the dispute with Rome about the celebration of Easter, and his belief that this is an original discovery of his own, are highly significant of his knowledge of history. Let him consult the first intelligent boy he meets coming from the nearest Christian Brothers' school and he will explain to him that the very fact of the Irish referring their case to Rome for decision, and of their acceptance of Rome's commands, is a fair proof that the supremacy of Rome in matters essential was fully recognised. He could tell him, too, that whether Christianity came to Ireland from Wales, Gaul, or the East (our author thinks some Eastern may have been blown on to our coast), the 'Petrine' claims were equally safe. The East was unanimous with the West in its acknowledgment of the Papal power.

It might fairly be expected that our author seldom indicates

his authorities, but when he does so we might reasonably hope that he had quoted correctly. We do not accuse him of bad faith, but we do of blindly following the blundering translations of some Protestant writer (possibly his much lauded King) without any attempt at verification. Where, for example, did he get the passage (page 179) from the Bull of Adrian IV. about the Irish being schismatics, and disregarding the Papal authority? This is not to be found in the Bull. Possibly, too, he might consult the lately published work of his co-religionist, Professor Thatcher of Chicago, in which he denies the authenticity of this Bull; and surely the Chicago professor has nothing to gain by such denial. Again, where did he find the passage of Lanfranc's letter (page 180) about the 'uncanonical marriages of the Irish clergy'? Almost equally good is his remark about Celsus, 'that he could not be persuaded to separate from his wife and children.' We cannot give him the honour of this discovery, but he may be surprised to learn that Celsus was never troubled with a wife or children.

In conclusion we may say that if the author meant his chapters on Irish History as a serious discussion of the questions involved, they are beneath criticism; but, if he meant to exemplify, as we believe he did, the errors into which preconceived views often lead historians, he merits our warmest congratulations.

J. MACC.

Leabhar an Achar Eoḡan. THE O'GROWNEY MEMORIAL VOLUME. By Agnes O' arrelly, M.A. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son.

NOBODY who was privileged to witness the O'Growney funeral as it wended its way through the crowded thoroughfares of Dublin in last September, can soon forget the touching scene. In the procession were to be seen representatives of every class and of every calling in life, while the line of route was thronged with sympathetic onlookers, all intent on honouring the memory of the man who had laboured so strenuously and with such success for the regeneration of the native language of Ireland. Little did Father O'Growney dream, as he toiled night after night in his study at Maynooth, that in four short years after his death people should come to regard him

as the Apostle of the Language movement in this country ; and it was little he cared for honour or applause. His heart was in his work ; he considered no sacrifice too great if only it would advance the cause to which he had devoted his life. Under the strain his constitution, never strong, broke down, and away in far-off Arizona, where he had sought for health, almost completely amongst strangers but with his last thoughts on Ireland he passed to his reward—a martyr to his work. He died consoled by the thought that the movement which he had done so much to initiate was destined to succeed.

We knew Father O'Growney well. We studied in his classes in Maynooth, and even yet we can recall how, with all his zeal for the spread of the Irish language, with all the exertions he himself was making, and the not few disappointments which he encountered where he might least expect them, he always managed to be bright and cheerful, bubbling over with genuine good nature and fun, willing to minimize even the most glaring mistakes, and ready to encourage even the humblest efforts.

It is fortunate for Father O'Growney that he should have found such an enthusiastic, sympathetic, and capable a biographer as Miss O'Farrelly. An energetic and zealous worker in the Irish Language movement, she was quick to appreciate the significance of the O'Growney funeral procession, and that such an event required some lasting memorial. She determined to tell the simple tale of the life and life-work of O'Growney, and let them win sympathizers for the cause when he himself could no longer speak. She set to work to collect materials, and she must have spared no pains in her research. Everybody who had an intimate acquaintance with Father O'Growney was consulted. His old class-fellows at Maynooth, but especially his college comrade and life-long friend, Father O'Kieran, his friends in Meath, his fellow-labourers in the cause—all generously placed materials at her disposal, and in a wonderfully short space of time she has been able to publish this most interesting volume. We must warmly congratulate the authoress on the success of her labours. Her book is one which will be read with pleasure and profit by everyone who has at heart the spread of the Irish language, but especially by the priests and students of Maynooth—so dear to the heart of Father O'Growney. Miss O'Farrelly tells her story in such a beautiful homely style, so simple and yet so touching and appropriate, that at times, as we read, we could not help feeling intensely moved.

The first part of her volume deals with the funeral procession from Arizona to Maynooth ; the second is devoted to an account and appreciation of Father O'Growney and his work ; while the last portion is given to the Reliques—not hitherto known to the general public. These include articles in English and Irish, contributed from time to time to different magazines, sketches, modernizations of ancient sagas, metrical translations into Irish not yet published, together with a short treatise on grammar and Irish composition, which he compiled for the use of the students in his class at Maynooth.

The book is entirely the product of Irish workmanship—printed on Irish paper by Irish workmen, and in the capital of Ireland. It is a pity that Miss O'Farrelly should have been forced to undertake the worry and risks of publication. Not the least remarkable feature is the beautiful illustrations with which the book is interspersed. We have no doubt that it is sure to command an immense sale.

J. MACC.

DIE DEUTSCHEN DOMINIKANER IM KAMPFEGEGEN LUTHER.

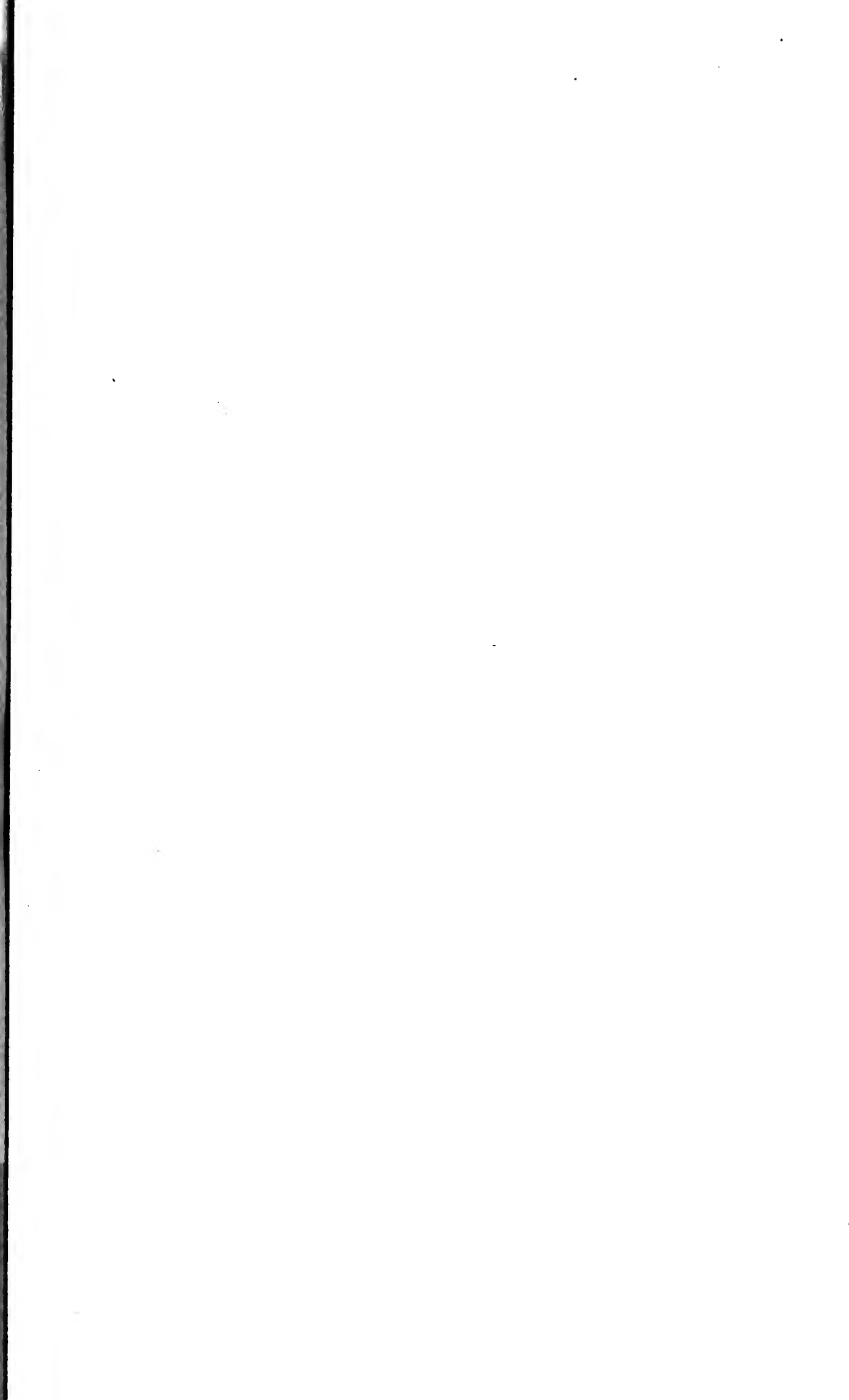
Dr. Paulus. Herder, 1903.

SOME of our readers are, no doubt, acquainted with Jansen's *History of the German People*, or know that its appearance marks an epoch in the world of letters. Few books on similar subjects have caused such a sensation, or even one comparable to it. Its publication took Germany by storm. Since the author's untimely death a few years ago, his work has been continued by an able writer, and quite a number of learned monographs by various scholars have also been issued as a supplement.

The fourth volume of these monographs has commenced with Dr. Paulus' history of the Dominicans that were among the most prominent opponents of Luther. It is a most opportune publication. The author has already gained the reputation of being the first authority on the biography of Tetzels, on the history of the controversy regarding Indulgences, etc., and it is certain that his present work will considerably add to his fame. He treats of some twenty-four Dominican theologians. The biographical sketch of Köllin, the erudite commentator on the *Summa*, and those of Tetzels and Fabri, will, perhaps, be found the most interesting in the series, though indeed the remaining contents of the volume amply repay perusal.

J. M.

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